Why Claim Cultural Authenticity?: Cultural Organizations’ and Cosmopolitan Populations’ Claims About Reggae and Celtic Music in the U.S.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The Problem

All over the United States, one may find Cajun music and dances. Some of the attendees are Cajuns who have moved from their native Louisiana – which is home to Cajun culture - but a significant portion is not. According to Mark Mattern (1998), who has observed this trend, the non-Cajun group attends traditional Cajun dances to “romantically try and recreate their own perceptions of ‘pure' Cajun culture” (p. 107). The same phenomenon is observable with a number of other traditional cultures who have drawn the attention and efforts at preservation in “authentic” form by those from outside of the culture. Why do people care enough about other cultures to attend such dances, and why has the infrastructure developed to facilitate such activities? It seems far more intuitive that each culture would try to preserve itself, but instead individuals and organizations have devoted time and energy to create and experience “pure” or “authentic” other cultures.

Why do global cultural organizations and cosmopolitan populations make claims to cultural authenticity, especially when the claim is being made hundreds of miles away from where the culture originated? This thesis shows that claims to authenticity are made by cosmopolitan populations in response to their desires to connect to the past as well as to an ethnic heritage, and to experience the exotic, while cultural organizations make claims because it meets their desire for profit, for easier marketing, and because it fits in with the desires of the individuals or groups who exert some influence within
organizations. Other groups may come across “authentic” material and enjoy its consumption, but they do not share the same concern for authenticity as do cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations.

Claims to authenticity, which are culturally-informed statements that the object in question is perceived to be untouched by any influence outside of the culture from which the object comes, are made by cosmopolitan populations and by cultural organizations. Cosmopolitan populations are often categorized as “elites”, but are defined here as those with a high awareness of the rest of the world – what Ulrich Beck (2006) has called a global empathy. They live in a high-tech, globally aware culture where people frequently move from location to location. Authors like Canclini (1995) have suggested that they lack a sense of rootedness and community, and Said (2002) has written about such population's desire for the exotic in his works on Orientalism. Cosmopolitan populations make claims to authenticity because by doing so they are continuing past traditions which provide them with their rootedness and a sense of continuity with an ethnic heritage, as well as allow them to experience the exotic in that the “authentic” tradition is distant from them in both space and time. Their ability to experience “authentic” culture from other traditions is facilitated by cultural organizations. Cultural organizations are the societies, businesses, and other groups who create and spread cultural objects or artifacts. They need to make a profit or gather enough support to maintain their activities (Negus 1999). Individuals use them to promote their own agendas, for instance nationalism (Negus, 1999; Canclini, 1994), and they also find simpler forms easier to market than hybrids.
(Shuker, 1999). These factors lead cultural organizations to make claims to authenticity because making such claims are profitable, individuals within such organizations think claims to authenticity are important, and it is easier to describe a form as “authentic” than to describe each element of its hybridity. Claims to authenticity are primarily driven by cosmopolitan populations, who lead cultural organization to make such claims through their patronage and participation, but cultural organizations give an added impetus to such claims when they label music “authentic” to make it easier to recognize and market - this enforces the expectations cosmopolitan populations have to find “authentic” music.

The questions asked here are important to examine because claims to authenticity about outside cultures are clearly important to some people and organizations, even though at first glance it would seem they should not be because people are thought of primarily as belonging to their own cultures. For example, non-Cajun dancers took the time to learn Cajun dancing styles in an effort to create “authentic” experiences of Cajun culture. It is especially remarkable that superfluous consumption of Cajun culture – what Beck (2006) and others term “banal cosmopolitanism” and find readily available - is not enough, but rather the “pure” experience is pursued. It is also important to examine why claims to authenticity are made because there is a disjuncture between the reality of hybrid forms and the perception of authenticity (as non-hybridity). My conclusions, described above, draw together the work of a number of authors across sociology, including works within popular music studies, cultural studies, and ethnomusicology, and two case studies. Such an interdisciplinary approach was called for by Canclini (1995),
and it allows a richer understanding of claims to authenticity, cosmopolitan populations, and cultural organizations than we would otherwise obtain. Many scholars, for instance, deal with only one group or the other. Shuker (2001), Longhurst (2007), and Negus (1999) each writes only about cultural organizations with a strong focus on the music industry. Canclini (1994) writes primarily about government claims to authenticity and its relationship to elite culture, and only briefly discusses industry. Kraidy (2005), Hollinger (1995), and Berger and Luckmann (2006) focus more on the individual or the individual's role in creating and maintaining cultural norms. The understanding I develop about why claims to authenticity are made could not have been achieved without using such a multiplicity of authors. The case studies, which look at claims to authenticity made within the United States about musical forms developed elsewhere, provide empirical evidence with which to compare the theoretical explanations developed elsewhere. Such case studies fill a gap in scholarship, especially within ethnomusicology, that tends to focus on cultural forms as experienced within the originating culture – the ethnomusicologist Mark Slobin (1993) has written that more cross-border study is needed and wrote a book, *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West*, to start to develop a framework from which to begin thinking about cross-border experiences of music.

**Conceptual Framework**

This thesis will examine claims to authenticity made about traditional music experienced outside of the originating culture. Two groups are found to make such claims: cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations. These groups were
suggested as actors in making claims to authenticity by Canclini (1995), who writes about a national patrimony in Latin America as desired by the elite (cosmopolitan populations) and enacted by governments, museums, and industry (cultural organizations). It was further supported by the case studies on Celtic music and reggae, in which I found that those making claims to authenticity were one of those two actors. We will consider how each of these groups produces perceptions of authenticity and why they do so. What is not examined here are the claims of immigrant groups about music from their home cultures, because this thesis's focus is on claims to authenticity made about traditional music that crosses cultural borders (unless, of course, the immigrant group in question no longer experiences the home culture as their primary frame of reference in which case border crossings happen). While there are many related questions that could also be explored – for example, why some “authenticities” supersede others of equal validity – these will be examined only tangentially as they relate to the primary questions. The discussion maintain a narrow focus on claims made within the United States to maintain an appropriate scope, though many of the conclusions also apply elsewhere and authors from the U.K., which has a very strong popular music literature, are occasionally drawn from when their writing applies just as much to Americans as to the British. These questions will always be approached from the context of cross-border consumption of culture, so globalization with its porous borders and international scope of trade is the backdrop to the discussion.

Globalization, the term used to describe the relatively rapid international
movement of goods, people, and information facilitated by recent innovations in technology and communication networks, forms the context in which claims to authenticity may be made since it facilitates the availability of music from a wide variety of cultures within the United States. This has been furthered by two factors often attributed to globalization. First, current media technologies have a long reach and are spread throughout the globe. Second, there are many migrants who bring music from their home cultures to new ones. Manuel (1995) adds to this that, “Related to these phenomena are the emergence of criss-crossing economic, demographic and media networks, the tendency for individuals and groups to form fragmented, multiple identities, and an unprecedented degree of cultural borrowing, appropriation, and syncretic cross-fertilisation” (p. 228). It is in the context of globalization that this cultural borrowing and creation of multiple identities that we will see later on takes place.

Claims to Cultural Authenticity:

“Authentic” as it is used here can be defined as a contrast to hybrid: a hybrid mixes two or more cultures, while “authentic” is perceived by those making claims to authenticity to be unmixed, and is culturally informed. Arguably, any cultural product experienced in another culture is a hybrid, but some traditional cultural forms are perceived to be imported and consumed in their traditional form and others are acknowledged to be fusion styles. Those forms that are seen as pure and not as fusions are defined for our purposes as “authentic”. Since both are, in fact, fusions, the fact that some are not perceived as such is the basis for questioning why such claims to authenticity are
made at all. Claims to cultural authenticity are attributions of authenticity made through words or representations about a cultural artifact. What these representations might be will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Cosmopolitan Populations

The first group which often makes claims to authenticity are cosmopolitan populations. The core defining factor of “cosmopolitan populations” is their view that while they may be national citizens they are ultimately global citizens. More broadly, “cosmopolitan” has often been used to describe the elite: a cosmopolitan is educated about a number of topics, has access to international news and travel, and consumes a variety of cultural activities (Beck 2006). This group creates and consumes “authentic” traditional culture because it provides a sense of rootedness which is often otherwise missing for these populations, and because it meets the desire for the experience of the “exotic.”

A number of authors have written about the “elites” or “cosmopolitans” and their use of traditional culture. Canclini (1995) argues that Latin American elites used traditional culture in order to promote a national identity, and that traditional culture was needed by the elites to supplement the shortcomings of the modern culture they were simultaneously promoting. Ulrich Beck (2006) writes that cosmopolitans are interested in the Other and have erred by being both too particularist and too universal in their approach to other cultures. However, they maintain a fascination, through particularism, with the unique experiences other cultures may provide, a fascination Edward Said (2002)
picks up in his critique of the Orientalist view such a fascination maintains. These authors, and others, provide insights that may be applied to why cosmopolitan populations in the United States make claims to authenticity.

However, cosmopolitan populations are not the only group that claims authenticity; this is also done by cultural organizations. In order to find out why cultural organizations make such claims, we must turn to different branches of sociology – cultural studies and popular music studies.

*Cultural Organizations*

Cultural organizations make claims to authenticity in part to supply what cosmopolitan populations demand, but also because such claims create easily identified (and therefore easily marketable) products. Cultural organizations is used fairly broadly here – this includes the world music industry, but also music festivals, concert venues, and organizations like the Smithsonian and its folkways collection or the international group *Comhaltas* that sponsors Irish festivals and jam sessions worldwide. The music industry has been heavily criticized within cultural studies, perhaps most vehemently by Theodor Adorno (2000), who believed that the music industry created a market it could sell as many products as possible to with the least amount of effort. More recent critics like Keith Negus (1999) and Roy Shuker (2001) argue that the music industry does consciously create and promote markets, shaping products to fit the market and shaping markets to fit the product. However, they differ from earlier critics, most notably Adorno (2000), in that some agency is given to consumers to choose which products they will
consume and how the use is interpreted, which impacts cultural organizations. This leads to the conclusion that cultural organizations are in part making claims to authenticity because consumers desire authentic culture, but also because such claims simplify the complexity of a style's source which makes it easier to explain and easier to sell. Moreover, by making claims to authenticity in the past, cultural organizations have shaped the expectations people have about authenticity and, consequently, the need for it. However, while we may find some mention of the role consumers play in cultural organizations' claims to authenticity, their motivation for doing so must be found elsewhere, such as in the literature on cosmopolitan populations mentioned above.

Case Studies

Claims to cultural authenticity will be examined in two case studies, Celtic music and reggae. Both are musical forms that developed in a specific culture, place, and time, but have become fairly ubiquitous in the United States. The ubiquity of these cultures enables a broad study with national scope, which is appropriate for the claims this paper makes. Claims to authenticity outside of the originating culture are also made about both, and by both cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations. However, cosmopolitan populations are commonly associated with Celtic music, and the music industry is often included in discussions about reggae. These two case studies offer the opportunity to examine the role of both actors in situations where each predominates. This has the advantage of both allowing analysis of the involvement of each actor to its fullest extent, as well as to see just how much the two interact – since the cases tend toward the extreme
for either actor, they will showcase the maximum end of each actor's role as well as the coexistence of the two together even where one actor obviously predominates.

*Celtic Culture and Cosmopolitan Populations*

Both cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations make claims to authenticity about Celtic culture. The audiences for Celtic music performances tend to span a variety of age groups, but are generally well off, often have some knowledge about broader Celtic culture and other world music forms, and are well educated. Their claims to authenticity stem from a combination of desires. Many are able to use “authentic” Celtic music in order to connect to their heritage (real or imagined), as many within cosmopolitan populations have some Irish descent. Celtic music facilitates the desire cosmopolitan populations have to connect to the past since it often focuses on nostalgia for “home,” a character situated in past ways of life, or tells a story. Finally, the occasional use of Gaelic and frequent use of bagpipes meets cosmopolitan populations' desire for the exotic. Gaelic is an ancient language that almost fell out of modern usage during Britain's rule of Ireland, and as such connotes antiquity, while bagpipes are a fairly unusual instrument and are said to connote a rural past. To meet each of these needs, the music must be “authentic” because recent hybrid forms do not have their basis in the past that allows cosmopolitan populations to meet the aforementioned desires.

Cultural industries also make claims to authenticity, but these claims tend to come primarily from a desire for the business of cosmopolitan populations or from the leadership of cosmopolitan individuals involved in any of the many Celtic societies. Pubs,
for example, often order “authentic” antique Irish ads or black and white photos from a catalog, after which they are freshly printed in order to look old. These convey an idea about Irish culture as it was in the early 20th century that appeals to cosmopolitan populations, who visit such pubs. Various societies, such as the Irish music organization Comhaltas, promote “authentic” Celtic experiences through the organization of festivals and other traditional music gatherings. These have primarily flourished from the leadership of a few individuals and the ready involvement of cosmopolitan populations in various events.

**Reggae and Cultural Organizations**

Reggae is a music form created in Jamaica in the relatively recent past, but it has been considered a traditional music form because it was developed from older traditional music forms and in response to specific social factors in Jamaica. Bob Marley, through the promotional efforts of Island Records' founder Chris Blackwell, popularized reggae in the 1970's, and drew a substantial cosmopolitan population audience, which continues to listen to Bob Marley and other “roots reggae” (as opposed to more recent iterations of reggae like dancehall which tends to draw its audience from hip-hop fans) artists. Claims to authenticity are important for cosmopolitan populations listening to (roots) reggae because part of the draw to reggae for such audiences is its connection to romanticized views of poverty and working-class life. It also allows imagined connections to ethnic identity, and holds an exoticism that would be lost were the music perceived as inauthentic.
The perceptions of cosmopolitan populations of reggae music as “authentic” is in tension with the alterations made by the music industry to market reggae to cosmopolitan populations. The anti-commercialism content of some roots reggae lyrics (and the anti-commercial perception of reggae that draws some in cosmopolitan populations), as well as the profitability of reggae adds to this tension. Therefore, it seems especially important that the reggae industry emphasize authenticity and make claims to authenticity in order to keep its audience (and profits). Keeping the interest of cosmopolitan populations, and therefore a reason to maintain their business, seems to be a primary motivating factor for cultural organizations surrounding reggae. However, other motivations – like the love for reggae Chris Blackwell was professed to have or the anti-electronica push of the Coalition to Preserve Reggae – exist. The predominant actor in claims to authenticity about reggae music is cosmopolitan populations because the primary motive for cultural organizations to make claims to authenticity is that this population wants “authentic” music. While cultural organizations seem to make the majority of the claims, the two actors are closely intermingled and without either's involvement claims to authenticity would not be made.

Conclusion

The question of why cultural industries and cosmopolitan populations make claims to cultural authenticity will be discussed in depth in the following pages. Chapter Two defines “authenticity” and explores the theoretical insights from numerous scholars about why claims to authenticity are made by cosmopolitan populations and cultural
organizations. While scholars write about either one or the other of these two groups, both groups are not thoroughly explored by the same scholar, and exploring both together – as is done in this thesis - allows for a more complete understanding of why claims to authenticity are made. Chapter Three is a case study on Celtic music, and the claims of both cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations are examined. Chapter Four also looks at the claims – and motivations for them – of both groups, this time in the context of reggae music. Each chapter shows that both groups make claims to authenticity. In Celtic music, the desire for “authentic” Celtic music began with the folk revival in the 1960s and the desires of cosmopolitan populations seems to have predated the response by cultural organizations. Cosmopolitan populations still drive the claims to authenticity, as is evidenced by the high amount of volunteer work and personal love of Celtic music that is observable within cultural organizations. For reggae music, both actors seem to be in a symbiotic relationship that causes claims to authenticity to be made. The interest in reggae music was driven by the music industry, who marketed it to cosmopolitan populations by making alterations so that they would find it attractive, but its attractiveness would be reduced were its true commodification be made apparent to cosmopolitan populations, so claims to authenticity are made by cultural organizations. Claims to authenticity are made about reggae music extensively by cultural organizations, but primarily in response to the desires of their cosmopolitan population market who enjoys “authentic” reggae music out of their desire to connect to the past in the idealization of “older” working class values. Chapter Five offers a few conclusions,
especially that globalization is a pushing force for both actors, and that the two are interrelated.
CHAPTER TWO

Motivations of Cosmopolitan Populations and Cultural Organizations Claiming Cultural Authenticity: A Literature Review

When it comes to traditional music, it seems most natural to consider the culture that created the tradition to have the “authentic” version of it. However, it is easy to find traditional culture deemed “authentic” - that is, perceived to be pure, without the influence of the market or other cultures - far from its originating culture. Why are such claims to “authenticity” made about such traditional forms? There are two groups are found to make such claims in the case study that follows and, to a lesser extent in more theoretical literature such as the work of Canclini (1995): cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations. Cosmopolitan populations are those often called elites who see themselves as global citizens more than national citizens, who have what Ulrich Beck (2006) calls the “globalization of emotions” (p. 5). They claim authenticity to provide a sense of rootedness, which they lack, and to cater to a desire often observed among such elite cultures to experience other cultures. Cultural organizations are those organizations involved in providing access to culture – the music industry, music festivals, non-profit societies, and even governments through instruments like the Smithsonian. Cultural organizations in part are reacting to the opportunity to profit, but this does not explain the full range of such claims. Institutions tied to the government often act to promote a sense of American culture forged from numerous prior cultures, and some may even claim authenticity because “authentic” traditional culture provides an easy to recognize label.

This study combines a wide swathe of scholarship that may be broadly

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categorized as sociology. Each author examined here deals only tangentially with the role of cultural institutions or cosmopolitan populations and their claims to cultural authenticity. This chapter gathers and combines their insights in order to create a relatively cohesive argument which identifies the two actors who make claims to authenticity, cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations, and their primary motivations to do so, which for cosmopolitan populations are because it meets their desires for a connection to the past and an ethnic heritage and for the exotic, and which for cultural organizations are because it helps them make a profit, responds to the desires of staff or volunteers within the organizations, and makes describing their products easier. Some scholars writing about cosmopolitan populations – including Canclini (1995), Beck (2006), Hollinger (1995), and to some extent Said (2002) – taken together suggest cosmopolitan populations make claims to authenticity both because participation in “authentic” traditional culture provides a sense of rootedness often lacking in the modern culture of which cosmopolitan populations are a part, and because it fulfills the desire for the exotic found among what some scholars refer to as the elite and others as cosmopolitans. Scholars from cultural studies emphasize the push and pull of supply and demand between the music industry and consumers, the role cultural organizations play in creating expectations for their market, and the use of “authentic” cultural forms to make clear labels for their products in order to make them more marketable. By drawing from scholars in these fields and by drawing on a diverse number of scholars from each field, we can begin to assemble a picture of why claims to cultural authenticity are made.
This chapter begins with a definition of “cultural authenticity,” which is best understood in contrast to cultural hybridities. Then, cosmopolitan populations will be identified and several scholars will be drawn on to extrapolate why this group makes claims to cultural authenticity. Next, cultural organizations will be discussed. After defining what is meant by “cultural organizations,” the critiques of them offered in cultural studies – particularly popular music studies – will provide insight as to why cultural organizations might want to make claims to cultural authenticity. The holistic approach taken here allows us to see that both cultural industries and cosmopolitan populations make claims to authenticity, and while each impacts the tendency of the other to make such claims, they do so for very different reasons.

