

Music Study Tourism in Ghana

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Abstract

Music study tourism is a form of cultural tourism where travelers have the opportunity to study and perform music and dance with local artists. This thesis focuses on two cultural centers in Ghana that offer educational music and dance travel packages to foreign guests. Unlike most other venues for cultural tourism that separate performers from the audience, the sites featured in this work give visitors the opportunity to fully participate in music and dance productions. The study draws on theoretical ideas from ethnomusicology and anthropological work on tourism, exploring concepts such as the tourist borderzone, the quest for authenticity, and cosmopolitanism. Musical devices and modes of transmission are examined to show how West African music translates from local artists to visitors while simultaneously reinforcing a sense of community.

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Chapter 1: Ghana, Tourism, and Music

Destination Ghana

Musical encounters are inherent to many travelers' journeys. Local music indicates that the traveler is in a different, exotic, "other" place by reinforcing a sense of space that delineates home from the destination. Music can be such a powerful transporter that some argue that the simple act of listening in the privacy of the home is a sort of virtual tourism to another soundscape (DeWitt 1999). For some, music may be the object of travel; for example, aficionados flock to music festivals such as the Festival in the Desert or Coachella, or legendary locations such as Abbey Road or Graceland. Sometimes, the travelers are musicians themselves; "going on tour" for a music group is a travel experience for performers and audience members alike.

Generally speaking, people travel to consume objects and experiences that are unlike anything available in the home environment. If such objects were easily accessible, the pleasure and novelty of the journey would be absent. For some travelers, music is a consumable object that enhances and memorializes travel. During the trip, a traveler might attend a concert, cultural display, stumble upon some street musicians, or enjoy a live band at a bar for entertainment. Though the music sound itself is ephemeral, a tourist might purchase recordings or "exotic" instruments as souvenirs. Some travelers might even take a music lesson from a local on their journey, thus consuming music as a student. This thesis will explore

one form of travel music consumption—the music study tour—in which the object of travel is to learn about another culture’s music and dance over a period of time alongside local experts. This form of tourism is increasingly common in Ghana, West Africa.

Ghana is fertile ground for research in the creation of local music and dance displays and tourist consumption. Ghana is often the first choice for Anglophone travelers to West Africa because it is one of the most stable English-speaking countries in the area. Most travelers inevitably visit the Cultural Center of Accra, Ghana’s capitol city. A colleague once aptly called the multi-acre compound of countless workshops and narrow alleys “the gift shop of Ghana.”¹ Even those who are determined to avoid the Center cannot pass the opening gate without being coaxed in by an eager salesman who is willing to walk you to his stall and give you his specially priced miniature djembes and carved bowls. If you somehow find yourself in a musical instrument shop, you may also be treated to a private performance of a (questionably “traditional”) drum composition, appropriately named “Akwaaba,” which means “welcome” in the local language, Twi. If you give the slightest inclination that you have enjoyed your private drum performance, you will be offered a private drum lesson, then encouraged to buy the drum you are playing; the salesmen at the Arts Center have fine-tuned their sales pitches to the most profitable design.

¹ My colleague and partner, Phil Babcock, traveled with me throughout my research period in Ghana.

This was my own experience from my first day researching music in Ghana. In spite of attempts to explain that I was a music researcher and was only passing through, I was inevitably led further down the road to buying a drum I did not want just by mentioning my interest in local music. A good salesman will ask their customer all of the questions, probing until they find any reason for you to spend money in their shop. This is not a good situation for the ethnomusicologist who wants to be asking the questions; researchers and tourists are one and the same for the enterprising locals at the Accra Arts Center.

The Arts Center has its share of musicians and artisans, but some of the best musicians in Ghana can be found in one of the country's many cultural performance groups, ranging from the official government-sponsored national dance ensemble to local community groups. This phenomenon is particular to post-colonial nations, where cultural ensembles are both a way to celebrate diversity but also reassert local identity in the aftermath of colonial rule. The construction of national ensembles in Ghana, similar to patterns observed in Malaysia in the early 1990s, started a wave of cultural groups that perform many different regional dances in order to create unity. Margaret Sarkissian notes that in post-colonial societies, these cultural displays are as much for the tourist as they are for the local (1998, 88). Performance groups throughout the country that serve local functions, such as funerary music or general celebrations, have been increasingly tapping into tourist markets. Rather than simply performing for tourists in ticketed cultural displays, some performance groups have created all-inclusive cultural destinations complete with room and board for travelers who

wish to not only observe but also learn and eventually perform Ghanaian music and dance cultures. These types of tourist attractions, or cultural-transmission destinations, are the focus of this study.

Tourism Studies and the “Cultural Display”

Tourism was undervalued as a subject for inquiry in the early stages of anthropology, but in the past two decades the academic study of tourism has become more widely accepted. What was originally deemed an unprofessional subject of inquiry is now a respected and valuable branch of the discipline. Initially, anthropologists belittled tourism studies as commercial, false, and tasteless (Bruner 2004, 221). Tourists were often left out of the ethnographic scope because their interactions with local people were generally confined to tourist sites; their presence was considered distracting in the field and in ethnographic accounts that aim to share the stories of the locals. However, tourists and locals exchange a considerable amount of cultural information, and sometimes products created for tourist consumption are integrated into local practice. For example, in the 1970s, the “Frog Dance” was created for tourist audiences in Bali; “it was not a simulation of an original, for there was no original” (*ibid.*, 226). A decade later, the dance had been integrated into traditional wedding ceremonies (*ibid.*).