**What is “authenticity”?**

An “authentic” cultural artifact is perceived as unchangingly transplanted from the originating culture to the receiving one. It usually fits with the ideas the receiving culture has about the originating one, but in a way in which it is seen as a pure form and not a hybrid. Marwan M. Kraidy (2005) has defined a hybrid as the new product of two or more pre-existent elements. There has been debate over how far the term should be extended since technically everything is hybrid simply by virtue of the centuries of interaction between cultures. However, this makes it impossible to discuss hybridities as a separate category, and in general the basic definition of a hybrid as the product of at least two previous elements is agreed on. Hybridity is most often used to discuss mixing between cultures, but the term has also been used for race, language, and ethnicity.
In the case of traditional music, hybridities are often a combination of the originating and local cultures. If we take the definition to the extreme, as Kraidy has argued against, all music is hybrid because all music incorporates surrounding elements and cultural ideas. However, this really is untenable for any purposeful discussion, and the narrower definition Kraidy suggested will be used here. This allows consideration of a culture as a distinct entity, and therefore discussion of the interactions between two cultures, even though the reality is complex.

For Nestor Garcia Canclini (1995), any time a folk culture appears in modern culture, it is automatically a hybrid because the traditional has to move into the market, which is modern. He has called folk art itself, “a process of entering and leaving modernity” (p. xiv). Canclini's argument provides an example for why the use and interpretation of one culture's tradition will always be different in another culture: where the market is involved, goods that were originally made for their usefulness or to perform a ceremonial function are now used to consume a traditional product as such (Canclini, 1995). For Canclini, the interaction of folk music and modern culture is an interaction of the past and the present, of the traditional and “the modern,” to which he frequently refers and takes to be both people in industrialized societies and (more often) people adhering to modernity as a philosophical movement.

The focus of this thesis is not on authenticity, which has been defined above as the perception of non-hybridity, but on claims to authenticity. This is simply what people or organizations say is authentic, either through representation or merely by calling a
cultural artifact “authentic,” and both the perception of authenticity and the way in which such claims to authenticity are made are the result of ideas within the culture making the claims. A full discussion of representations of cultural authenticity is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is used here to mean the symbols associated with a culture that people and/or organizations use to indicate that something is authentic. The claims to authenticity and representations used to make them are not always based on accurate knowledge, they are often stereotypes. Berger and Luckmann (1966) pointed out that social knowledge consists of both objective facts and subjective meanings. Interpretations, the “subjective meaning” about a culture are not objective fact but become facts about a culture in the understanding of people who share these meanings. Because of this, symbols (for example, kilts or dreadlocks) associated with a culture through these subjective meanings may come to mean that culture. In this way, if a musician wears a kilt and plays Irish music (seriously, not satirically), then they are making a claim to authenticity by imbuing themselves with a symbolic representation of the culture of Ireland.

Other scholars further support the importance of representations in making claims to authenticity. Said (2002) has pointed out that representations become the true knowledge about a cultural form, indicating that the subjective meanings of Berger and Luckmann become facts. Canclini (1995) used Bourdieu's writing to argue that when traditional culture becomes high art (as it is when it is displayed in galleries or, in the case of traditional music, renowned concert halls and theaters) a culture of elitism develops.
around it where certain representations known to the elite allow them to make distinctions between the authentic and inauthentic (whereas those without such knowledge lack the ability to discern such lauded differences). Representations that imbue authenticity are culturally known, but as Canclini has illustrated and as will be demonstrated in the case studies in the following two chapters, just what is authentic and what gives that authenticity is debated. Those who have studied a particular form or its culture and therefore have a higher understanding of it will consider some representations more authentic than others. For example, while popular culture associates shamrocks with Ireland, a number of newspaper articles promoting a Celtic music performance emphasized the lack of shamrocks to indicate the performance's authenticity. Austerlitz (2000) provides an illustration of this phenomenon. He argued that expected clothing is an important conveyer that one is playing a certain tradition's music, and playing it authentically. He demonstrated this point by relating that, in a folk festival in Finland, the Chieftains – invited performers of traditional Irish music – were asked to leave the grounds because they were playing music but were wearing regular clothing and therefore not, in the minds of security guards, performers. The guards and The Cheiftains had different ideas of what was authentic, and the guards used the symbolism of clothing to help them evaluate whether The Cheiftains' authenticity.

This section has defined “authenticity” as the perception of non-hybridity, that is, that the object in question does not seem in the eye of the beholder to be a mix of cultures or a mix of the traditional and commercial. Claims to authenticity are statements made
verbally or through representations to communicate that a cultural artifact, whether song, performer, or style, has authenticity. Verbal claims to authenticity are simply statements that something is authentic made with words, whereas representations rely on culturally understood stereotypes about a culture. A symbol understood to represent that culture is connected to the cultural artifact in order to make the claim to authenticity. Now, we turn to those who make these claims to authenticity – cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations, and ask who they are and why they make claims.

**Why Cosmopolitan Populations Make Claims of Cultural Authenticity**

*Who are Cosmopolitans?*

Cosmopolitans are the globally involved. Ulrich Beck (2006) described cosmopolitanism as the “globalization of emotions,” a process that occurs through empathy for others that functions because a global identity develops which coexists with but does not replace national identity (p. 5). He contrasted cosmopolitanism with “really existing cosmopolitanization” (p. 19). Beck described the former as an elite philosophy, chosen by those with the means to travel and otherwise act out the “globalization of emotions,” while the latter reflects the reality of increasing interdependence and is there whether or not it is wanted.

Hollinger (1995) took another approach to comsopolitanism and wrote that it is, “recognition, acceptance, and eager exploration of diversity” (p. 84). While Hollinger's definition is limited, it is a welcome addition to Beck's description of global empathy. While Beck emphasized cosmopolitanism as the recognition of shared, global risks – and
therefore a common global fate – it is the enjoyment of culture that is discussed there, and this stems from the “eager exploration of diversity” (p. 84) that he described. Hollinger described cosmopolitans as those individuals with multiple and overlapping affiliations. This works in conjunction with Beck's description of cosmopolitanism to emphasize that cosmopolitans may be identified as those whose principle identity is not national. Beck emphasized that they possess a global identity, and Hollinger added that “global citizen” is just one of a myriad of identifications cosmopolitan populations make.

It is also important to note that cosmopolitanism is an elitist culture, as Beck pointed out. Those in such cultures are benefiting from the ease of movement, urbanization, and fast-paced life inherent in modernism that it will be argued claims to authentic traditional cultural practices counter. They also have access to information about other cultures and the means to consume their products. In short, cosmopolitan populations are globally aware, have multiple identities of which “global citizen” is just one, and have the means – and therefore are usually a society's elites – to experience the multiplicity of cultures and the information required to have this global awareness.

*The Desire for Rootedness: Modernity's Break with the Past*

The world in which cosmopolitan populations live is very different from the world of their great-grandparents, and the disconnects with the past foster a desire for some experience of the past, of traditions, within the present that gives rise to claims to authenticity. The desire for rootedness is a reaction to modern life. Gunnar Myrdal (2002) has called modernization “a point of no return” (p. 14). Ways of living change drastically,
and what was may not be regained. Canclini (1995) similariy wrote that modernity created ruptures in Latin American society, and that it destroyed (through industrialization and urbanization, as well as through modernity as a philosophical movement) existing ways of being and thinking without replacing what it destroyed with new ways of being and thinking.

While modernization brings with it much that is valuable, it also takes away much that is thought to be valuable. Alan Lomax (cited in Lomax and Cohen, 2002) said that, “We are folklorists because we like folklore, or we like the people from whom it comes. ... Mr. Pehrson said that he likes the Lapps. They reminded him that there were certain values that were just missing from our present society. In some ways he felt more comfortable with the Lapps than he did in Chicago” (Lomax p. 114). Traditional music helps to recreate what is lost.

Canclini (1995) focuses almost entirely on Latin America and the nationalism that went along with modernization movements there, but he also writes that folklore became popular in the United States for two reasons. The first was industrialization, which caused the same breaks with the past that he observed in Latin America. The second was because the aristocracy ignored the popular. This second explanation focuses on the historic development of folk culture, and is therefore not directly relevant to why people make claims of authenticity in the present, though it is ironic that now the “aristocracy” is embracing as high culture what was once ignored. However, his observation that industrialization helped to create popularity of folklore ties in with what he wrote about
traditional culture in Latin America and is relevant here. The move from an agrarian society to an increasingly urbanized one, and the move even from the industrialization that Canclini observed to what is arguably more a services or intellectual economy today results in drastic changes, which can be disruptive. While, as Myrdal (2002) pointed out, there is no going back, there is a reaction against such quick change and against the loss it entails. Manuel (1995) wrote, “Much of contemporary musical activity and taste can be seen as a deliberate nostalgic rejection of the postmodern conditions by means of preferences for (or attempted flight into) earlier and perceivedly pre-commercial styles, from Mozart to Irish folk music” (p. 229).

Cosmopolitan populations make claims to authenticity about traditional music because their re-creation of or interaction with authentic traditional music preserves past ways of life that would otherwise be lost because of the rupture modern life creates. Traditional culture is seen as a preserver of values and of community (Canclini 1995). Preservation has proven important for some communities. Paul Austerlitz (2000), in his study of folk culture in Finland, noted the use of traditional culture initially fell sharply as industrialization occurred, but eventually the loss was noted and a desire to preserve these traditions led to the creation of an international folk festival and eventually to a resurgence in the popularity of folk culture. Paul D. Miller (cited in Becker, Crawford, and Miller, 2002) has observed that while much in popular culture is recycled and discarded, the “historic” receives a special preservation: “We have less and less veneration of primary sources as stable, static things – unless there's an aura of history”
The “authentic” traditional possesses this aura of history that Miller has seen valued, and cosmopolitan populations attempt to continue its stability and staticness. Even as communities change, there is a desire to stay connected to the past and to not wholly lose the values and connections between people that previously existed. Keith Negus (1999) wrote that networks develop between musicians through competitions, playing together in bands, and similar forms of collaboration (like participation in the many folk music festivals held worldwide). Even though participants are not physically located in the same community, the networks formed through these collaborations allow a sense of community to persist despite geographical distances. Through the communities developing around traditional music, cosmopolitan populations feel themselves to be preservers of a valuable cultural past whose future would be in danger without this preservation. Thus, by making claims to authenticity and thereby preserving past ways of life, they are able to address the break with past ways of life their current lifestyle has helped to create.

Confusion of Ancestry in America and the Desire for Ethnic Identity

While the previous section noted that claims to authentic culture were made by cosmopolitan populations because it allows connection to the past, whose past and traditions these were have not been specified. The difficulty of determining one’s own cultural identity makes such questions irrelevant for many cosmopolitan populations, and the “melting pot” myth, which is part of American national identity, emphasizes celebration of many cultures. This makes it easier for American cosmopolitan populations
to look for connections in multiple cultures. A desire is also created to have a tie to a cultural past that is not easily done for some.

Cultural identities are in constant flux, and this is no more true than at the present when the rate of exchange between cultures is so high. Mark Slobin (1993), who has written that culture eventually has to be evaluated at the individual level, suggested that we talk about musical diasporas as linkages between cultures formed from a desire to stay connected to the “motherland”, but that this is a complicated task because some people have multiple “motherlands”. Similarly, Arjun Appadurai (2002) observed that ethnicity was at one point somewhat (but of course never entirely) regionally defined, but now it is “forever slipping in and through the cracks between states and borders” (p. 107). Identities also play off of each other; identities are often formed through comparison with surrounding but different identities and the one becomes what the other is not and vice versa (Mattern, 1998; Huntington, 2002). Therefore, positioning oneself into one identity is not as simple as it might sound, and a strong connection to only one ethnic identity is – for some – hard to maintain.

The connection to a historic ethnic identity is complicated by the American “melting pot” myth, which contradictorily emphasizes both a singular national identity and celebrates the multiple (European) identities from which the nation was formed, of which David A. Hollinger (1995) wrote. This raises awareness among those who might otherwise simply consider themselves Americans that they have an earlier identity, however tangled by generations of marriages, but does not make the connection to a
knowable past any easier – therefore, some seek traditional cultures that are “authentic” if not necessarily their own. Hollinger stated that in the 1960s and 1970s the “melting pot” was commonly replaced by the “salad bowl,” emphasizing more the cultural differences than the single national culture. However, for intellectuals, these differences were seen as “different but equal,” and the emphasis was on affiliation not just as an American but also as part of an ethnically-based subculture.

Therefore, being able to claim an identity, not just as an American but with some ethnic subculture becomes important. Participation in musical subcultures allow an individual tools with which to shape their identity. Mark Slobin (1993) noted that, “music is a good way to imagine they are somewhere else” (p. 46). He also reported that one study of suburban Catholics revealed strong Irish, Italian, and Slovenian identities, even though these groups had intermarried for many generations. For Mary Waters, who conducted the study, it demonstrated the “dichotomous demands of American society” to be both an individual and part of a community (as cited in Slobin, 1993, p. 52). Similarly, Paul Austerlitz (2000) reported that he decided to study Finland as an ethnographer both to find out about his own Finnish background and to answer the countless questions he had received from acquaintances who had assumed he already had done so. Clearly, despite America's individualistic culture, there is also a culture of being part of, and conscious of, an ethnic community even when one's ethnicity is not easily determined or when an individual relates to multiple cultures.

A clear connection with one's ethnicity has been severed, for many people, by
modern flows of goods and people. Nevertheless, American culture still emphasizes awareness of one's background that goes deeper than simply being “American.”

Connection to “authentic” traditional cultures, whether or not they are “truly” one's own, helps to provide this sense of connection that modern reality otherwise makes too difficult to do.

*The Desire for the Exotic*

As was mentioned earlier, cosmopolitan culture includes a desire to explore diversity, to experience other cultures. Such experiences increase the distance between the place of the consumer and what is consumed: not only are the two physically distant, there is also a perceived difference in time. “Authentic” culture is based on traditions, and therefore is old. Taken together, both the spatially distant and the temporally distant provide the most exotic experience, the experience most different from what is everyday occurrence.

This desire for the temporally distant has been often noted. Canclini (1995) wrote that there is a desire of the modern for the primitive, and that there is a perception of innocence surrounding the primitive that attracts high culture. However, Canclini failed to fully explain why such desires exist in the first place. As has been noted earlier, he argued that traditionalism is desired by the modern because modernity fails to replace all that traditions provide, and because traditions can generate a shared sense of national identity, which was extremely important to modernization in Latin America at the time of his writing. However, the draw that a perception of innocence around traditional culture
(viewed as primitive) has is not explained. Why this might be is more understandable if we take the view that “the modern” sees “the primitive” as the polar opposite of the self. If the modern is seen as corrupted, then the primitive is innocent, and this makes “the primitive” all the more exotic.

Edward Said (2002) also noted the desire for the exotic. In his criticism of the power inherent in discourses about “the Orient” created by “the West,” he writes that the idea of “the Orient” was created in part to provide for a desire for the exotic in Western culture. Again, we see opposing pairs formed: “the West” is contrasted by “the Orient,” and Said has attributed this opposition to the closeness of Europe to the Middle East (“the Orient”) - the self is defined by the other, and Orientalism existed because Europeans could recognize major differences between their culture and another that were intriguing, though unknown and inaccurately portrayed.

This desire for the exotic continues despite increased awareness that the exotic is not so different as we might expect. Berger and Luckmann (1966) wrote that misinformation continues because typification of those with whom we interact is natural – it allows the classification that helps humans navigate a wide variety of social settings – but when typifications are at a distance (“anonymous”) there is no need to correct the misinformation. Therefore, as long as the exotic does not become well known, it remains exotic despite the realization that the typification may not be completely accurate. In fact, an ethnomusicologist who knew better still went to Finland in the hopes of finding a primitive Finnish “tradition-bearer” to learn from, only to find that those bearing the
traditions he sought were fellow ethnomusicologists (Austerlitz, 2000). It is the ideas about the culture, not the experienced, on the ground reality within the culture, that matters in the minds of cosmopolitan populations making claims to authenticity.

Cosmopolitans desire the exotic. Part of cosmopolitan culture is the celebration of difference, and “authentic” traditional culture is exotic in its primitiveness (distance in time), as well as in the differences inherent in the contrasts between cultures (distance in space). If the desire for the exotic is taken for granted, then the desire for “authentic” traditional music may be accepted as desire for the exotic because it is distant in time, and because it is spatially distant. An acknowledgedly hybrid form would be less distant because the local culture is readily visible. Claims to authenticity continue even when cosmopolitan populations should know better because the distance allows for anonymous typifications which make classification of other people faster and easier, and to change such typifications takes time and frequent interaction.

**Why Cultural Organizations Make Claims of Authenticity**

*What are Cultural Organizations?*

Cultural organizations consist of the music industry, government-related organizations like the Smithsonian or state parks, profit and non-profit concerts and festivals, or organizations that seek to promote a certain culture (such as a Scottish Historical Society). While “cultural institutions” is more frequently used to refer to such organizations, “institutions” is used by Berger and Luckmann (1966) and a number of other scholars to mean the formal and informal rules people create in their interactions
with each other, and so “cultural organizations” will be used here.

Cultural organizations are both their own entities and an amalgam of individuals with their own motivations. Artists sometimes choose to go in a different direction than what would be most profitable for the label, and sometimes the label allows them to or cannot stop them from doing so (Greenwald, 2003). Keith Negus (1999) observed that the major labels are not as hierarchical as critics often assume, and that individual employees are allowed some flexibility in their decision making. However, in a later chapter in the same book he also said the culture different organizations have seems to go beyond the sum of its employees. Cultural organizations are entities in their own rights, entities that go beyond just those people who make it up.

**The Lucrativeness of “Authentic” Culture**

The primary, but not only, reason cultural organizations make claims to authenticity is that it is profitable to do so. Of the cultural organizations, it is the music industry that most obviously profits from authentic culture, but the tourist industry also profits when it makes claims to authenticity by manufacturing experiences for tourists that match their expectations rather than the reality of the culture. As Beck (2006) wrote, “the glitter of cultural difference sells well” (p. 41). There is money to be made here, and so there is an industry. Keith Negus (1999) argued that those genres that do not sell will not continue to be produced; if the music industry is making it, it is successful enough to make it worth their while.

Cultural organizations have been heavily criticized for their profit-making, which
has been thought to ruin, corrupt, and otherwise change the end-product. Alan Lomax (cited in Lomax and Cohen, 2003) said at a folklorist's convention, “We have seen the profit-motivated society smashing and devouring and destroying complex cultural systems which have taken almost the entire effort of mankind over many thousands of years to create” (p. 115). While this statement is extreme, and has been countered by scholars like Cowen (1998) who argue that economic incentives are good for creativity, it demonstrates the view cosmopolitan populations (like Lomax, who was a well-educated folklorist who traveled the world documenting traditional cultures) have of cultural organizations. Negus (1999) also acknowledged that often the music industry is seen to have a hand in homogenizing a genre, but he adds that when a genre becomes predictable, the fans and artists – not just the industry – should question the part they played. There is a complex interaction between the drive for profit and the consumers that provide the profit.

Theodor Adorno, an early 20th century scholar who incorporated elements of Marxism into his critiques and whose work is still grappled with frequently within cultural studies though it is almost always refuted, was a major proponent of the argument that the music industry only acts to make a profit (Middleton, 1990). Writing within the context of Tin Pan Alley, he said that popular (meaning not art or “classical”) music was standardized and that what seemed to be difference was merely “pseudo-individualization” that was not meaningful. This let the music industry maximize its profits by fueling demand: the songs were interesting enough that people listened to them,
but not interesting enough that they were happy with the current selection (Middleton, 1990; Adorno and Simpson, 2000). While Adorno was writing about Tin Pan Alley, and not the world music industry of the present day, and even though his vitriols were extreme and too inclusive (because profit is not the only motivating factor), his basic insistence that capitalist systems create profit-driven music industries is still circulated.

The theory that the music industry is devoted purely to profit is furthered by the sheer size of the labels and their market dominance. Lessig lamented in 2004 that the “big five” recording labels – Universal Music Group, BMG, Sony Music Entertainment, Warner Music Group, and EMI – controlled almost 85% of the music market in the United States, and this concentration has assuredly increased with the merger of Sony and BMG. Lessig argued that this concentration increases the drive for profits through competition among what are now the Big Four, leading to a decrease in flexibility (and therefore creativity) within each company's subsections. However, it is too simplistic to say that the music industry as a whole is purely profit-motivated. As the cofounder of one independent label (which might, like many other independent labels, have had to rely on one of the “big five” to handle its distribution), said, “Look, if I was trying to market music, I would have chosen rap” (Greenwald, 2003, p. 118-119). However, the same author notes that the head of another independent label, Rich Egan, freely admitted profit was his driving motivation (Greenwald, 2003). Even though the music industry is heavily concentrated, music production covers a far broader range of genres and forms than what was recorded and distributed nationwide in Adorno’s time, and while world music is
profitable, it is not as profitable as—for instance—rap.

There is a world music market whose constituents desire authenticity. Roy Shuker (2001) did not directly identify cosmopolitan populations as the consumers of world music, but he did identify them indirectly. He wrote that world music is favored by the middle class, usually those in their 30s and 40s. This is not a tiny niche of the market, even though youth once heavily dominated and still are thought to dominate the music market—42% of music is now purchased by those over thirty in the United States. He also observed that beginning in the late teen years, many desire genres that are outside of the top 40 charts. He added that at the same time as the shift to the less popular occurs, there is also a shift toward a more diverse playlist. This taste for more diversity further develops as one reaches full adulthood, and he noted about those in their 30s and 40s: “their tastes in music often become more open to exploring new genres and less commercial forms of popular music” (Shuker, 2001, p. 200). While this is by no means true of all adults, it is true of those who adhere to world music. Shuker did not specify what differentiates world music fans from those who choose to listen more to the music of their youth, but the middle class adult interested in exploring the new and different is remarkably similar to the cosmopolitan populations identified earlier, and this group does create a market for world music which will pay for the authentic, thereby giving incentive for its creation.

Authenticity was particularly important in the early years of the world music industry; while today much of what is classified as world music is notably fusion, the
authentic was essential in the early years of the industry, and is still desired today. There was desire for authentic world music before there was an industry to sell it. Mark Slobin (1993) wrote that desire for world music started from the grass roots and was fueled by a few dynamic performers, then quickly adds, “though the industry was, as usual, adroit in co-opting the trend” (p. 63). Stephen Feld (2001) agreed with Slobin that the world music industry was a grass roots trend before it was actually an industry, but he identified the grass roots as nationalist, anti-colonial, and independence movements of the 1960s and 1970s, which, “fueled this marketplace creation of and commercial desire for authentic (and often nostalgic) musical elsewheres” (p. 148). The authenticity of these “musical elsewheres” is for Feld their lack of hybridity. He wrote, “If these recordings had much in common it was often their politics of representation. They were frequently depictions of a world where the audibility of intercultural influences was mixed down or muted” (p. 148). In other words, as soon as the industry began, there were claims to authenticity made by the purposeful elimination of the appearance of hybridity, and this purposeful elimination was done because it was profitable to do so, since that is what the market wanted. Cosmopolitan populations and nationalist movements experienced a desire for “authentic” traditional music, and cultural organizations met it. However, the nationalist and other movements Feld cited as the originators of the trend are not the focus for this discussion. Though they influenced the early experiences of “authentic” world music, the focus here is on the use of world music by those in the United States who are not members of the culture where the tradition originated, and on the more recent
manifestations of the world music industry.

Tourist industries also make claims to cultural authenticity because such claims draw consumers (who often want authentic musical experiences). Canclini (1995) noted that Tiajuana brings in elements of traditional culture that never really were present in Tiajuana to cater to a “myth that North Americans bring with them, that it has something to do with crossing the border into the past, into the wilderness, into the idea of being able to ride horseback” (p. 236). The “authentic,” as it is perceived by North American tourists, is recreated and sold back to them when they visit Tiajuana. While Canclini did not elaborate on this concept beyond his example, it is evident in many other places. Mark Mattern (1998) has noted the same phenomenon within North America, where Cajun people provide “authentic” experiences for tourists (incidentally, by pursuing tourist markets they no longer follow the fishing and agricultural labor of their parents and grandparents). Tourists come with a desire for the authentic and particular ideas about what is and is not authentic, and many locals provide just such an experience for them and reap the profits.

*Cultural Institutions Make Claims to Authenticity Because Other Groups Want Them To*

Why does the Smithsonian or state parks promote authentic culture? In some ways, this feeds into the government's idea of national identity – the United State's motto is *e pluribus unum*, and its nationalism similarly emphasizes both the many and a single identity formed by the “melting pot” of the many (Hollinger, 1995). Multiple traditions are celebrated in their “authentic” form to emphasize the difference between the cultures
that went into the United State's formation, and claims to authenticity are made by groups the government controls to further a celebration of American culture as the government (as an organization) would like it to be perceived.

States often tie traditional music to a sense of national identity, and will therefore promote a certain tradition as “authentic.” Governments frequently support folk music through funding and a variety of other means. Folk music is often taught in schools, although sometimes this can lessen its appeal as a popular music form. Because of its role in national identity, it has also been used in association with a certain kind of politics, again raising the possibility that the appeal as a popular music form will be lessened (Austerlitz, 2000). Similar usage of claims to authenticity in part to further the goal of an organization or a particular perception of a national identity will also be seen in the case studies that follow, especially in regards to Celtic music and organizations like *Comhaltas* that work to spread or preserve it.

There are reasons beyond profit that cultural organizations make claims to authenticity, though profit seems to be the primary factor. As Shuker (2001) wrote, “The recording industry is seen as a cultural industry, in which cultural meanings are constrained by economics, but not entirely so” (p. 28). Shuker's “not entirely so” can be applied to cultural organizations in general to address the space for other motivations – the personal goals of employees, mentioned in the previous section, or the nationalism addressed here. Another motivating factor, more mundane than these, is simply because it makes life easier to talk about authentic traditional music than it is to market a complexly
hybrid form.

“Authentic” is Easy to Define and Easy to Market

The third reason cultural organizations in general make claims to authenticity is because “authentic” traditional culture is easily recognizable and helps communicate to audiences or listeners what they should expect to find. Shuker (2001) asserted that, “While the cohesion of their 'common' musical signatures is frequently exaggerated, local sounds provide marketing possibilities by providing a 'brand name' which consumers can identify with” (p. 210). The “their” to which he is referring is rock sounds originating in various parts of the U.K., but the insight applies equally to world music, which is almost always branded by location when claims to authenticity are made. Keith Negus (1999) further added to this claim in his text on the music industry, where he noted that such corporations strongly prefer clear-cut genres even though reality is often complex. It is easier to market “authentic” folk music than it is to market hybrid experiences of folk music.

The Smithsonian folkways recordings, a rich repository of musical cultures from all over the world, does just this. Their albums are labeled by ethnicity or locale (or both, such as their album “Irish Music in London Pubs”), but the identities of the musicians themselves are sometimes left anonymous, especially when the recordings emphasize primitiveness, for example “African Flutes (Gambia)” recognize the artists by ethnicity, gender, and instrument, but not by name. Many others will name the musicians as an ensemble, but not as individuals (Smithsonian Folkways, 2008). To their credit, this is not
true of all of their albums, though it is enough of a trend to indicate that more thought is
given to the “authenticity” based on origin rather than individual artistry.

Conclusions

Previous Research is Missing a Holistic Picture:

None of the scholars fully considered the motivations of both groups making
claims to authenticity, and as big questions involving many actors and many cultures are
being asked, there is a need for more big picture studies. Canclini (1995) said that to
develop a complete picture for large questions, like the one he asks about how we can
understand and overcome the disjointed place Latin America has between modern and
traditional, we must take an interdisciplinary approach. This study is just such an attempt.
Ideas about cosmopolitan populations, identity, ethnicity, hybridity, and the use of
traditional culture were assembled and analyzed to find that cosmopolitan populations
make claims to authenticity for a number of reasons. These include a desire for
rootedness that is a reaction to modernity, as is the desire to connect to an ethnic identity,
which is both a reaction to the difficulty in doing so for many people and to the “melting
pot” element of American culture. Such populations also have a desire to experience the
exotic. While literature does not fully explain why such a desire is there, this desire itself
is part of the definition of cosmopolitanism which Hollinger (1995) provided. I suggest
that claims to authenticity are important to the desire for the exotic because the
“authentic” here is more exotic than a hybrid because it is more distant in both space and
time than a hybrid that mixes older forms with newer, locally available ones. Cultural studies and popular music studies frequently critique the music industry for creating a market, and these critiques suggest that part of the reason for which cultural organizations make claims to authenticity is profit. However, this seems too simplistic an explanation, especially given more recent analysis which emphasizes that cultural organizations are made up of individuals who are themselves situated in culture. If authentic culture is valued by these people, then this is another reason that cultural organizations make such claims. Moreover, industry is not the only institution to make such a claim. Governments have a stake in “authentic” culture because of ties to national identity. Finally, part of why authenticity seems to be claimed is simply because it makes classification easier. People are always classifying that which they come in contact with. The combination of these explanations about cultural organizations still heavily favors the for-profit motivation, but situates it in a more complex context than many cultural studies scholars provide.
CHAPTER THREE

Why Do Cosmopolitan Populations Make Claims of Cultural Authenticity?: A Case Study of Celtic Culture in the United States

This chapter will use Celtic music as a case study to examine the question asked of this thesis: why are claims to authenticity made about that which originated in another culture? Related to this are two other questions: who make such claims, and what do they look like? “Claims to authenticity” is used in this thesis to mean statements made with either words or symbols to indicate that a particular cultural object is perceived to be non-hybrid, the creation of a single culture without any outside influences (despite the incongruities with this assumption that arise because when the object crosses borders it is then experienced by someone with a completely different cultural framework and is therefore hybrid). The two groups that are found to make claims to authenticity are cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations. Cosmopolitan populations are those who have what Beck (2006) called the “globalization of emotions” (p. 5), and who have a multifaceted identity which privileges global identity over a purely national identity. Cultural organizations are those organizations that promote and spread culture, and include the music industry, festivals, publications, societies, and sometimes national governments. The previous chapter posited that cosmopolitan populations make claims to authenticity in order to fill the chasm Canclini (1995) observed that modernity creates through its disruption of communities and traditional modes of production, specifically they desire to connect themselves to an ethnic identity and earlier ways of life, as well as to experience the exotic. Cultural organizations, it was argued, primarily make claims in
order to draw their cosmopolitan population audiences, but also for the simplicity of marketing “authentic” products, and because cosmopolitan populations often staff and help to steer such organizations.

Celtic music is associated with cosmopolitan populations – with white, middle classes who also enjoy classical music and who talk longingly of past and future travels to Ireland over Thai food. Therefore, this chapter will examine claims to authenticity about Celtic music, and will conclude that though both cultural organizations and cosmopolitan populations make and spread claims to authenticity, this phenomenon is driven heavily by cosmopolitan populations.

What is Celtic? Celtic is a descriptive term used to describe the people and cultures of Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Brittany, and sometimes includes Cape Breton in Canada, and Nova Scotia in Canada. (Wells, 2007). “Celtic” has been more of a commercial than a scholarly descriptor, and it overlooks the differences between traditions within each of the different countries (Reiss, 2003). However, the term is useful because it allows us to discuss general characteristics common to a handful of cultures without focusing on one and ignoring the others. In the United States, Irish culture is most common and widespread, but since the others also have a presence, the more general term Celtic will be used unless Irish culture specifically is being discussed, but with the recognition that this term is a little simplistic.

This chapter will also focus on music, but since a culture's music is shaped by and wrapped up with other elements of its culture, and because those interested in Celtic
music also frequently interact with other elements of Celtic culture, the culture in general will be discussed as appropriate. As Joey Fitzpatrick (2002) wrote, “Music is certainly the great magnet to Celtic culture” (p. 15). Those who involve themselves in general Celtic culture often are drawn in by the music, and even those who come into it for other reasons cannot avoid its music.

This chapter begins with a historical context, which asks how cosmopolitan populations of the past viewed Celtic music, and shows that claims to authenticity were not made by such groups about Celtic music until the relatively recent past. Next, we ask what is considered “authentic” Celtic music and look at some of the claims made about it. Then, we look at audiences of Celtic music and find that scholars say they are cosmopolitan populations, after which we examine the motivations for making claims to authenticity and repeatedly find cosmopolitan populations pursuing authentic Celtic music. The first motivation is found to be a desire to connect to an ethnic heritage, which is easy for cosmopolitan populations to do with Celtic music because of the high levels of immigration from Celtic countries, especially Ireland, and their subsequent integration into the American upper and middle classes. The second motivation is a desire to connect to the past, which Celtic music provides through its lyrics and the communities that develop around its performance and learning (which cosmopolitan populations associate with the past, and have the leisure time and resources to be able to participate in). Finally, the use of Gaelic and bagpipes as well as the association of Celtic music with pagan mysticism lend Celtic music an exoticness tied to antiquity that further motivates
cosmopolitan populations to make claims to and desire its authenticity. Cultural organizations surrounding Celtic music include the music industry, volunteer-driven organizations developed to promote the culture, and other entities like university departments and music festivals. These organizations are often developed by and in line with cosmopolitan populations, and while there is a for-profit motivation, the desire of cosmopolitan populations predominates in claims to authenticity made about Celtic music in the United States.

The Development of Claims to Authenticity about Celtic Music by Cosmopolitan Populations

Cosmopolitan populations did not always make the kinds of claims to cultural authenticity that they do today. Celtic culture was largely ignored and criticized until the early years of the 20th century. Celtic tunes were often included among a variety of tunes published in songbooks, but were presented without their cultural context and were set to classical music. The value of Celtic music at this time was in pretty melodies, not in creating “authentic” cultural experiences. Some developments, such as Irish involvement in minstrelsy, the popularity of Irish tenors, and the greater integration of Celtic immigrants into U.S. culture, led to acceptance of Celtic culture. However, it was not until the 1960s and the folk revival, when musicians like Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Simon and Garfunkel, and others playing “folk” music became popular, that cosmopolitan populations started exploring Celtic culture and making claims to authenticity about it, as will be argued below.
There were several waves of Celtic immigration to the United States. Even before the American revolution, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh immigrants settled all over the United States. There were concentrations of certain groups in some places. For example, Scots who had fled religious or political persecution most commonly settled in the Southeastern United States. Before the large scale wave of Irish immigrants, Celtic tunes most often appeared among others with just a stripped down melody in songbooks targeted to amateur musicians in urban areas. These accompaniments were classical. Their inclusion in such songbooks probably stemmed from the popularity of comic operas, which often used traditional Irish and Scottish songs in a classical setting (Wells, 2007). It is important to note that, “This music constituted a layer of Irish influence in the emerging realm of American music, but it was Irish music as popular culture rather than oral tradition” (Wells, 2007, p. 29). Cosmopolitan populations enjoyed the tunes, but only when they were adapted into their own cultural contexts and became hybrids.

Later, Irish immigrants fleeing famine in Ireland came to the United States from the 1800s through 1929. They predominantly settled in urban areas, and strong communities formed in Boston and New York City. In the early 20th century, there was also a wave of Welsh immigrants who left Wales for the United States when the U.S. created a tin tax that decimated the Welsh tin industry but caused the U.S.’s to flourish so much that it needed a large influx of labor skilled in tin making (Blenner-Hassett, 1954). During this period, Celtic music came to be looked upon more favorably, but “authentic”
Celtic music still belonged almost entirely to those within Celtic culture. Preservation of Celtic music did not become popular even in Ireland until the very late 1800s, and until then the negative views of Irish traditions that the British held were frequently shared by the Irish themselves (Blenner-Hassett, 1954). Celtic culture was looked down on throughout the 1800s.

As time went on, Celtic music became increasingly incorporated in various forms of popular culture, but most often in exaggerated stereotyped forms. Minstrelsy, common from the 1840s through the 1900s, was largely popularized and performed by Irish immigrants. Minstrelsy performances sometimes included Irish tunes, as did the almost equally popular variety theater. In variety theater, stereotyped portrayals of Irishmen were common. At the same time, as well, exaggeratedly sentimental songs about “dear old Ireland” appeared both in variety theater and through performances of “Irish tenors.” These singers performed their songs, and also helped to write and popularize songs like “My Wild Irish Rose” and “When Irish Eyes Are Smiling” (Wells, 2007, p. 32). The popularity of minstrelsy, as well as the gradual integration of many pockets of Irish immigrants and their descendants into general society helped to begin undoing the negative associations Celtic culture was surrounded by. Although Celtic culture did not become truly popular until the 1990's, the 20th century saw its increasing acceptance.

**Early Claims: The Folk Revival, Cosmopolitan Populations, and Celtic Music**

There were several factors that led to the acceptance of Celtic culture and to claims about authenticity made by cosmopolitan populations, including the folk music
revival and the gradual transformation of Celtic immigrants into Americans. At first, traditional Celtic music recordings were made by musicians situated in Celtic cultures for those cultures. Irish communities in the United States were targeted as a market, and artists found to record for that market. For the most part, the artists were born in Ireland and immigrated to the United States, and these records were bought by those who had similarly immigrated. However, at least one was known to be of German descent, though it is not known if he achieved any popularity among Celtic (or German) communities. However, by the 1950s there no longer seemed to be any interest among Celtic communities as former immigrants increasingly turned to American popular music and became integrated into American culture (Wells, 2007). Cosmopolitan populations largely still ignored Celtic music, and by the 1950s it was ignored by the descendants of Celtic immigrants as well., who began to increasingly identify themselves as Americans.

However, during the 1960s and 1970s folk music became popular, especially among cosmopolitan populations. Bayard writes that at this time “devotees of classical music” - in other words, cosmopolitan populations – started seeking out traditional music and even began learning and performing it themselves (Goertzen, 1988, p. 125). The Clancy Brothers started to re-popularize Celtic music and to reach audiences outside of Celtic cultures. This was done with some subtle changes to their performance style that smoothed out their material for the cosmopolitan populations who were a major audience in the folk revival. They gave performances (as opposed to earlier practices where Celtic music was only used to accompany dancers), their performances were rehearsed and
polished, and they used carefully planned out harmonies. Wells (2007) asserted that, “All in all their delivery owed more to popular American folk groups...than it did to any precedents in Ireland” (p. 44). Nevertheless, they used Celtic tunes and their style created what we now think of as Celtic music. They also elevated Celtic music from dance accompaniment to music that should be listened to in its own right.

During the folk music revival, fans of folk styles sought out multiple traditions of music to sample. Many people who knew they had Irish ancestry with knowledge of some Irish heritage found Celtic music. By the 1970s, Celtic music was fairly popular (Wells, 2007). This popularity was accompanied by greater acceptance (Goertzen, 1988). Now, Celtic music is well received by cosmopolitan populations, and they want “authentic” experiences of it. The popularity of Celtic music in the United States is part of a larger revival of Celtic traditions brought about by reasons previously mentioned, but given especial strength in the 1990s because of the popularity of Riverdance, Braveheart, and the ability of some traditional music groups to achieve notice of the mass media. One author noted that within this Celtic revival, fiddle, dance, and other musical representations are the most widespread (Newton, n.d.). Celtic pubs are found in large numbers throughout the United States (Rains, 2007). Some of these pubs double as places for people to gather for Irish jam sessions, and the dozens of Celtic festivals held each year across the United States offer another venue for people to create and experience “authentic” Celtic culture (Wells, 2007). As an example of the extent and popularity of Celtic music in the United States, Wells included a list of only some of the best known
and best attended Celtic festivals with significant traditional music (which he differs from “Celtic rock” and “pop-oriented” music) held each year. This “small sampling” includes 11 festivals in locations as widespread as Anchorage, Alaska and Buffalo, New York

(Wells, 2007, p. 27).

**What is “Authentic” Celtic Music?**

This section examines what various actors say authentic Celtic music is, and then will ask what claims to authenticity are made about it and by whom. While there is some debate, authentic music is seen to have a certain instrumentation and style, and while many argue that Celtic music is authentic when created outside of Celtic countries, a performer born into one seems to have an extra degree of authenticity. It is cosmopolitan populations – middle classes with leisure time and often the means and desire to travel – who are Celtic music's audience, and both they and cultural organizations make claims to authenticity.

Celtic music, as described by Julie Lyonn Lieberman (1999), who plays a variety of folk styles on the fiddle and has written a book on learning them each, varies depending on the region from which it comes, but there are several common features. Celtic tunes are sometimes ballads or airs, but are usually dance tunes, most commonly jigs, reels, hornpipes, and polkas. They all can be broken into a first and second section, each of which repeats itself once before moving on (the “AABB” format). They are often played in groups of at least three, and are played with a given repertoire of

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1 The cities are as follows: Anchorage, Alaska; East Durham, NY; Milwaukee, WI; Dallas, TX; Savannah, GA; Kansas City, MO; Buffalo, NY; Littleton, CO; Cleveland, OH; Carbondale, IL; Eugene, OR (Wells, 2007, p. 27)
ornamentation. The ornamentation is important to the style, and skillful and frequent use of ornamentation separates a beginning musician from an accomplished one. James Kelly (cited in Lieberman, 1999) wrote that, “It is the variety of ornamentation and use of variation; the roll, the triplet, the rhythm of the bow, that makes Irish traditional fiddle music so unique” (p. 67).

Music from Celtic countries is often assumed to be “authentic,” but music created elsewhere is sometimes considered authentic as well. Graham, writing about Ireland, says that past ideas about what is and is not authentic have been challenged by the spread of Irish culture all over the world, and that the United States is not only a consumer of “authentic” Irish culture (including music, though Graham's description goes broader), but also produces it (Graham, 1999). On the other hand, Stephanie Rains (2007), an Irish cultural studies scholar, wrote that Americans must purchase authentic Celtic culture (including music, which she earlier references as a vital piece of Celtic culture) because they are too distant from the culture's origination to get it any other way. Her statement is in direct contrast to Graham's, and they illustrate the larger debate over whether or not claims to authenticity should be made about Celtic music whose performers learned their craft outside of a Celtic country.

There also seems to be a recognition that there are symbolic representations of authenticity, but that some representations are more “authentic” than others. One event's authenticity was contrasted with “trumped up television imitations” (Buckley, 2006 p. 4). Another author wrote, “Not to burst your blarney bubble, but green beer is not Irish”
(Scott, 2005, p. 25). While green beer is connected to representations of Irish traditional culture in general and not music specifically, both authors were promoting “authentic” Celtic traditional music performances. These examples serve to indicate that there are some representations perceived to be inauthentic by those who would like to be knowledgeable about the culture in question (and who believe others less knowledgeable consider authentic representations).

These conceptions and debates about what is and is not Celtic music are illustrated in Table 3.1 below. In this table, those making claims to authenticity (or said to be making them by others) are in the left column and the claims made are in the right.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Claim to Authenticity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>newspaper contributor (from a medium-sized town in Ohio)</td>
<td>band from Ireland (Dervish) is authentic, their home county and history playing jam sessions in pubs is emphasized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>journalist</td>
<td>green beer is inauthentic: “Catch some authentic Celtic spirit before the green beer shows up in a few weeks”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jam session attendees</td>
<td>said to use “authentic” traditional instruments, and the sessions are “genuine and heartfelt”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cultural studies scholar</td>
<td>products from Ireland are authentic, though “authentic” products may be purchased in the United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musician, trained in classical music now plays Appalachian and Celtic folk music</td>
<td>her style/technique is said to be authentic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>various newspaper contributors</td>
<td>many seem to use “authentic” to mean traditional Celtic music (as opposed to Celtic punk or rock)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Simmons, 2008; Cauley, 2007, p. 2JN; Foose, 2006, p. E1; Rains, 2007; Sanchez, 2006

As is shown above, two justifications for making a claim to authenticity seem to stand out: first, learning Celtic music in a Celtic country and, second, having a particular
style or manner of playing that matches what people consider to be authentic. Inauthentic representations are also included. While none of the examples in the chart above included representations that lent authenticity, one such example is a flyer that was available to download from the website of a Virginia Celtic festival. This flyer claimed the festival would offer “authentic” fun, and contained a paper doll. The clothing provided for the doll included common representations of Celtic culture: Guinness beer, Irish whiskey, a kilt, bagpipes, and a bodhran (a kind of Irish drum) (SFVA, 2008). The claim to authenticity was supported by these representations.

While most of those making claims to authenticity in the chart above were journalists – since they are the ones describing events with Celtic music to the public – Celtic music's audience is cosmopolitan populations. The journalists might be part of the cosmopolitan population, given that some higher education and an interest in events outside ones immediate surroundings are prerequisites for such a career, but they are also part of cultural organizations making claims about Celtic music to entice an audience, and now we must ask who that audience is and why they make such claims.

**Cosmopolitan Populations are Celtic Music's Audience in the United States**

Pursuit of authentic Celtic culture is a cosmopolitan activity. Stokes and Bohlman (2003) have emphasized the leisure time and often the travel resources required to learn to play in the Celtic style and to attend festivals where Celtic culture is experienced, learned, and shared. The presence of cosmopolitan populations in American Celtic culture is more specifically highlighted later on when they write that the popularity of
Celtic culture is facilitated by “the leisured consumption of 'culture,' tourism, electronic media” (p. 7-8). All of these are tools available primarily to cosmopolitan populations, and this group is who these authors consider the audience for Celtic music to be.

The rest of this section reiterates the involvement of cosmopolitan populations as a primary audience for Celtic music, asserts that they make claims to authenticity, and asks why cosmopolitan populations make these claims – why does it matter if a tune one likes is authentic or not? It is found that there are three primary motivations: a desire to connect to an ethnic heritage, to the past, and to the exotic. While many of the scholars examined emphasized why Celtic culture is the object of attention for cosmopolitan populations, its need to be authentic seems to be assumed and is not usually discussed. However, the need to authenticity in many ways follows from the motivations. If one wants to connect to a family heritage or to the past, then the interest is in the preservation and continuation of activities from the past. If you want to do play or listen to the same music your ancestors did, then authenticity is important. If you want to continue an “ancient” tradition, then you will want to continue it unchanged, authentically. Claims to authenticity are an important part of the explanations that follow, even though those positing the motivations do not always specify authenticity as the vital prerequisite for the motivating factor.

The last chapter argued that cosmopolitan populations make claims to authenticity because they want to connect to an ethnic identity. Celtic heritage is easy for cosmopolitan populations to claim, and it meets the desire to connect to an ethnic identity.
In an essay on Celtic identity in the United States titled “Gaelicer Than Thou,” (which hints at the eliticism surrounding having more Celtic heritage, an eliticism it was argued is part of cosmopolitan culture in Chapter Two) Timothy D. Taylor (2003) wrote that Celtic heritage is broad enough in the United States that it is easy for those within what he terms “European-American” culture to claim such a heritage. Taylor also noted that for these European Americans, claiming Celtic heritage is a means of celebrating a culture they can claim in a culture where the minorities European-Americans once suppressed are now able to explore their heritages. He added, “So the presence of racial and ethnic minorities proclaiming and celebrating their heritage makes the members of the dominant culture feel as if they have no ethnicity, no way of identifying themselves” (p. 276). By claiming Celtic heritage and thereby exploring its music and other elements of its culture, cosmopolitan populations can better develop a sense of identity. Fitzpatrick (2002) quoted an American student of Irish culture who said, “My mind and my heart are American, but my soul is Irish. I wanted to find out more about my ancestors – who they were and where they came from – because that tells me a lot about who I am” (p. 17). For Taylor, cosmopolitan populations – which he termed “European-Americans” while speaking of the middle and upper classes living in suburban and urban areas – claim Celtic heritage for two reasons. First, because they live in a culture where heritage is celebrated but lack a distinct heritage of their own, and second, because they can make such a claim since Irish immigrants were so numerous and became integrated into cosmopolitan society.

Rains (2007) is in agreement with Taylor's view that Celtic heritage is claimed
because the broader American culture values ethnic identities, and because the Irish had such a large presence that now many can choose to claim an Irish heritage. She found that the novel and later screen adaptation of *Roots* sparked an interest in heritage that led to the creation of similar works on Irish ancestry. Without such interest or the interest generated from other elements of American culture, many who claim to be Irish-American would simply claim to be American. She also supported Taylor's view that Irish is an easy heritage for many to claim by writing that white Americans are free to choose their ethnic identity, since they are not accompanied by the same suppositions that surround those of most other backgrounds. She then referenced Richard Alba to write that Irish-American identity is particularly easy to claim because Irish immigrants so thoroughly mixed in with the general culture. Even where no Irish heritage is known to exist for a white American, it can be claimed because of the high probability that at least one ancestor married someone of Irish descent. In fact, while Rains sometimes alluded to the interest in Irish culture among those without Irish heritage, she never dealt with them specifically. It seems this is because her definition of Irish-American is so broad that it certainly includes those with only the loosest of claims to Irish heritage, and likely includes those whose heritage is no more than a desire to be Irish.

Others will claim an affinity to Irish culture simply because they want to, because it is a culture with which they personally identify (see, for instance, Youtube comments for The Chieftains' videos). In the acknowledgement of the book he helped to edit, Philip V. Bohlman (2003), whom we place in the cosmopolitan population by virtue of the fact
that he edited a book titled *Celtic Modern: Music at the Global Fringe* (thereby demonstrating his adherence to the global awareness Beck defines as cosmopolitan), wrote, “There are more than a few Bohlmans who would like to think the name is Irish. It's not, but that has never prevented Celtic music from serving the family as wish fulfillment” (p. vii). He followed this statement with reference to his sibling's and children's attendance at Celtic festivals and mastery of fiddle styles of which Celtic is but one (Stokes and Bohlman, 2003). As Bohlman demonstrates, even for those who are not Irish, Irish identity is available as “wish fulfillment,” to be claimed irregardless of actual ancestry, and this claim went along with the family's involvement in Celtic music.

Newton (n.d.), too, emphasized that there is a correlation between those who claim Irish heritage, and those who explore its culture, and that such explorations – even if they focus on language or history – always include a foray into Celtic music. In summary, Celtic music is a prime vehicle for claims to an ethnic affiliation with that music because real Celtic heritage, however minute, is often available to cosmopolitan populations. While it is not clear whether cosmopolitan populations first claim Celtic heritage then seek out Celtic music or whether they explore Celtic music then seek out Celtic heritage (though I would posit that both occur), we have seen, especially with the illustration provided by Stokes and Bohlman, that claims to Celtic heritage go hand in hand with an exploration of Celtic culture, especially its music.

Celtic culture provides the connection to the past that cosmopolitan populations desire as a contrast to modern life. Fitzpatrick (2002) wrote that the popularity of Celtic
culture stems from, “a growing dissatisfaction with a shallow and homogenous popular culture. They're looking to the culture of their grandparents” (p. 15). Similarly, Stokes and Bohlman (2003) wrote that with Celtic culture, “New forms of ceremonial continually come into play, shaped decisively by the modern world...but appealing to a deep past” (p. 7-8). Celtic music is experienced by modern people through modern means, but this does not negate the connection to the past that it provides.

This appeal, and the contrast between modern life and the past, is also brought out by other elements within Celtic culture (often reflected in music), like a closeness to nature and a proclivity towards story-telling. Celtic music itself connects the listener to the past through themes about rural life and nostalgia for home. This results in what Newton called an aura of “the past” that surrounds how Celtic music is imagined by cosmopolitan populations in the United States. This connection may be more apparent with Celtic music because the lyrics are often – but not always – in English, and therefore more easily understood than songs from traditions that are not English-speaking. Celtic music allows cosmopolitan populations to sing about and listen to past, rural experiences.

There is also a sense of community that develops from how Celtic music is performed (whether through inclusive jam sessions or the sing-a-longs that often develop in concert settings) or in the interaction of musicians at festivals and contests, and this sense of community creates a link to the past. Community is perceived by cosmopolitan populations as an element of tradition that is lost in the modern world. Taylor (2003) asserted that the upper classes (many of which are included in cosmopolitan populations)
want the experiences of community provided in lower-class and ethnic minority groups, and that Celtic music provides this community. Scott Reiss (2003) suggested that the community of Celtic music centers on (an imaginary) place, and that, “its 'place' invokes authenticity, heritage, and history” (p. 163). The sense of community itself connects to the past, and the sense of community in Celtic music is particularly tied to ideas about a rural home that also provides a connection to the past. Tied to both of these is “authenticity” - by participating in communal preservation of past values and experiences through the playing of music, one is playing and experiencing authentically since one's present experience is simply a continuation of what has been.

Rains (2007) argued that one way in which people connect to the past with Celtic music is, after claiming some Irish ethnicity, to travel to Ireland. This reinforces their claims to Irish ethnicity, and allows them to purchase “heritage” pieces. These are traditional Irish goods like crystal, table linen, or wool sweaters that, while not actually past down from ancestors, are almost imagined to have been. They are a physical link to the past, made possible by the ease of travel to the “homeland.” While the importance of such heritage goods make up the majority of her argument, she writes that an essential part of these visits is an evening (or every evening) spent in an Irish pub listening to live traditional music, which is considered quintessentially authentic. The connection to the past here is made through the physical reality of goods similar to those one's ancestors might have passed down, and this physical link reinforces the connection between imagined past ancestral lives and the present, an important part of which is traditional,
authentic Irish music. It goes beyond connecting to an ethnic identity, and is instead a connection to a family history through the recreation of a past way of life, and music is an essential part of that. Visits to Ireland are the best way to do this because Ireland is seen as the “authentic” source of Irish culture, and is therefore where the most authentic experiences may be found. This view is supported elsewhere, as when Jasper Winn (2000) asserted, “For the traveler in Ireland, music is the key to understanding and to feeling the spirit of the Irish” (p. 134).

In Celtic music, we find cosmopolitan populations seeking out “authentic” folk music experiences for their exoticism. The previous chapter argued that exoticism is perhaps better understood as the ultimate distancing between past and present. The exotic is “primitive” and ancient. While Celtic music is European and therefore less culturally distant from modern cosmopolitan populations in the United States than other traditions now available, it is exotic in its antiquity and in the pagan mysticism many associate with it.

Antiquity is said to be found in Celtic music through bagpipes and through the use of Gaelic. Reiss (2003) wrote that these two elements make Celtic music exotic. For him, the bagpipes are exotic because of the connection they have with rural ways of life. The connection between bagpipes and rural lifestyles was not elaborated on, and his tie between the two is unclear. They are, however, certainly unlike most other instruments – especially those popular in other European traditions – so their exoticism may also be tied to their uniqueness. Again, the music is authentic because it comes out of the past, and
the antiquity which gives it exoticism also lends authenticity.

Reiss also wrote that the use of Gaelic is exotic because it invokes a sense of great antiquity. Gaelic is the “ancient” tongue of Ireland, virtually eradicated by British colonization and their portrayal of that language and its culture as backwards, a view adopted by speakers of Gaelic themselves which further added to the decline in its use. Now far more popular and used with some Irish tunes, Gaelic refers back to an age prior to the current one and prior to the years of colonization. For Reiss, this antiquity is so great that it invokes a sense of “timelessness”. It is timeless because its antiquity can not be traced to any particular starting point, and by leaving remembered history it also leaves imagined history and simply becomes before and outside of time.

The associations with paganism Celtic music holds also adds to its exoticness. Blenner-Hassett wrote even in 1954, long before the New Age trend that embraced Celtic paganism, that, “Celtic material brings one as close as one can get to the mind of pre-Christian northern Europe” (p. 12). Fitzpatrick (2002), writing more recently, also noticed the pre-Christian nature of Celtic music. His introduction to the draw of Celtic studies was, “The music. The language. The strange rituals of the Druids. The impish fun of an Irish wake” (p. 15). The use of the term “impish” perhaps implies that Ireland still has the remnants of its wilder, pagan past, and the use of the term “strange” to describe the “rituals” - not religion – of the Druids connotes exoticism. The idea that Celtic culture is connected to the “pre-Christian,” to use Blenner-Hassett's term, gives it great antiquity and an exotic mystique.
Cultural Organizations Also Make Claims

While most of the literature on Celtic music focuses on individual's roles, cultural organizations also claim cultural authenticity for their work. G. Honor Fagan (2002) said that the popularity of Irish culture worldwide is, “to a large extent, manufactured by the global cultural industry” (p. 137). Cultural organizations to some extent drive the demand for authentic Celtic music by manufacturing it for consumption. Who is manufacturing it and why? A sampling of cultural organizations, including the leading players, involved in the creation and spread of Celtic music is in Table 3.2 below. After examining these actors, we will posit that cultural organizations make claims to cultural authenticity about Celtic culture just as cosmopolitan populations do in part to cater to cosmopolitan populations as a profitable market, but largely because many of these organizations share the same values as cosmopolitan populations and are driven by the volunteer work of such individuals. The simplicity of the label “Celtic” may be an additional, albeit minor, factor.

Table 3.2 – Cultural Organizations Involved in Celtic Music

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Its Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Irish of Dayton (UID)</td>
<td>Association of individuals created to promote Irish culture and art in the region; one major activity is to provide support to a monthly Celtic music jam session</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaelic Storm, a U.S. Celtic band made up of Irish immigrants and Americans</td>
<td>Their most recent album was #1 on Billboard's world music charts, #25 on Billboard's independent album chart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dublin Ireland Pub Company</td>
<td>Provides pre-fabricated Irish pubs made to look authentic, but much is faux (for example, faux stone on the ceiling); one typical such pub cost US$1.2 million;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
such pubs frequently host traditional Irish music concerts and sessions

Francis O’Neill, The Dance Music of Ireland: O'Neill’s 1,001

O’Neill’s 1,001, published in the early 1900s, is considered “The Bible” of Irish tunes and is still in print

Celtophile, Celtic music label based in New York

A discount label whose catalog comes from its sister company, Green Linnet; 4 albums in the initial release sold approximately 150,000 each and made Billboard charts

Green Linnet, Celtic music label based in New York

Reportedly made US$4-$5 million in 1997; had 30% growth rate in the early 90s and 10% in the late 90s; supports the NPR show Thistle and Shamrock, which it uses to showcase some of its music

Comhaltas

Volunteer-driven association that promotes Irish music and language all over the world through local chapters that offer classes and jam sessions, and which support festivals

Mississippi River Celtic Music Festival

Formed because its creators were disappointed that many Celtic festivals were available on either coast, but less in the middle

Source: Foose, 2006, p. E1; Gaelic Storm, 2008; Walsh, 2000; Wells, 2007; DiCostanzo, 1997; Pesselnick, 2001a; Comhaltas, 2008; Johnson, 2002

These claims to authenticity are made by a variety of organizations, both for profit and non-profit. One of the more visible for-profit groups are Celtic pubs. Rains (2007) revealed that most of the “authenticity” in Irish pubs is mass produced and may be ordered from a catalog with purposefully antiquated furniture to match one of a handful of pub styles and accompanied by yellowed advertisements for often defunct brands or by black and white photographs, all brand new. This demonstrates a claim to cultural authenticity by reproducing Irish past for consumption in the present through modern commercial means. Such pubs claim authenticity and cosmopolitan populations
experience it as such, even though such experiences are hybrid and deliberately produced.

Green Linnet was founded by Wendy Newton after she traveled to Ireland in 1975 and decided to make Celtic music more widely available in the United States. Her reaction to Ireland was that, “What happened there was an experience that was so intense that it just brought my life to a stop...and I had to figure out how to keep that music near me” (Pesslenick, 2001, p. 1). She made a point of not interfering with the music of the label's artists, a tactic that kept many of the artists around. She has said, and artists agreed, that love of Celtic music was the driving force behind the label. However, as the label expanded she notes that she had to expand the initial vision of making music that she loved to making music that she liked and could find an audience for, and one of her major goals by 2001 was to increase sales (Pesselnick, 2001a).

Interestingly, several musicians who signed with Green Linnet, which is considered the largest American Celtic label, not only sued the company for lost royalties but also staged a protest concert. The concert, which included a giant inflatable rat to emphasize their protest against unfair labor practices, was held outside of Green Linnet's headquarters in Connecticut and drew approximately 100 people. Billboard, which had a write up of the protest, wrote that its executives could not recall any other instance of musicians holding a concert to contest royalties. A closing statement made by one of the artists, Joannie Madden (cited in Christman, 2003), demonstrated the conflation of for-profit motivations with other motivations more often shared by cosmopolitan populations: “In the beginning, Wendy's [the label's founder] heart was in the right place, but
somewhere she made a wrong turn” (p. 75).

While Celtic music is certainly not a mainstay of popular radio, several stations have shows that last an hour or two dedicated to Celtic music. One such is NPR's Thistle and Shamrock, which runs every week and is supported by Borders Books and Music and Green Linnet. Another is “A Thousand Welcomes” on WFUV in New York City, and it regularly airs new traditional Celtic music, and there are a handful of similar shows throughout the United States (Pesselnick, 2001b).

The label “Celtic” bands together much music that is similar, but by no means the same. It is also marketed as “world music,” a conscious choice that has helped the form reach a larger audience and which lends expectations of Otherness and traditionality. Reiss has argued that, “The world music industry then conflates styles to make many musics fit into one bin (Celtic music) in the record store” (p.162). The term “Celtic” is a convenient way of describing music from many different places, which is Reiss's primary point, but also different styles and variations from each of those places (and the variants of sub-places). While it does not necessarily follow that “authentic Celtic” is the result of this lumping together, it highlights the diversity and hybridity within Celtic music that is masked, even by those seeking “authentic” experiences of it. It also follows that the label “authentic” does help to distinguish products within the Celtic bin – separating, for example a New Age-Celtic album from one playing traditional tunes on instruments accepted as traditional. Vallely (2003) wrote that “world music” was a term chosen to help a small group of folk labels market their music:

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In September 1986 a group of ten International-Folk record-label owners met in the Empress of Prussia bar in North London. They were discussing artist promotion and the development of public interest in nonmainstream musics. This led to consider standardization of terminology. Joe Boyd...proposed pooling £100 each to promote one term by which they could market all of their products. The term was *World Music* (p. 209).

It was the music industry which decided to name “world music” such, and which included Celtic music (but not, for instance, bluegrass) under this term. World music was a label of convenience. As with the term Celtic, claims to authenticity may help differentiate world music albums from each other without resorting to the full complexity of the history and waves of hybridity that go into each piece.

Less profit-oriented cultural organizations also make claims to cultural authenticity about Celtic culture. The societies that helped to revive Irish folk music did so, one scholar writes, for “mixtures of nationalistic, historical, artistic, and even touristic reasons” (Goertzen, 1988, p. 127). Both nationalism and the promotion of tourism were given in the last chapter as motivations for cultural organizations to make claims to cultural authenticity beyond profit-seeking. However, monetary gains remain a motivation, even for non-business organizations. Many Celtic departments at universities are formed when they receive funding, then provide activities and publications that cater to and attract funders, but slip into obscurity after such donations dry up. Societies promoting Celtic culture seek to create events people will attend to maintain funding and
visibility (Mahoney, 2007). Claims to cultural authenticity are made by cultural organizations about Celtic music for a variety of reasons, including national pride, historic preservation, and artistic value, but also to attract cosmopolitan audiences and their financial resources.

Conclusions

Celtic music has a fair following in the United States, especially among cosmopolitan populations. As evidenced by the frequency of the description “authentic” to such music, especially in newspaper write-ups advertising upcoming performances to draw crowds (of newspaper culture section readers), such populations value and make claims to cultural authenticity about such music. They do so because authentic Celtic music provides the best means to connect to an ethnic identity, to the past, and to experience the exotic, which have been shown to be desired by cosmopolitan populations. Cultural organizations, including artists, labels, and a host of organizations like Comhaltas and the United Irish of Dayton are also involved in the production of “authentic” Celtic music and further spread claims to authenticity. The driving force behind the claims to authenticity made are cosmopolitan populations. They did not desire authentic Celtic music until the folk revival in the 1960s, even though recordings of Irish performers that would be termed “authentic” today were widely available in the early 1900s. Instead, the unavoidably hybrid tunes of the Irish tenors like “Wild Irish Rose” or Irish folk tunes adapted for classical music were popular (and not considered or desired to be authentic). The folk revival inspired many within cosmopolitan populations to seek out
alternative folk musics, and it was after this that claims to authenticity began to be made and after this that the cultural organizations began to also make claims to authenticity. Cultural organizations, however, both facilitate and drive the desire for “authentic” Celtic music that cosmopolitan populations already have. As Fagan pointed out, the availability of Celtic music helps to push the demand for it. However, cosmopolitan populations are the predominant force and without their desire for authentic Celtic music, claims to authenticity would not be made at all and therefore I theorize that cosmopolitan populations are the predominant factor at a ratio of approximately two to one because, while cultural organizations help to drive demand, cosmopolitan populations help to drive cultural organizations and are therefore doubly involved in propelling claims to authenticity. In fact, cosmopolitan involvement in cultural organizations facilitates the availability of Celtic music. As the example of Green Linnet illustrates, such industries have multiple motivations, one of which is profit but others include a love of music and a desire to preserve tradition and culture. Similarly, the artists suing Green Linnet clearly placed their incomes at a high priority, but still emphasized the importance of other motivations, as evidenced by the comment that Green Linnet's founder's heart had been in the right place but was no longer. A high proportion that are volunteer organizations run by cosmopolitan populations, and even among those with paid staff, the presence of cosmopolitan populations and philosophies is strong as we see with Comhaltas. Claims to authenticity about Celtic music are primarily made by cosmopolitan populations in answer to their desires to develop an identity related to ethnic and historical cultures and
to experience the exotic.
CHAPTER FOUR

Cultural Organizations and the Reggae Industry: Claiming Authenticity for an Audience

Reggae has become an international phenomenon. In Japan there are over 2,000 “reggae” bars that sell only Red Stripe (beer made in Jamaica) and play only reggae, and France is home to 20,000 sound systems, a reggae variant (Misani, 2005). RIAA estimated in October 2006 that reggae was a US$14.5 billion industry (Meschino, 2008a). This chapter will use reggae as a case study to ask what claims to authenticity are made about reggae music and why.

Who makes claims to authenticity and why do they make such claims when they come from an outside culture? “Authenticity” is used to describe a state of non-hybridity, of being the product of only one culture and time instead of a mixture of influences, that those making claims to authenticity perceive a cultural form to have. Claims to authenticity are often made simply when a cultural artifact is said to be authentic, but we also observe claims to authenticity through the use of representations. Symbols of a culture that correspond to stereotypes or common cultural assumptions about that culture may be used in conjunction with a cultural artifact to lend it authenticity. Those found to make claims to authenticity (outside of those from within the originating culture) can be categorized into two groups: cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations. Cosmopolitan populations correspond with the elites, and have a multifaceted but global identity. They are well educated, well traveled, and curious about many cultures. Cultural
organizations are the institutions that make the production and spread of culture possible: publications, the music industry, and various societies formed to further culture. Claims to authenticity are made about reggae music because cosmopolitan populations want authentic reggae: it allows them to connect to the past through a romanticization of working class values they see in “authentic” reggae, it allows them a way to relate to if not entirely connect to another heritage, and “authentic” reggae as tied to poverty and a developing country provides the exoticism this population desires. While claims to authenticity would not be made unless cosmopolitan populations desired it, cultural organizations and especially the music industry play a large role because reggae itself in many ways goes against the capitalist structures the music industry relies on. Reggae compares capitalism and consumerist culture to “Babylonian exile.” Therefore, cultural organizations make claims to authenticity because this allows them to position themselves in opposition to the profit-making and even the changes to the music made by the music industry in order to market to cosmopolitan populations, which helps them to maintain a profit. While this is the primary reason cultural organizations make claims to authenticity, it is not the only one. Individuals like Chris Blackwell within the music industry value Jamaican culture and desire authenticity themselves. There is a tension between the commercial success of reggae, the desire of some reggae artists to spread what they see as a positive message, and the desire of cosmopolitan consumers for authenticity that drives the claims to authenticity made about reggae.

This chapter begins with a definition of reggae and the history of its development
in Jamaica. From there, we turn to its worldwide popularization and the role played by
Jamaican immigrants, Island Records, and Bob Marley. Then we examine what reggae is,
and discuss the different characteristics and popularity of roots and dancehall reggae
forms. That is followed by a discussion of what is considered “authentic” reggae and by
whom. Next, the role of various cultural organizations is discussed, as are the kinds of
claims to authenticity that such organizations make. After that, the same questions are
asked of reggae listeners as we look for common characteristics of reggae audiences,
which may be partially found if we separate dancehall and roots but not if we look at
reggae as a whole since it draws a fairly wide audience. We then consider the interaction
of reggae producers and consumers, looking at how reggae is marketed by producers to
reach consumers and the role each plays in creating demand for “authentic” reggae. In
conclusion, reggae's hybridity is emphasized and the motivations for emphasizing
authenticity over hybridity are analyzed.

What is Reggae?

Reggae originated in Jamaica and its roots include ska, rock steady, calypso-
mento, and American r'n'b. Both ska and rock steady, like reggae, developed from earlier
forms, while calypso-mento was associated with Rastafarian religious groups and
American r'n'b entered Jamaica through radio broadcasts from the southern United States.
Reggae became a consistent, recognizable genre by the 1960s, and, like its predecessors,
it incorporates political resistance and maintains a focus on the poor (Longhurst, 2007).
What is primarily described in this section is roots reggae, but in the 1980s, two new
styles of reggae emerged: dub and DJ talkover. Dub uses electronic manipulation and draws attention to the producedness of the music. DJ talkover does the same thing, but with an emphasis on voice (Longhurst, 2007). Another form of reggae popular right now is dancehall. This uses many of the aforementioned elements of reggae, deals less with Rastafari themes and shares many characteristics of hip-hop (Hall, 2002b).

Verena Reckford (cited in Alleyne, 2000) gives a slightly more elaborate definition that is most applicable to roots reggae, though later forms share many of the same characteristics. Musically, reggae uses mostly minor keys, layered polyrhythms, is melodious, and uses voice. It draws on African influences, one of which is to consider songs as “sound” as opposed to the Western conception of a song as a melody, and therefore there is less emphasis on melodic development in songs and consistent melody use across performances than one would find with European artists. It sometimes deals with themes like love, but is usually concerned with issues like poverty and suffering, as well as with Rastafari themes like the eminence of Halie Selassie and “Babylonian” enslavement. The meaning of such themes will be described later on.

Although it is a popular music genre, reggae is also considered to be folk music because Longhurst (2007) has asserted that it is “rooted in particular social groups and specific localities” (p. 133). It is considered to be authentic, even though its recent creation from a number of sources is fairly well known; Gibbs (2004), on the same page, delineates the development of reggae from the aforementioned sources and then calls it, “authentic roots music” (p. 44).
Reggae is closely linked to the Rastafari movement. Rastafaris believe that Halie Selassie, the first post-colonial emperor of Ethiopia, is a deity who continues to live after his death. Often, references are made to “Babylon,” a Biblical symbol of a time and place of Jewish enslavement – Rastas see themselves as the true heirs of the twelve tribes of Israel – which is used to mean to capitalist culture. They emphasize being natural: they wear their hair in dreadlocks because that is how hair naturally forms if it goes unbrushed and is the hairstyle requiring the least maintenance, they are vegetarians, and use no salt in their food. They also refer to God as “Jah”, tend to replace important syllables with “I” (for instance, i-tal instead of natural), and consider marijuana a sacred gift that should not be illegal because it grows naturally. One goal of the Rastafari movement was to first “heal” Jamaica (what this meant is not specified, but we may assume it involves curbing violence and poverty without losing spiritual values), then Africa, then the rest of the world (Goldman, 2006). Rastafarian themes frequently appear in reggae music, and as a result, “Reggae has been intimately linked with the growing awareness on the part of western Caucasians of Rastafarianism,” which the author then goes on to call, “a primitive mystical-religious sect” (Bangs 2004). Rothstein (2008) also argued that reggae and Rastafari are intrinsically connected, and he wrote that Rastafari, at least as it is perceived by those who would attend an upcoming Smithsonian exhibit he describes on the Rastafari movement, is “reggae, the ceremonial smoking of marijuana, and tightly coiled locks of hair” (p. 7). Many associate reggae with elements of the Rastafari movement, even if they do not know the name of what they are associating.
How Reggae Became Popular in the United States: Bob Marley and the Music Industry

At first, reggae's global reach was largely limited to consumption by Jamaican immigrants, especially in London and New York. Island Records, and especially Chris Blackwell is largely responsible for changing that. Chris Blackwell was the child of a British plantation owner in Jamaica, and he chose to remain in Jamaica to promote the music he heard there to the rest of the world, founding Island Records to help him reach this goal (Goldman, 2006). In its early days, Island Records sold Jamaican music to Caribbean immigrants living in the U.K (Shuker, 2001). Other record companies tried to market ska (a precursor to reggae) and reggae outside of immigrant populations, but with very little success (King, 2002). However, Island record's subsidiary Sue Records expanded their initial scope beginning in 1963, marketing multiple black music genres including blues and ska and created a few hits. In 1972 Island Records signed Bob Marley and the Wailers, which it marketed to a broader audience and by the late 1970s, Island Records had shifted its focus to the British counterculture as an audience for Marley (Shuker, 2001). Chris Blackwell made Bob Marley's recordings more “produced”; Shuker (2001) wrote that this was done “with keyboards and guitars, moving away from reggae's traditional emphasis on drums and bass” (p. 47).

There was also a deliberate move to market Bob Marley and the Wailers as rebels, but with some changes to tone down violence. For example, the album Natty Dread was originally titled Knotty Dread, but the name was changed because the original too heavily
connotated the militancy and race consciousness of Rastafari philosophy (Shuker, 2001). Importantly, other companies who failed at popularizing reggae had tried to remove the rebel image all together, while Blackwell left it relatively intact. King (2002) wrote, “Defying conventional wisdom in the music industry, Blackwell and his imitators successfully marketed this 'radical' political music, not by toning down its politics, but by actually celebrating the ganja-smoking Rastafarian as a universal symbol of rebellion and protest” (p. 96).

On the other hand, Shuker (2001) attributed Island Record's success to how they made Bob Marley and the Wailers a particular product: “Island shaped and marketed Marley and the Wailers as ethnic rebellion for album buyers, both black and white” (p. 47). He wrote that these changes began with their first album with Island Records, *Catch a Fire*, and included recording in stereo, doubling the flat rate given to studio musicians to keep them in the studio longer, using the latest available recording technology, speeding the tempo up by one beat, and remixing the tracks in London where they could create a cleaner sound (Shuker, 2001). Island Records started to market reggae the same way that rock was marketed – the concept of stars was alien to Jamaican practice at that time, for example, but made reggae more familiar to fans of rock (Longhurst, 2007).

Who is Bob Marley? By his death in 1981, this Jamaican follower of Rasta spiritualism from Trenchtown had accrued more than US$190 million in album sales (Shuker, 2001). Bob Marley's early career playing with Peter Tosh and Bunny Wailer as, eventually, the Wailers, included recordings of most musical forms popular in Jamaica,
not just reggae (Jacobson, 2004). His original fans were roots reggae aficionados, but he eventually reached a global mainstream audience (Goldman, 2006). One Bob Marley biographer, Vivian Goldman (2006), worked as a reporter for music magazines in the U.K. in the 1970s. She remembered that, while she and her friends would listen to Bob Marley (along with Miles Davis, Janis Joplin, and David Bowie), he was still far from the mainstream and the music magazines were not interested. She wrote, “Though it may seem astonishing now, in 1975, Bob Marley was not an easy sell. I particularly remember the tussle with the then music editor of Time Out magazine, John Collis, who simply didn't want to know – quite rudely, too” (p. 56). Bob Marley's popularity, especially his early success in the U.K. was not completely due to Chris Blackwell. Both his dynamic stage presence and the need of many of his fans to negotiate an identity that was both black and British were also large contributors (Goldman, 2006).

His popularity started in London among Caribbean immigrants, then spread to the British counterculture and from there to the rest of the world. There was a strong Caribbean immigrant population in London that had already been an audience for earlier reggae and ska releases, and quickly became an audience for Bob Marley and the Wailers. From there, reggae also became popular in punk communities, in part because some punk fans lived in the same neighborhoods as the Caribbean immigrants and partly because they related to the politics of rebellion and reggae's antipathy towards the police. A further factor in reggae's success was simply, “London at the time was ready for the message of Marley and Rasta” (Goldman, 2006, p. 173). His success in London really
took off when he played a show at London's Lyceum. The show sold out and a large
crowd waited outside the doors trying to get in, and the concert was recorded (an idea of
Chris Blackwell, who had been impressed at an earlier show by the crowd's interaction
with Bob Marley as he performed) (Goldman, 2006). A Bob Marley biographer, who
happened to be present at the concert, described it this way: “It was like a hippie event.
The crowd was half black and half white, with a lot of people sitting on the floor, passing
around spliffs... It was the first time we saw Bob shout, 'Jah! Rastafari,' and his shamanic
persona. It's still the greatest gig I've been to” (cited in Goldman, 2006, p. 58). The show's
promoter, Mick Cater, was reported to have said “that was the night the rest of the world
caught up to Bob Marley” (Goldman, 2006, p. 58). The recording of the show was
eventually released in both the U.K. and the United States, which was just beginning to
pay attention (Goldman, 2006).

The album *Natty Dread* became popular worldwide and began reggae's
widespread popularity among the middle classes. Blackwell said of that album, “Reggae
suddenly jumped into the middle class; suddenly all these people who said that it wasn't
cool before were raving about the groove of 'Lively Up Yourself'” (Goldman, 2006, p.
52). While this received some U.S. attention, it was not until the next album, *Rastaman
Vibration*, that the U.S. market was targeted, in part because the strong immigrant
population and history of earlier releases made the U.K. an easier market to gain, and
from which to build a foundation before spreading to other countries. Island Records took
out a large ad in the *New York Times*, among other efforts, but Bob Marley was mostly
interested in reaching out to the African American market as a part of his larger efforts to raise black consciousness. However, the early United States fans of Bob Marley were not African-American but were “hippies and students,” and in fact the album cover had a waffle texture designed “to clean weed” (Goldman, 2006, p. 61-62). It was also at this time that Bob Marley made the front cover of *The Rolling Stone*; however, political tensions in Jamaica started to rise and as a result it was decided to temporarily shift the marketing attention back to Europe, so *Rastaman Vibration* was never promoted as vigorously as their next album, *Exodus* (Goldman, 2006). Touring was vital to promoting Bob Marley in the United States (Shuker, 2001). So the tensions threw off his touring schedule, making it harder to build momentum for Marley in the United States.

Bob Marley's American success was solidly achieved with the album *Exodus*, released three years after *Natty Dread*. It was carefully positioned, in part because Island had unsuccessfully tried to vertically integrate itself and was relying on this album to keep the label from going out of business. Everything including the timing of its release and the look of the record sleeve were carefully thought out, and with great success – unlike earlier Bob Marley releases in the United States, *Exodus* garnered coverage in mainstream magazines and TV appearances (Goldman, 2006). One promoter suggests the success was due in part to the relatability of the record's concept, “I said, this is great, because the whole concept of Exodus is not strange to black or white Americans” (Goldman, 2006, p. 248). As the Bob Marley and the Wailers went on tour to promote the album, they started to draw what we may consider increasingly cosmopolitan audiences:
“The impassioned show marked a distinct change in Bob's audience – now the chic jet-set types were coming out in force” (Goldman, 2006, p. 26).

While some writers (for example, Shuker) frame Bob Marley's success as Chris Blackwell's behind the scenes manipulation, others closer to the process at the time paint a more nuanced picture. Vivian Goldman (2006), who closely followed Bob Marley's career and even lived with him and a number of his associates in Kingston for awhile, wrote that Chris Blackwell was sincerely passionate about Bob Marley's music and message, and that Bob Marley knew that Blackwell was making changes and trusted his instincts to further the message Marley wanted to spread. She said they shared, “a rare rapport between artist and record company executive” (p. 57). One element of Bob Marley's success was a deliberate move to promote him as a black rock artist, not an R&B or reggae performer. Goldman wrote that Bob Marley had very clear ideas of what he wanted to record – because musicians were so plentiful in Jamaica, for Bob Marley and the Wailers to have been successful they had to be both very experienced recording artists and good enough to stand out in a pool of incredible skill. Therefore, he had the experience and the ability to take leadership in recording sessions. She quoted Chris Blackwell as saying, “I had no control over what Bob recorded...It was just delivered to me and we would mix it together (p. 203). In fact, she wrote that it was Bob Marley and not Chris Blackwell who began to purposefully include blues and R&B musicians in the recordings, a move he made to reach “black America” in his desire to create black consciousness raising.
The above section shows that the global popularity of reggae music was in a large part due to the efforts of Chris Blackwell and Bob Marley, and drew a cosmopolitan audience. Chris Blackwell, part of a cultural organization through his label Island Records, took reggae and marketed it like a rock album, aided by Bob Marley's willingness and ability to take on the role of a star. The music produced appealed to and spoke to cosmopolitan populations, who were called “middle class”, “jet-setters”, as well as “hippies and students” in order to describe Bob Marley's non-Jamaican audience that seemed to grow with every new album. Bob Marley died of cancer in 1981 (Goldman, 2006). Since then, he and reggae remain popular with cosmopolitan populations. The following section will look at the involvement of cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations in reggae music since Bob Marley passed away, before asking what claims to authenticity are made and why.

**Reggae After Bob Marley: Cultural Organizations are Still Involved**

This section briefly provides a snapshot of reggae in the United States to provide a context for the rest of the chapter. Since his death in 1981, Bob Marley is more popular than ever (Bordowitz 2004). He is sometimes credited with popularizing not just reggae, but also for hastening the popularity of “world beat” (Jacobson 2004). The album *Legend*, released just after Bob Marley died, reported Shuker in 2001, “has remained the top-selling 'catalogue' album in Billboard since that chart's creation in 1991... and by 1997 had sold twelve million copies worldwide” (p. 48).

After Bob Marley died, it was thought by some that reggae – at least, roots reggae
had reached the end of its mainstream success. The major labels were no longer interested in having reggae in their catalogs, but smaller labels like Heartbeat stepped in and were able to purchase the rights to a large volume of reggae music cheaply (Henderson, 2001). Other forms of reggae increased in popularity after Bob Marley died. Beginning in 1981, reggae created by a DJ and not bands became popular, though roots bands including Black Uhuru, Gregory Isaacs, Third World, and Peter Tosh remained successful (Salewicz, 2004). Recently (since about 2000) dancehall became popular among hip hop fans. In the last year or two, roots reggae has also experienced a resurgence of popularity as a new generation of roots musicians have started to make inroads into U.S. (and Jamaican) markets (Meschino, 2008b). Until then, roots reggae was almost always performed by artists whose careers began at the same time as Bob Marley's, most notable of these is Beres Hammond (Oumano, 1998). Roots reggae is also being made outside of Jamaica. For example, Sinead O'Connor – an Irish singer – recently created a roots reggae album (Spear, 2005).

The reggae industry is still criticized for its commercial activities. Alleyne (2000), a cultural studies scholar, pointed out that successful Jamaican reggae groups who became popular at the same time as Marley have tended to sign with independent labels after earlier stints with major labels, “presumably to escape the commodifying hegemonic capitalism of the larger corporate entities” (p. 20). That he presumes indicates that such groups are not readily ascribing such motivations to themselves, and such a statement indicates the vehemence Alleyne – who was born in Britain, studied in the Caribbean, and
now teaches and researches about popular music and the music industry from a cultural studies perspective – has as a music industry critic (MTSU Faculty, 2008).

The same kinds of changes that Chris Blackwell made to Bob Marley and the Wailer's material are still being made today. Alleyne asserted that such changes build expectations by audiences for a certain type of sound, and therefore the changes become institutionalized. However, deliberate changes continue to have to be made to sell albums, and especially to get radio air time. Randy Chin (cited in Hall, 2002a), vice president of marketing for VP Records, says that, “I had to use all these little things just to get onto radio, so my sound wasn't as authentic as I would want it to be, but that's what I had to do to get on” (p. 64). The following section asks just what this authenticity is that had to be sacrificed, even while its authenticity is claimed.

**Authentic Reggae Defined**

What is and is not “authentic” reggae is debated. The table below shows the claims what some argue to be or not be “authentic.”

**Table 4.1 – What is “Authentic” Reggae?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Makes Authentic:</th>
<th>Makes Inauthentic:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mike Alleyne, cultural studies scholar</td>
<td>intangible creative spirit and an “organic relationship” across components</td>
<td>commodification, the recording industry</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guitar Player magazine</td>
<td>ska technique on rhythm guitar</td>
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<tr>
<td>white middle class “rebels”</td>
<td>working class values, message</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalition to Preserve Reggae roots style's sound</td>
<td>computer mediation, violent lyrics (i.e., dancehall)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Billboard contributor Meschino being Jamaican

Paul Simon (in 1972) recording in Jamaica

“purists” being Jamaican

Billboard contributor Oumano dedication, talking about one's society's social issues; race not a factor

Source: Alleyne, 2000; Bassford, 1991; Traber, 2001; Misani, 2005; Meschino, 2008c; Alleyne, 2000; Oumano, 1996

There are different conceptions of what is “authentic” by different groups. Some accept that the recording industry has made changes to reggae in order to sell or market records, and others are simply unaware that this happens, but as Mike Alleyne reveals with his vehement tone toward the recording industry, some feel that this violates an album's authenticity (Alleyne, 2000). Such anti-commercialism resonates with the Rastafari distrust of “Babylon” as well as anti-commercial sentiments among a variety of countercultural movements.

One major theme in the question of what is “authentic” is how the music sounds. Alleyne has questioned the authenticity facilitated by digital technologies, which allow for sampling or using pre-loaded layers that were “authentic” but are not what Alleyne considers authentic because the artist was only copying what others had done. He wrote, “The limited commercial applications of this technology (drum machines, sequencer, samplers) have created a neutral zone resulting in reggae/dancehall practitioners creating less culturally distinctive music, while coincidentally imbuing similar Western fabrications with a false aural/cultural authenticity” (p. 15). However, these technologies

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2 Paul Simon traveled to Jamaica to record his reggae song Mother and Child, after deciding not to use studio musicians available to him elsewhere (Alleyne, 2000)
and techniques exist because others feel that they are authentic. One such piece of software, *Dread*, is discussed later as the subject of a claim to authenticity because its reviewer thought its “authentic” sound could lend legitimacy to those who cannot create authentic reggae on their own.

Whether or not “real” reggae has to come from Jamaica is also debated, although the global popularity and production of reggae weakens the argument for Jamaica-only reggae. One Billboard contributor wrote that a Jamaican roots reggae singer's voice was “as purely Jamaican as reggae itself” and highlighted the genre's basis in Jamaica (Meschino, 2008c, n.p.). However, another contributor talking about the success of a non-Jamaican, white reggae artist took the opposite approach and posited that authenticity lay in the sincerity and relevance of the message (Oumano, 1996). While Bob Marley and his offspring consistently lead Billboard's reggae charts, the American Hasidic Jewish reggae artist Matisyahu was Billboard's top reggae artist in both 2006 and 2007 writes about his own struggles as a Hasidic Jew (Crosley, 2007). While some feel that Jamaicanness is tied to being able to create authentic reggae, the popularity of a Jewish reggae artist and the acceptance of other non-Jamaican artists has weakened that argument. For many, one does not have to be from Jamaica to be able to make authentic reggae music.

What the message of “authentic” reggae is has also been debated. Hebdige writes that reggae themes, especially dancehall but also roots, involved the glorification of drugs and violence and the demeaning of women. He sees little positive in such themes, despite their Jamaican-ness and traditionality, but adds that a new set of themes has emerged: he...
says that the use of reggae by “whites”, including the shifts in reggae's sound made to appeal to this audience, has led to a new role for reggae as counter-hegemonic and peaceful (Hartnett, 1990). Therefore, “authentic” reggae for such fans is less about Rastafarian values and more about being countercultural and promoting a sense of global unity.

The kind of reggae argued to be authentic coincides with the claims made about the authenticity of certain groups and albums. The elements described above that make reggae authentic are its sound, a sincere message highlighting Rastafarian or unifying values, and being rooted to Jamaica. All three turn up in the kinds of claims to authenticity made. For example, one reviewer called the software program *Dread*, which contains pre-recorded loops artists may use to create a reggae song, authentic because its loops had the correct rhythm patterns and other, similar attributes (Hughes, 2001). Meschino wrote in *Billboard* that, “Rootz Underground's authentic one-drop beats anchored in rumbling basslines and layered with crunching guitar riffs evoke the synergistic efforts of iconic roots bands like Inner Circle, Third World, and Bob Marley and the Wailers” (Meschino 2008b, n.p.). Here, it is the specific type of rhythm that is labeled authentic, but the evocation of “iconic” bands and the other sonic elements he describes also seems to form his argument that Rootz Underground is “authentic”.

We also find claims to authenticity made based on ties to Jamaica. For example, Mike Alleyne noted that the album covers for the original releases of The Eagles' song “Hotel California” (which Alleyne argued borrows heavily from reggae, though he said
most listeners fail to notice this) and Eric Clapton's cover of Bob Marley's song “I Shot the Sheriff” both featured palm trees, which connote the tropicalness that is heavily associated with Jamaica. Alleyne argues that the palm trees were used to give legitimacy to the use of reggae, although in his opinion neither song was in any way authentic (Alleyne, 2000). A similar desire to lend authenticity to a non-Jamaican reggae production through association with things Jamaican may be found in Sinead O'Connor's reggae album and *Interview* magazine's coverage of it. O'Connor, who is Irish, used two famous Jamaican producers, Sly and Robbie, to produce her album, which is exclusively covers of early reggae hits including several of Bob Marley's and Burning Spear's songs. *Interview* furthered the album's associations with Jamaica by having Burning Spear – one of the original and still successful Jamaican roots reggae artists – conduct the interview with O'Connor, and a detailed description of Rastafari beliefs by Burning Spear is included in it (Spear, 2005). An article about the Jamaican dancehall musician Gyptian goes to great lengths to emphasize his Jamaicanness: he is described as Jamaican, his parents are said to reside on the island (though Gyptian himself records in New York), and the article uses Jamaican patois when it quotes him (Misani, 2006). The label RAS makes a claim to authenticity just in its name – Real Authentic Sound (Miles, 2004). This Washington, DC label distributes music that is created in Jamaica and is not otherwise distributed outside of it. *The Washington Post* further adds to RAS's claim to authenticity in a review praising the label as well as a compilation album highlighting the label's earlier releases: “Washington has become a center not only for Jamaica's reggae music,
but for the most authentic, undiluted form of reggae” (Himes, 1988, p. N23). In that author's opinion, and in the opinion of reggae fan Gary “Dr. Dread” Himelfarb who created the label, authentic reggae is from Jamaica.

Claims to authenticity are also made based on the content and sincerity of a song's message. These claims focus on an artist's heartfelt illustration of social issues that they have observed and experienced. In the article about Gyptian described earlier, Gyptian calls his music authentic because it discusses spiritual and social issues (Misani, 2006). Moreover, the term “authentic” is evoked about Bob Marley in one *Rolling Stone* article because his songs described oppression and “how hell on earth comes too easily to too many” - for these authors, it was his message itself contained within the music that was authentic: “It was his ability to describe all this in palpable and authentic ways that sustains his body of music unlike any other we've ever known” (Gilmore and Leibovitz, 2005, n.p.). Many reggae bands use messages conveying Rastafarian values or messages of world unity in material they create about themselves like website listings³ (USABB, 2008). Authenticity in reggae seems to be tied to messages about the social good as perceived by the singer.

Reggae as a genre has been constantly evolving in exciting ways, but to a large degree claims to authenticity seem to focus on the genre as it was when Bob Marley

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³ Of 74 bands in California with information available on USABB, 34 included a sentence or phrase about peace and/or unity, and an additional 18 included one that evoked Rastafarianism (such as using the Rastafari word “Jah” in place of God). This did not include the many pictures with Rastafarian themes like pictures of lions or the Ethiopian flag. There were also 43 groups pictured with at least one member wearing their hair in dreadlocks, which is commonly associated with Rastafarian beliefs (to those who know about them) or reggae (to those who don't really). For more information, see the further discussion of USABB below or www.usabb.com.
popularized it. The majority of bands listed on the USABB website included “roots reggae” - the older form – as the version of reggae they played. Those criticizing the incorporation of electronica as a sign of inauthenticity are clearly thinking about roots reggae, and not the creative ways reggae has been using electronica over the last couple of decades. Bangs (2004) has illustrated the desire of cosmopolitan populations for roots reggae, which is perceived as authentic, even in the face of reggae heard within Jamaica. Bangs, a reporter, visited Jamaica with a photographer and a local contact took them to a couple of discos. He wrote, “The photographer keeps saying he wants more roots, and Clive just shrugs, so I translate” (p. 74). The experience in Jamaica – which is most often associated with authenticity – was not the “roots” experience the photographer expected, but was considered so normal by Jamaican standards that Bangs had to “translate” the photographer's desires.

**Cosmopolitan Populations Are Roots Reggae's Non-Jamaican Audience**

Reggae seems to draw a fairly diverse crowd, though most of its audience – especially non-Jamaican roots reggae fans – may best be characterized as cosmopolitan populations. The band Nodkaalu, composed of three self-described “white guys”, an immigrant from Ghana, and an immigrant from Jamaica, has achieved some fame in their region, Boston's south shore, but are unknown nationally. They have a CD, which has sold 2,000 copies, and a recent performance received a review in the *Boston Globe*. The reviewer described their audience this way: “Blacks and whites were represented in roughly equal numbers. People of all ages, from 20-somethings who looked barely old
enough to get in the door, to silver-haired revelers who might have been their grandparents, grooved to the music. Styles ranged from preppy to punk to beachy to hippie to Rasta” (McKenna, 2008, p. reg8). Note that, with the possible exception of Rasta, these tend to be mainstream and subcultural styles frequently adopted by the middle class. This fits with other indications that roots reggae fans are cosmopolitan populations. Reggae fans tend to be fairly well educated. The General Social Survey (GSS) polled people in 1993 and asked, among other things, whether they liked reggae (choices were very much, like it, mixed feelings, dislike it, and dislike it very much). The GSS is administered almost every year by the National Opinion Research Center and uses approximately 90 minute one-on-one interviews with a sample of about 1500 respondents chosen to be statistically representative of households nationwide (for example, the proportion of respondents of a certain race will be equivalent to that race's proportion to U.S. population). It asks both a “core” set of questions that have remained unchanged since the survey began in 1973, as well as extra questions it has been requested by researchers to include, and the reggae question was one of these (GSS, 2008). In response to the question about whether or not the respondent liked reggae, those who had 12 years of schooling or less 158 reported that they liked reggae, while 313 people reported they disliked it. However, as incomes rise the proportion of people who like reggae becomes greater – people are almost twice as likely to favor the music instead of to disfavor it. At up to 16 years of schooling, in other words at least one year of college and up to those with a college diploma, 219 people reported they liked reggae while only 163 said that
they did not. Finally, of those with more than 16 years of schooling, 68 people said that they liked reggae while only 38 said that they did not (Davis, Smith, & Marsden, 2007).

While there is a clear trend that those with more education are more likely to report enjoying reggae, this trend must not be overstated: those who are better educated in general tend to be more open to new and different music forms (Longhurst, 2007). When compared to other genres, there is a higher positive correlation between liking reggae and being educated than there is in several other genres like Country and Western (which has a negative correlation), gospel, and heavy metal, but far less of a correlation between liking classical music and being well educated. The correlation between reggae fans and high education was roughly equivalent to that of opera and contemporary rock (Davis et al., 2007). The survey also seems to show that those with higher incomes are more likely to like reggae and those with lower incomes are more likely not too. However, the survey capped incomes at $25,000 which, even allowing for inflation since 1993 when the survey was taken, does not allow us to differentiate beyond middle class and working class or no income (although this is individual and not family income) (Davis et al., 2007).

The General Social Survey seems to confirm a relatively even appreciation of reggae across race lines that was also visible at the Noddaclu concert; although the sample includes far more “whites” than its other categories - “black” and “other” - there seemed to be a roughly equal proportion of both races who liked and did not like the music, and females seemed almost as likely to report liking the genres as males (Davis et al., 2007).
While reggae listeners are diverse, they seem to divide into roughly two camps each favoring a different type of reggae. Hip hop fans tend to choose dancehall, and older Jamaican immigrants and cosmopolitan populations tend to favor roots reggae. The table below shows a few examples of how reggae audiences have been described, broken down by reggae category favored. This chart demonstrates both the diverse audience for reggae and suggests that there may be a trend for some populations to favor dancehall or roots; this trend will be explored further in a discussion of how different types of reggae are marketed to different audiences.

**Table 4.2 – Reggae Audiences**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Audience Characteristic</th>
<th>Favored Reggae Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>residents of Milwaukee, Wisconsin</td>
<td>presumably roots⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hip hop fans</td>
<td>dancehall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mixed audience at Noddaclu concert</td>
<td>roots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white mainstream audiences</td>
<td>music with audible roots reggae influences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“hip New York City Jews”</td>
<td>roots reggae, but reworked with Hasidic themes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indigenous groups (including Native Americans)</td>
<td>roots reggae, but reworked to address their needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C. “trendmongers”</td>
<td>roots reggae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Coury, 2007; Meschino, 2008b McKenna, 2008; Alleyne, 2007; Siwek, 2005; Alvarez, 2008; Himes, 1988*

Further indication that different groups of people listen to different forms of reggae may be found in the marketing strategies of the cultural industry. VP Record's Director of Promotion and Marketing has said that they frequently emphasize putting

⁴ The band described is an older man shown with traditional instruments and not a turn table or sound system, and he often plays corporate events, which would be more likely to desire the calmer, slower pace of roots than the bass-ridden higher tech, more lyrically controversial dancehall form (Coury 2007)
their dancehall albums on hip hop stations, but that there is little radio interest in playing roots reggae and they have to find more creative ways of reaching their audiences (Meschino, 2008b). Oumano noted that the dancehall trend has created many Jamaican artists who want international fame, and advises that their most likely source is urban hip-hop fans. He goes on to cite one reggae artist who said that all hip hop fans also listen to dancehall (Oumano, 1999).

Roots reggae is not, however, being promoted to hip-hop fans like dancehall is, but rather seems to be aimed at young audiences primarily of the middle class – to cosmopolitan populations. One method VP Records used with the roots reggae band Morgan Heritage was to heavily focus on college markets. They promoted the album to college radio stations and made deals with record chains that had a heavy presence in college towns. They also got the band included in the Warped Tour lineup, and reached out to “skateboard kids” (Oumano, 2001). Shuker also observed that Bob Marley was often marketed to “white” audiences specifically, and in a way that emphasized his role as a “natural mystic” (Shuker, 2001). One author observed that teenagers in Bob Marley T-Shirts could be found in almost every major city across the world (Jacobson, 2004). Another author described herself as a white girl living in New Mexico and developing a strong multicultural awareness, and published an article on how reggae helped to educate her about Africa's culture and concerns (Walters, 1996). Cosmopolitan populations seem to be the primary audience for roots reggae.
The Size, Scope, and Nature of Cultural Organizations Surrounding Reggae

This section asks what constitutes “cultural organizations” for the reggae industry, before moving on to examine the claims to authenticity they make and their motivations for making them. The culture industry surrounding reggae is large and complex, with a variety of actors performing a variety of activities. Table 4.3 at the end of the section provides a sampling of the kinds of industry actors and their functions involved. The reggae industry includes artists, labels, music publications, festivals, and organizations to promote reggae or certain trends within reggae. The music industry, especially those elements located outside of Jamaica, has been heavily criticized for its treatment of musicians and alterations to reggae. In Jamaica, reggae musicians were played a small flat fee and no royalties for each recording they made (Jacobson, 2004). Another example of the problems with Jamaica's recording industry is that many producers owned record stores which were the only sellers of the albums they produced, so it was very difficult to buy an album anywhere but where it was recorded (Bangs, 2004). Longhurst (2007) illustrated this conflict between an organic music form developed by people and its control by Jamaica's recording industry: “The music was not 'owned' by the sorts of people who played it or were its main audience, as it was controlled by entrepreneurs who produced the records and employed the musicians in an exploitative manner. Within this context, the role of the male record producer as entrepreneur and businessman was paramount” (p. 134). There is a tension between a music industry that wants to make a profit and the desire of many artists and reggae audiences to spread ideals of peace and
unity through reggae that makes the profit-seeking activity of cultural organizations especially grating and seemingly out of place, and which perhaps over-exaggerates the negative role cultural organizations have played.

There are quite a few labels that focus on reggae, and many larger labels will sometimes include reggae artists. Jamaica itself has a vibrant recording industry, but most pay artists a flat fee and sell the rights to an outside company (Goldman, 2006). A vibrant international system of distribution delivers Jamaican reggae to the United States and the rest of the world (Meschino, 2008a). And, as was shown above, a great number of reggae artists work in the United States and not in Jamaica (though many seem to travel to Jamaica to do some of their recording or use Jamaican producers). In Jamaica, UMJam Records uses digital distribution methods to make its products available to American consumers. The label was founded by a German who moved to Jamaica in 2004 with the aim of leveraging nontraditional (especially digital) means of distribution to help Jamaica regain control to its music rights (Meschino, 2008a). In the United States, both VP Records and UMRG topped Billboard's chart for reggae labels (Harding, 2007). Virgin Records, a major label based in the U.K. has released recordings from several artists. Miami has become a base for reggae in the United States and is home to multiple reggae labels including one created by some of Bob Marley's sons, most of whom also live in Miami. McCoy (2004) claimed about the city, “Long after [Bob Marley's] death, members of his family and other South Florida artists are leading reggae into the mainstream” (p. 232).
Many of the roots reggae artists began careers when Bob Marley became famous. Burning Spear, while never achieving the renown Bob Marley has, is a roots musician with a long career. He did two virtually sold out tours for a recent album, *Calling Rastafari*, each with about 100 dates and was still finding interest in the album growing (Henderson, 2001). Another roots artist whose career began in the 1970s, Beres Hammond, has achieved some popularity in the United States and while not topping any charts has enjoyed steady success throughout his career. A recent album sold 67,000 units and a free concert he gave in Brooklyn drew over 20,000, while performances in Toronto and Montreal drew at-capacity crowds (Meschino, 2008c).

Roots reggae is only one type of reggae. Dancehall is very popular, especially with fans of hip-hop, to whom dancehall is marketed. Beenie Man, a leading dancehall artist, recently went straight to number 18 on the Billboard top 200, the highest any reggae artist ever opened on that chart. Hall suggests that this is at least in part due to the success achieved by other dancehall artists, most notably Shaggy (Hall, 2002a). This gives some idea of the popularity of reggae in its interaction with mainstream genres – while not quite top of the charts, reggae in general and dancehall in particular is fairly well known and fairly popular within the United States.

There are also a number of locally based bands with local fanbases. The website [www.usabb.com](http://www.usabb.com) acts as a listing service to connect such bands with venues wishing to hire them, and as such can provide a snapshot of how these bands might look across the United States. California had 141 bands listed, more than double that found anywhere.
else. The next most were found in New York (59), Florida (42), and Hawaii (34). Other states like Massachusetts (28), Ohio (25), Texas (22) and North Carolina (25) also had high numbers, while bands were spread somewhat thinly among all but nine (which had none) of the remaining states. While bands were clustered around big cities like San Francisco, San Diego, Los Angeles, and New York City, a surprising number represented smaller cities (and college towns) in outlying regions (USABB, 2008). These bands range from those who largely replicate Jamaican sounds and those who use reggae for their own purposes. An example of the latter is Christafari, a white Protestant evangelical band that gained enough attention to garner notice in at least one scholarly article published in *Popular Music*. They used reggae as a medium to deliver their own message to their predominantly white Protestant evangelical fans (Rommen, 2006). There are a myriad of reggae bands who have regional or niche followings, and these are hardly living a superstar's lifestyle, but often have – as in the example of Christafari – a message they wish to disseminate through the medium of reggae.

Reggae has achieved mention in large international as well as niche music publications. *Billboard* and *Rolling Stone*, leading U.S. (and world) music publications, often include stories on reggae. A Lexis Nexis search found 23 articles featuring reggae labels or artists within the last two years alone. There have also been a number of publications about reggae, though only a few have been nationally available in the United States and most have been short-lived. For example, *Backayard* is a prominent enough reggae magazine that VP records put into its newsfeed that one of its artists was included
in the latest issue (VP Records, 2008). Its own website says it is “known worldwide as the only Jamaican reggae print magazine,” but it only became available in the United States with its Fall 2007 edition and only two issues are released each year (Back-A-Yard, 2008, n.p.). Reggae has achieved enough success to receive the attention of mainstream press, but it is also considered a subculture and has also drawn publications focused exclusively on the genre, though these lack the staying power and international distribution of the larger publications.

Reggae festivals are held all over the United States, with several large festivals in California. UCLA holds an annual, student run reggae festival that draws at least 30,000 people. Another festival is held each mother's day just outside of Atlanta and, since it features middle-aged African American reggae artists with R&B overtones, seems to cater to a slightly older crowd than the UCLA event. There are many that are tributes to Bob Marley, and a couple are accompanied by camping, hiking, and other outdoors activities (Reggae Festivals, 2008). Like reggae, the festivals celebrating it take different forms and reach different audiences.

A variety of other organizations have some involvement with reggae. For example, the Grammies added a reggae category in 1986, largely as a result of Bob Marley's influence and many of the winners have some connection to Bob Marley – Delgado (2004) wrote that for Bob Marley's children, “winning is almost an extension of their birthright” (p. 234). Tourist organizations profit from the associations between Jamaica and reggae and further such associations. The Coalition to Preserve Reggae is an
organization made up of members of the music industry who work to promote one idea of what is “really” reggae. These and the organizations described earlier are listed below as a sampling of the cultural organization actors involved with reggae.

Table 4.3 – A Sampling of the Reggae Industry and its Major Actors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Island Record/Chris Blackwell</td>
<td>made reggae internationally popular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaican Tourist Board</td>
<td>promote Jamaican tourism by connecting it to reggae; donated US$100,000 to reggae Sunsplash festival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burning Spear, Third World, Beres Hammond</td>
<td>roots reggae artists who have been creating albums and enjoying moderate success since the 1970s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small reggae bands⁵</td>
<td>hundreds (thousands?) of locally-based bands have regional followings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sound Bwoy Entertainment</td>
<td>record label in Miami founded by several of Bob Marley's children and associates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shang Records</td>
<td>record label founded by Miami natives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marley Boys Inc.</td>
<td>Reggae promotion organization founded by sons of Bob Marley; arranged for a Bob Marley theme restaurant, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine Miles Inc.</td>
<td>Another Marley sons organization – promotes tourism to Jamaica, specifically pilgrimages to Bob Marley's birth home and tomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virgin Records</td>
<td>major label with several hit reggae releases; groomed Ziggy Marley to be the “next” Bob Marley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanachie Records</td>
<td>U.S. based world/Celtic/reggae/blues/jazz label, has issued a handful of reggae albums including by Bunny Wailer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rolling Stone</td>
<td>leading U.S. music publication with over a million copies sold each issue, primarily has a white aging male readership; has had multiple Bob Marley covers and often includes reggae write-ups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalition to Preserve Reggae</td>
<td>Promotes roots reggae and criticizes dancehall as inauthentic, members are the (roots) reggae industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP Records</td>
<td>Considered the largest reggae label/imprinter, based in New York City and founded by Jamaican immigrants; often partners with other labels (and their distribution capabilities)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matisyahu</td>
<td>Hasidic Jewish reggae artist from New York City, Billboard's top reggae artist in 2006 and 2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sean Paul</td>
<td>dancehall reggae artist, consistently has mainstream hits</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Goldman, 2006; Frank, 2007; Oumano, 1998; USABB, 2008; McCoy, 2004; ⁵ see www.usabb.com for one directory of reggae bands broken down by state
This has been a brief summary of actors in the reggae industry. We will now ask why claims to authenticity are made.

**Why Cosmopolitan Populations and Cultural Organizations Claim Authenticity**

In the first chapter, it was argued that cultural organizations made claims to authenticity primarily because there is a market for it, and therefore money to be made by doing so. The primary reason for this was cosmopolitan population's desire for the authentic, which they find helpful in finding a connection to the past, experiencing the exotic, or creating an (ethnic) identity for themselves when they find this to be lacking in their perception of their own identity. However, cultural industries sometimes have motivations that go beyond profit, specifically to promote an ideology held by employees or volunteers within the organization or to make marketing easier by using a simpler (if less precise) description of their product. The following section asks how these theorized motivations compare to why claims to authenticity are made about reggae.

As was shown above, the authenticity of dancehall reggae is questioned but the debate on roots reggae centers on what is authentic roots reggae rather than whether or not roots reggae itself is considered authentic. Given the profitability of reggae, it seems logical that the profit is a driving factor to create reggae. Though dancehall has been by far the more popular format, roots reggae has a strong market as well. Bob Marley's legacy still sells strongly. There has also been a recent upsurge in the market for roots reggae. The American label Aswod started to re-release its earlier roots albums in
response to this trend, and promoted this move with a music video (Stoute, 2008). The resurgance is attributable in part to the emergence in recent years of young roots reggae artists – previously, material was only available from artists who emerged in the 1970s as newer artists tended to incorporate the latest trends as reggae evolved (Meschino, 2008b). Another explanation given for the recent uptrend in roots reggae is a newfound openness to its message. A representative of Virgin records said, in October 2001, that “the mood of the country” created a desire for music that people can enjoy dancing to, but that deals with the realities of life instead of being completely escapist (Hall, 2002b, p. 16). Audiences wanted something real, they wanted a connection to the needs and experiences of the world that reggae can provide. Cosmopolitan populations want the authentic.

The cosmopolitan populations who, it was argued earlier, provide the primary non-Jamaican audience for roots reggae, thereby providing the audience that makes selling “authentic” reggae profitable, do so for a number of motivations. One such reason is to supplement what is perceived as a lack of one's own ethnic identity. Carmichael (1994) suggested that there is a commodified neo-ethnicity for the “yuppified”, and supported this with Lyotard's description of the use of reggae by a cosmopolitan individual as part of this neo-ethnicity (though he uses “yuppy” and not cosmopolitan, the two terms both conjure up the a cultured upper-middle class individual, though with very different connotations): “one listens to reggae, watches a western, eats McDonalds food for lunch and local cuisine for dinner, wears Paris perfume in Tokyo and 'retro' clothes in Hong Kong” (p. 221). Reggae, focused in much of its content on being dispossessed from
home, can help supplement this need for identity. As Hasidic Jewish reggae artist Haim (cited in Siwek, 2005) said, reggae is, “about one's roots and identity, and a sense of home and belonging,” and he goes on to say that “It's about being rooted versus being uprooted” (n.p.). Reggae can provide a connection to identity to those who are missing it, including the cosmopolitan populations Carmichael discusses. Goldman (2006) further elaborated and enforced this point: “In the coming years, the themes that summoned Bob – such as repatriation to a place where you really belong to – would become increasingly relevant to us all as the global population grew more dislocated and deracinated, and as refugees in ever increasing numbers would surge around the world, often looking to the Americas and Europe in their restless search for a home. Fleeing for a better life, or simply a life, they all rise to the challenge Bob chants in 'Exodus”: 'Are you satisfied with the life you're living?’” (p. 14). The present ease of movement creates a desire for a “home” and roots, which “authentic” reggae music satiates.

It was also theorized that cosmopolitan populations craved authenticity in order to connect to the past. For reggae music, several scholars write that the working class values are romanticized in a way that creates this connection. Traber (2001) and Bangs (2004) both wrote that the “white middle class” is who does this romanticizing. While “white middle class” is not the same as cosmopolitan populations, white and middle class are two common demographic characteristics of cosmopolitan populations so there is a significant amount of overlap. Traber argued that reggae is romanticized about by the white middle class, specifically punk fans, in that they see its working class context as a
lifestyle more “authentic” than their own. Bangs illustrated this elaboration and the paradox between romanticization and a knowledge that the reality is not the same as the imagination: “A whole bunch of people were flown, all expenses paid, to Jamaica, so that we could look at these people, and go back and write stories which would help sell albums to white middle-class American kids who think its romantic to be black and dirt-poor and hungry and illiterate and sick with things you can't name because you've never been to a doctor and sit around all day smoking ganja and beating on bongo drums because you have no other options in life. I know, because I am one of those kids, caught in the contradiction” (p. 83). Claims to authenticity are made because if the message is not truly working class, than it destroys the romanticism because the other person's existence is no more old-fashioned and straight from pre-modern times than one's own.

The third motivation for cosmopolitan populations to make claims to authenticity is because they desire the exotic, and to be truly exotic the music must be authentically tied to a culture that is distant from their own. Reggae, especially with its heavy ties to the Rastafarian faith, is full of exoticism. Bangs, on the same trip to Jamaica where he expressed his romanticization of Jamaica and its musicians, also lamented that he only had one experience where he “will see anything close to still-existing primal Jamaica during my stay,” and later described the roots reggae band Burning Spear as “almost aboriginal” and “straight out of the hills” (p. 65-66). Such terminology evokes primitiveness, an exoticness distanced from the author in the Other's antiquity.

These desires were played upon by the recording industry to create and benefit
from this market. Speaking specifically about Western cosmopolitans as a market, Connell and Gibson (2004) wrote, “‘Strategic inauthenticity,' romanticization and the fetishization of marginality were central to the search for and marketing of purity and novelty: simplistic celebration of geographical diversity and remoteness” (p. 342).

Similarly, Shuker (2001) wrote that Bob Marley is deliberately marketed to the white middle class – again, while not specifically cosmopolitan populations, members of the white middle class who listen to Bob Marley will significantly overlap this group – in his role as a “natural mystic.” This is both more exotic and more in line with the peaceful worker for world harmony that Bob Marley is thought of by this group (ie, more “authentic” in that it matches reggae's perceived message) than the role of a rebel Rastafari raising worldwide black consciousness that he also often filled.

The music industry is not the only cultural organization involved in the reggae industry. The Jamaican Tourism Board and Nine Mile, Inc. both use reggae, especially its “authentic” Jamaicanness in the tourist board's case and the authenticness of Bob Marley in Nine Mile's, to generate tourist revenue. The Coalition to Protect Reggae (described previously), on the other hand, does not seem to be profit-motivated; instead, it is an organization formed to reinforce the message that roots reggae is authentic. This organization seems to be one of a very few surrounding reggae to promote an ideology. However, this motivation is called into question because, while a non-profit, the Coalition to Preserve Reggae is made up of members of the music industry (Misani, 2005).
Conclusions: The Roles of Cosmopolitan Populations and Cultural Organizations

Do cosmopolitan populations or cultural organizations play a greater role in making claims to authenticity about reggae? Cultural organizations seemed to initiate the claims to authenticity made about reggae by introducing reggae as an authentic music form to cosmopolitan populations, but without the desire of cosmopolitan populations for a connection to the past through working class values, to a “neo-heritage,” or to the exotic that is met by the “authentic” it is doubtful they would continue to do so. Therefore, I theorize that cosmopolitan populations are the dominating factor leading to claims to authenticity, but cultural organizations have an almost – but not quite – equal impact. The impact of cultural organizations is so great, beyond the role of facilitator described for it in Chapter Two and Chapter Three, because cosmopolitan populations were not interested in reggae at all until the music industry altered it to cater to their taste. This has caused the music industry's role to be greater in two ways. First, unlike many other traditional music genres the market was formed by the music industry and did not start at the grassroots so the music industry introduced “authentic” reggae and not the other way around. Second, because there were changes made to reggae's sound and some of its content (such as the change in album name from Knotty Dread to Natty Dread described earlier), an extra effort to portray its authenticity must be made in order to diminish its inauthenticity – otherwise, this music form seen as primitive and exotic would lose its market along with its perceived authenticity. A third factor that raises cultural organizations to almost the same importance as cosmopolitan populations as an
explanatory factor as to why claims to authenticity are made is the relative absence of non-industry groups promoting reggae. In other traditional music forms, there are a variety of organizations created for a number of ideological reasons often including the promotion of the culture in question, and these are often led by cosmopolitan populations, which raises the influence this group has in the making of claims to authenticity. Such groups are far rarer in reggae, though people working for the music industry have their own ideologies that may come through, like Chris Blackwell's decision to promote reggae despite the failure of other record companies to do so.
CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion: Why Are Claims to Authenticity Made?

This thesis has asked why claims to authenticity are made about traditional music originating outside the community making claims to authenticity about it. I have posited that claims to authenticity are made because they meet the desires cosmopolitan populations have for a connection to the past, to a heritage, and to the exotic. Such claims also allow cultural organizations to reach cosmopolitan populations whose patronage they desire, meet the goals of groups and individuals within the organization, and more simply describe their products. “Authenticity” has been used here to describe the culturally-formed perception that a cultural artifact – in this case music – is not a hybrid (even though, by virtue of its border crossing, it really is). “Claims to authenticity” has been used to describe statements about a particular instance of traditional music (performance, artist, etc.), and these statements have either ascribed authenticity textually by calling the instance authentic, or through representation by using signifiers for the culture making claims of the originating culture. Cosmopolitan populations, being those with what Beck (2006) termed the “globalization of emotions” (p. 5), make claims to authenticity to connect to the past, connect to an ethnic identity, or experience the exotic – all desires that stem from a disconnect with prior ways of living that is part of the globalized, quickly change world in which these populations function. Cultural organizations are the many institutions involved in the creation and dissemination of culture, and for traditional music include music publications, tourist boards, state agencies, non-profit organizations,
and the music industry. Cultural organizations often make claims to authenticity simply because by doing so they gain their cosmopolitan population audience, but ideological reasons and the simplicity of ignoring hybridities when marketing a product are also factors. These three variables – claims to authenticity and the cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations that make them – were analyzed in two case studies, one on Celtic music and the other on reggae. These case studies, and how the three variables played out within them, will be discussed in further detail in the following sections.

Some could argue that the choice of “cosmopolitan populations” and “cultural organizations” as the actors making claims to authenticity was arbitrary. As was discussed in Chapter One and demonstrated in the two case studies, Chapter Three and Chapter Four, these two actors are the ones examined because they make claims to authenticity. Immigrants from the originating culture to the United States are not examined here unless they have integrated themselves into American culture (as opposed to remaining in close-knit communities of other immigrants from the same culture, as happened with some Celtic immigrants) because the frame of reference that forms their cultural understanding is that of the originating culture. Therefore, their experience of their home culture is not a cross-border experience, and this thesis focuses on traditional music that crosses cultural borders. People outside of cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations do not seem to make claims to authenticity or to respond to them. There are a myriad of “world music” albums that integrate electronica with traditional forms that would not have the success they do if everyone were concerned about authenticity all the time. The two case
studies further support this analysis. Several advertisements for Celtic events stressed that green beer or shamrocks would be absent to indicate they were authentic, but green beer and shamrocks are plentiful – especially around St. Patrick's Day – and this would not be the case if everyone only wanted “authentic” experiences. As was shown in that chapter, an analysis of those who did make claims to authenticity showed that it was cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations catering to them that made such claims. Similarly, there were “inauthentic” attributes of reggae – like the use of electronica – that are in use despite the criticisms that such elements are inauthentic. Such forms are enjoyed by cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations, and this thesis does not argue that cosmopolitan populations only seek out the authentic but only asks why they seek it out at all. In fact, that chapter showed just how popular dancehall, which some criticize as inauthentic, has become. Many people enjoy dancehall for its sound, and do not share these critics' concerns that it is inauthentic. It was primarily cosmopolitan populations that cared about authenticity and they and cultural organizations that made claims to authenticity about reggae.

This thesis has added to existing knowledge in two ways. First, it uses an interdisciplinary set of sources from which to draw information about cosmopolitan populations, cultural organizations, and cultural authenticity. This allows us to theorize that authenticity is the perception of non-hybridity, and to observe that both cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations make claims to authenticity because the association of authenticity with certain cultural artifacts fulfills desires inherent in their
Second, I apply these observations to two case studies, researching the role of cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations in making claims to authenticity about Celtic music and reggae. From both of these avenues of research, I am able to claim that both cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations, because of the desires each has, make claims to authenticity. I find that cosmopolitan populations are the dominant factor since cultural organizations would be unlikely to make claims to authenticity if cosmopolitan populations did not respond to such claims. To what degree cosmopolitan populations dominate the explanation is a result of the particular circumstances; in Celtic music, the involvement of cosmopolitan populations in cultural organizations and the many volunteer organizations promoting Celtic music makes cosmopolitan populations about twice as powerful as cultural organizations in explaining why claims to authenticity are made, while the role of cultural organizations in introducing “authentic” reggae to cosmopolitan populations and the relative lack of non-profit organizations make cultural organizations almost equal to cosmopolitan populations in explaining why claims to authenticity are made. Such assertion adds to literature on hybrid forms and helps address gaps in current knowledge about how such forms are understood across cultural borders, a gap Mark Slobin (1993), has pointed out as remaining to be adequately filled. This chapter will review how these understandings were developed and what each case study added to the initial conceptualization, then will conclude with a discussion of how this thesis fits into larger debates occurring within scholarship and will suggest possible avenues of further research.
Claims to Cultural Authenticity: The Perception of Outsiders and Representations

The understanding of cultural authenticity employed here was based on culturally-informed perceptions of cultural authenticity by those outside of the culture in question. The form of the culture being used by such individuals is actually a hybrid form. Kraidy (2005) has argued this is the case because any time an artifact made within one culture's frame of reference is moved into another it becomes hybrid. Canclini (1995) takes a slightly different approach and says that any time an artifact meant for everyday use enters the marketplace as Culture, it becomes hybrid. Moreover, as the case studies showed, such artifacts have already undergone a great deal of hybridization before they ever cross a border or enter the marketplace – such is the reality of today's constant global interactions. In the case of reggae, the hybridization occurred fairly blatantly (by mixing existing forms within Jamaica with music like the blues coming in on the radio), often well within the lifetime of those making claims to authenticity. Similarly, Celtic music underwent hybridization with other folk music forms during the folk revival. What is important about claims to cultural authenticity is that even though the artifacts are hybrid, those making claims about them consider them to be non-hybrid.

The case studies revealed the kinds of attributes found to lend music authenticity. For both Celtic music and reggae, one of the biggest and most debated attributors of authenticity was origination in that culture. The Jamaicanness of reggae performers was often emphasized, and Irish musicians seemed to be considered de facto authentic, even though outsiders were also sometimes considered authentic. Another major element of
authenticity for both music forms was that the sound of a particular song matched certain conceptions about how it should sound. For reggae, that includes the emphasis on the right beats, inclusion of certain combinations of instruments, and accurate rhythm patterns. For Celtic music, there is an accepted canon of instruments, though new ones have been introduced successfully. There are also accepted and expected ornamentation practices and standard repertoire. Reggae has an additional element of authenticity in the message of its songs, and this is the one relied on most often by those coming from outside the culture. However, the message for those from within the culture focuses on Rasta themes with occasional forays into love songs (for roots reggae, later forms are more accepting of a broad range of lyrics). The messages for those outside of the culture are social justice and world peace, which sometimes vary considerably from the “authentic” version of roots reggae. While the actual content of “authentic” culture has been and will continue to be debated, claims to authenticity are made because some cultural forms are perceived to be non-hybrid.

**Who are Cosmopolitan Populations?: Multiple Definitions Synthesized**

Cosmopolitan populations live in a fast-paced, quickly changing world and they make claims about and consume music that is claimed to be “authentic” to supplement their globalized, modern world with connections to what is older and seen as unchanging. The understanding of cosmopolitan populations presented here is derived from two sources. The first is its common usage among scholars to indicate an elite class, often associated with the kind of world view developed by a liberal arts education and ease of
travel. However, this thesis has combined this definition with the slightly different understandings of Ulrich Beck (2006) and David A. Hollinger (1995). Beck suggested that cosmopolitans were people who experienced the “globalization of emotions” (p. 5). That is, they were both aware of and could (try to) empathize with a wide range of people all over the world. Hollinger took a slightly different approach and emphasized the curiosity of cosmopolitan populations: they want to know about a large number of cultures.

This thesis synthesized these definitions and, when an author did not specify that a certain audience was cosmopolitan, considered a subject cosmopolitan when they were described as having several of the following traits: relatively wealthy, live in urban or suburban neighborhoods, frequent world travelers, well educated, aware of and sympathetic to world events, and a frequent participant in multiple cultures beyond their own. While full data on audiences for the case studies on Celtic music and reggae would have been ideal, such a requirement would have grossly limited the instances available for examination, thereby weakening the overall analysis. Cosmopolitan is used widely enough that it does appear occasionally in literature, but is not used so widely that it is used whenever someone of that population is described. For Celtic music, audiences were found to be fairly well off – many had travelled to Ireland out of their desire to hear “authentic” Celtic music and experience Irish culture – and well educated. Reggae audiences were occasionally described by authors as cosmopolitans, and in one case as “yuppies.” They were college students, urban teenagers, and much older listeners. The
General Social Survey found that relatively high income and better education – two characteristics of cosmopolitan populations – were correlated with those who responded that they liked reggae. While in most cases the texts examined in these two cases did not specifically reference cosmopolitan populations, the descriptors used matched many of the characteristics used to define cosmopolitan populations in this thesis.

It may be argued that there are those who make claims to authenticity but are not cosmopolitan populations, or that another term may more accurately describe such populations. The use of “cosmopolitan” was employed originally because when I reflected on those whom I had heard make claims of authenticity or seen attend traditional music performances, this seemed the best term to include all who did while excluding those who did not. The evidence from my two case studies and the descriptions provided by Beck and Hollinger further supported my initial observation, so the term stayed in use. While “cosmopolitan” is a fairly broad term, I remain confident that it is the most accurate descriptor to target those individuals who value authenticity in traditional music.

Cultural Organizations: More than Just the Music Industry

The first chapter of this thesis highlighted the many kinds of cultural organizations involved in the kinds of traditional music examined here: music magazines and other publications, organizations promoting the preservation of a culture, state initiatives with similar goals, and the music industry. Cultural organizations are those that facilitate the spread and use of culture, especially through formal institutions. While profit is often the
primary motivating factor, especially for the music industry, it is not the only one. State institutions and many non-profit organizations exist to spread culture with the goal of promoting nationalism or preserving tradition. Within the music industry, too, there may be a mixture of motivations. Keith Negus (1999) pointed out both that corporations have their own sense of culture or identity that can lead employees to work for the good of the company and promote its values (i.e., profit), and that employees are also often individuals who chose their careers for a love of music. There is a complex relationship between corporations as entities in their own right, but composed of individuals with their own set of motivations.

The case studies support such a nuanced view. In the case of reggae, Chris Blackwell produced Bob Marley's music and carefully guided his image, creating a very profitable international star for his label Island Records. The success of the album *Natty Dread* was vital to keep Island Records from bankruptcy. However, while Island Records was pursuing profit, Chris Blackwell was also passionate about Jamaica's – and Bob Marley's – music. He grew up in Jamaica as the son of an English plantation owner, and chose to spend his career making the rest of the world aware of Jamaica's rich musical heritage (Goldman, 2006). Celtic music, we saw, was heavily promoted by organizations involved in promoting Irish heritage like Comhaltas, which has helped to organize and get off the ground many of the jam sessions and Celtic music festivals throughout the United States. Such organizations further highlight the complex relationship between cultural organizations and cosmopolitan populations since Comhaltas and many
organizations like it rely on volunteers on the ground to fulfill its mission: while the organization provides the impetus and know-how, cosmopolitan populations involve themselves with these organizations to make the events possible.

**Cultural Organizations and Cosmopolitan Populations Claiming Authenticity:**

**Two Case Studies**

This thesis used two case studies, reggae and Celtic music in the United States, to examine what claims to authenticity were made by cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations, and to ask why these actors made the claims they did. The findings are summarized in Table 5.1 below. While conceptually we found that cosmopolitan populations make claims to authenticity because factors of modern life like urbanization, the ease of moving, and both the celebration of the new and the fast-paced introduction of new technologies create a break with the past. The case studies allowed examination of how this desire to re-connect to the past is applied. For Celtic music, cosmopolitan populations tend to celebrate their real or imagined Irish heritage in the connection to an ethnic identity played out in the preservation through recreation of that culture, specifically its music. By preserving and claiming kinship to what they perceive as ancient (emphasized by “exotic” elements like bagpipes and Gaelic), cosmopolitan populations connect themselves to the past, thereby overcoming the break caused by their way of life. In the reggae case study, cosmopolitan populations make claims to authenticity about roots reggae, which they find to be authentic primarily when it promotes a message of peace or highlights social injustices. These claims to cultural
authenticity provide what one author termed “neo-ethnicity,” and are accompanied by a romanticization of working class, traditional values that provide the connection cosmopolitan populations desire.

The examination of cultural organizations revealed that conceptually their primary motivation for making claims to authenticity is to draw an audience – whether or not for monetary gain. Cultural organizations make claims to authenticity because their audience, cosmopolitan populations (or the part of their audience made up by cosmopolitan populations), want such claims made. Other ideological factors were also an influence, in part because of the involvement of cosmopolitan populations in such organizations and in part because of nationalistic goals. In Celtic music, we found that cultural organizations made claims to authenticity because it was profitable to do so, but there were also a number of organizations promoting Celtic music to preserve a tradition or to support Irish nationalism. In such organizations, cosmopolitan populations were often the driving force and their motivations for participation match those of other cosmopolitan populations. For reggae music, profit is more of a motivation that it was for Celtic music – at least, there were less non-profit organizations involved in reggae than in Celtic music, despite the anti-consumer message prevalent in a lot of reggae music and the ideology that surrounds it. The anti-consumer ideology of reggae provides added incentive for profit-motivated corporations to make claims to authenticity: by emphasizing the realness of their music and its message, they can downplay the role of profit.
These two case studies were chosen because it allowed a wide variation between the relative weight of cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations as factors that explain why claims to authenticity are made; while cosmopolitan populations were the more important factor in both cases, cultural organizations played a moderate role – acting primarily as facilitators but also helping to drive demand – in the case of Celtic music, and an almost equal role in reggae music. Cosmopolitan populations are frequently associated with Celtic music, and this case study was expected to reveal (as it did) that cosmopolitan populations more frequently made and drove claims to authenticity. Similarly, cultural organizations were expected to drive claims to authenticity about reggae. Without cultural organizations – specifically, Island Records – reggae may never have been heard outside of Jamaica. Furthermore, it only became popular after deliberate alteration by such organizations, who continue to make claims to authenticity about the music that plays into the desires of reggae's counter-culture, anti-consumerist audiences. However, what both case studies also revealed is that these two
actors are interdependent, that the claims to authenticity made by one feeds into claims by the other. While a full analysis of the interrelation between cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations are beyond the scope of this thesis, it remains an avenue of further study. Some within cultural studies, especially Keith Negus (1999), have begun to counter the heavy critiques levied at the music industry with an emphasis that they are made up of individuals. Yet despite this interrelation, cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations were purposefully treated as distinct organizations in this thesis because, though they are connected, they are still separate. Keith Negus also pointed out that corporations have their own culture, and Douglass North, writing from an institutional economic standpoint, also differentiated between institutions and those that make them. While cultural organizations are created by and consist of individuals, they have a larger existence that is not easily discernible by the sum of its parts (individuals).

**Authenticity as Cultural Capital: An Alternative Explanation**

There may be reasons claims to authenticity are made that I have not addressed. I tried to highlight the most probable explanations as I saw them and as were supported by my case studies. However, Bourdieu (as cited in Walton and Rao, 2004) offers a two-fold alternative to my explanation. First, as was mentioned in Chapter Two, understanding what is and is not authentic is a form of elite knowledge and value is placed on those objects deemed authentic. Such authenticity is formed and determined culturally, and it is part of what Paul D. Miller (cited in Becker et. al., 2002) has referred to as an “artificial social hierarchy of tastes” (p. 84). This may provide “social capital”, which provides its
bearer the esteem of elites or enable access to privileged circles. In the case of an artist or group perceived as authentic, this social capital may help them get into favorable festivals, performing venues, or record contracts. Claims to authenticity would be made to gain social capital. The second part of Bourdieu's explanation is that the action of declaring something “authentic” or “inauthentic” gives one a power over the object. Through what Bourdieu terms “symbolic violence”, this power gives those who bear it the ability to shape how it is interpreted – they hold power over the interpretation of the symbol. Miller (cited in Becker et. al. 2002) took Bourdieu's argument one step further and added that the conquerors tend to appropriate the symbols of the conquered, such as when Washington, D.C. chose to employ The Redskins to name a sports team. Claims to authenticity, in this case, would be made to gain and exercise power over an object. I do not see Bourdieu's explanation as opposing my own. First, if social capital is gained from the claims to authenticity made by or about one, we must ask why this matters as social capital in the first place. Why would cosmopolitan populations value perceived authenticity so much that it becomes culturally valuable as social capital? The answer to this question would be the same as the answers developed in this thesis. The second aspect of this alternative explanation, symbolic violence, asserts that claims to authenticity are made because the bearer gains power over the original culture. However, I think a better interpretation of Bourdieu's theory here is that this power happens primarily unconsciously as the result of discourses about other cultures; to consciously leverage such knowledge to gain power is possible, but difficult. That such power is a
motivation for making claims to authenticity, and therefore is sought out, would be extremely difficult to demonstrate empirically, and is virtually impossible to detect. However, I would argue this might happen to some extent but is not a major factor explaining claims to authenticity are made – power over the symbols is a theorized consequence, not motivation, for claims to authenticity. However, this would make an interesting avenue for further research. As Mattern (1998) observed, some cultures about which claims to authenticity are made had almost dismissed their traditional music before cosmopolitan populations developed an interest in it. In this case, the power cosmopolitan populations might have was only to resurface a form the originating culture had ignored. Do cosmopolitan desires for authenticity relegate the creative cultures of the world to a time of previous creativity, hampering further creative development?

Return to the Context: Applications of this Study in Debates on Culture and Globalization

What Lechner and Boli (2005) wrote about the Olympics as world culture can also be applied to traditional music as world culture:

The culture of world society, comprising norms and knowledge shared across state boundaries, rooted in nineteenth-century Western culture but since globalized, promoted by nongovermental organizations as well as for-profit corporations, intimately tied to the rationalization of institutions, enacted on particular occasions that generate global awareness, carried by the infrastructure of world society, spurred by market forces, riven by tension and contradiction,
and expressed in the multiple ways particular groups relate to universal ideals.

(p. 6)

The norms and knowledge are both understandings of what a certain culture looks like and is, to better assign it symbols and representations that mean that culture, as well as what music is, and how traditional music should sound and be experienced. These ideas trace their roots back to earlier thinking about other cultures (especially Orientalism, which we have seen still thrives in some forms today). The spread of music could not exist without the network of cultural organizations – the music industry as well as the various societies whose ideologies call for the spread of their music or certain ideas about music. There certainly also exists tensions. Some of the ideals about traditional music is that it is separate from the marketplace and some (at least Western) thought about music is that it should be “free.” However, without commercialism, traditional musics would never have traveled as widely as they have. Instead, the music industry seems to purposefully position its products as non-capitalistic and alternative, even while using its very capitalistic and mainstream resources to reach audiences who want these non-capitalist, alternative characteristics.

This thesis adds to the ongoing scholarly debate, also occurring outside of academia, about whether or not globalization is homogenizing. Benjamin Barber (cited in Lechner and Boli, 2005), in Jihad vs. McWorld, uses “McWorld” to illustrate that the ubiquity of international corporations like McDonalds are lending sameness to countries all over the world, and this bland global unity is being fought by locally-oriented
extremism that wants to preserve local, traditional ways of life. Other scholars, including Lechner and Boli (2005), Tyler Cowen (2002), and to some extent Samuel Huntington (2002) present more nuanced views – to varying degrees, each argues that homogenizing forces are being accompanied by a resurging appreciation for difference. Lechner and Boli write, “We suggest that world culture grows alongside of, and in complex interaction with, the more particularistic cultures of the world” (p. 25-26). This thesis supports and provides empirical evidence for such a nuanced view. While the United States is criticized as the home to many of the homogenizing forces, the case studies presented here illustrated the desire of Americans – specifically, cosmopolitan populations in the United States – to experience other cultures. In these instances, there are both homogenizing and heteroginizing forces at work: in the perception of authenticity, the music experienced is of another culture and therefore continues the differences between cultures readily observed. However, in the real hybridity apparent in traditional music there is similarity – products are marketed using time-tested methods that do not greatly vary from genre to genre, these “authentic” forms are combined into perceived hybrids to create a new kind of music, and music of multiple cultures are experienced by the same individuals. Cosmopolitan populations worldwide also use traditional musics in similar ways that suggests a common culture of cosmopolitanism, though the extent to which this occurs is beyond the scope of this thesis. Both the difference and the sameness that scholars project are visible in how cosmopolitan populations and cultural organizations enjoy, consume, and market traditional music.
This thesis has raised questions that could be addressed through further research. How does traditional music feed into nationalism when it is taken outside of national borders? The enjoyment of one culture by an outside one often results in the renewed appreciation by the originating culture. Mattern (1998) observed a shift from disdain to celebration of Cajun culture that occurred when Cajun musicians were warmly received by non-Cajuns at the Newport Folk Festival. Traditional music flows outside of cultural boundaries, but there is also a flow of feedback to the originating culture as their music is experienced and reacted to in ways different from its creators. The flows of traditional music are global and dynamic, but this thesis has focused primarily on a snapshot of these flows as they are experienced in the United States. A more dynamic – and necessarily far larger in scope - study would ask what impact one culture has on another through the experience of traditional music, and how motivations for claims to authenticity compare when one looks at global cosmopolitan populations and the interactions between local and international cultural organizations.

Through its analysis of Celtic music and reggae, as well as examination of a wide swathe of literature, this thesis has argued that cultural authenticity is claimed by cosmopolitan populations who find through such claims a way of placing themselves on a continuum of human history and experience. Such claims are also made by cultural organizations who primarily want to reach cosmopolitan audiences, but who also do so for ideological reasons of their own, especially but not exclusively when the organization in question is non-profit.
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