Cultural displays such as the Frog Dance reshape tradition in a manner that appeals to the consumer. Sarkissian argues that the disguised “authenticity” of cultural shows creates an “arena of hybridization” where history and tradition are recontextualized or reinvented (1998, 101). In the past, scholars have deplored

the apparent dilution of tradition in cultural displays, and these concerns have been framed within a larger discourse on the quest for authenticity. Daniel J. Boorstin refers to tourist displays as artificial imitations called “pseudo-events” (1961), and Dean MacCannell uses the term “staged authenticity” to describe displays that both appeal to a tourists quest for authenticity but also prevent access to the reality of the construction (1976). Early tourism studies flourished on examining and identifying authentic truth from staged imitation. Today, however, anthropologists have abandoned the search for the authentic original and attempt to examine all forms of cultural tourism displays with equal consideration (Bruner 2001).

Rather than taking all cultural displays on equal terms, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett offers a more productive approach to the analysis of cultural displays. According to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “heritage is a mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past,” and its manifestation in the present does not so much concern itself with authenticity as it does with the relationship between actualities and virtualities (1995 370, 375). The tourism and heritage industry rely upon one another to be economically viable, and their mutual success has more to do with perceived authenticity (*ibid.*, 371). This work will similarly treat cultural displays as modes of heritage production; “heritage” will indicate a new product that is informed by and sourced from the past.

Heritage production in the current body of tourism scholarship often considers the local performer and tourist consumer as separate entities, which runs contrary to the roles discovered in my own research in Ghana. Commonly, locals create

cultural displays for an audience of tourists. The tourists may have an opportunity to interact with the performers, but the boundary between performer and tourist is well defined. In Ghana, some music tourists are given the opportunity to perform local music for an audience of locals after a period of study. A new model is necessary to describe the increasing integration of travelers into local tourist displays, since the production of heritage is generated by cultural insiders and foreign Others.

Music Study Tourism

The brand of tourism considered in this work is what I call “music study tourism.” In other words, I am looking at people that travel to learn music, rather than simply attend performances or cultural displays. Tourists generally experience cultural displays from a distance; they are the audience for shows or performances constructed for their entertainment and artistic edification. However, study tours provide visitors with the opportunity to study and even perform music and dance with local artists. Presumably, visitors leave with the satisfaction of having direct and meaningful experiences with the locals and their culture.

The primary objects of this study are the phenomenon of the cultural study tour, the people who contribute to this particular type of tourist economy, and the cultural products such economies generate. These topics sparked my interest when I decided to join a tour led by my West African music and dance instructor, Nani Agbeli. This led to tourism studies and a fascination with not only researching the object of my trip, West African culture, but also the people who,

like me, were traveling to another continent to learn about the music and culture wholly unrelated to their own personal backgrounds. During my seven weeks in Ghana, I traveled as a member of a music study tour group for three weeks and observed another study tour for two weeks. The two field sites observed in this study are the Camp Africa Tour, led by Nani Agbeli to the Dagbe Center in the Volta region of Ghana, and the Kusun Study Tour, hosted by the Kusun ensemble just outside of the capital city of Accra. Both of these tours had similar offerings: for a fixed price, a traveler would be provided with room and board, group music and dance lessons, local performances, and the camaraderie that accompanies group study and travel.

In some respects, this brand of tourism might be called “ethnomusicology tourism,” for many of the activities that music study tourists seek out are akin to ethnomusicological research: taking music lessons with a cultural insider, interviewing locals, performing in local ensembles, and last but not least, documenting everything. I hesitate to use the neologism “ethnomusicology tourism” because I suspect most travelers/industry participants are unaware of the discipline, and participants are not motivated by professional goals while traveling; they usually do not aim to publish their travel materials or “teach” them to others. Ethnomusicologists that are mistaken for tourists in the field might find the label especially frustrating because it equates their serious research with amateur exploits. That being said, many music study tourists discover the discipline of ethnomusicology through these tours; studying music at its source is engaging and rewarding. Once the traveler learns there are people out there who

make a career of what they thought was a leisure activity, they may find themselves applying to professional degrees in the study of ethnomusicology.²

This form of tourism is not to be confused with the discourse label “tourism ethnomusicology” suggested by Martin Stokes. He adds that this “cumbersome subdisciplinary term” might be a good thing in the sense that it legitimizes tourism as a subject for ethnomusicological inquiry. He also comments that “tourism” itself is a problematic term, but perhaps “usefully draws attention on its own inadequacies” (Stokes 1999, 141). However, in naming the musical study of tourism, I would suggest the term “ethnomusicology of tourism,” based on the widely accepted expression “anthropology of tourism.” Such phrasing still helps disciplinary awareness but also puts primacy on ethnomusicological methods. Where Stokes’ term seems like a field methodology, my adopted term puts primacy on ethnomusicology as a lens or means of understanding tourism.

Ethnomusicology of Tourism

Ethnomusicologists began the serious study of music tourism in the 1980s. A few significant events and publications stemmed from this time period; in 1986, a colloquium on tourism and traditional music was held in Jamaica by the International Council for Traditional Music (Kaeppeler 1988), and Wolfgang Suppan released an edited collection of essays in 1991 (*Musik und Tourismus*). Two journals of music have released special issues on music and tourism. A

² In conversation with current and incoming grad students at several institutions, I have found that time spent in Ghana, specifically on music study tours in Ghana, provided the research materials necessary for several students to compile (successful) applications to graduate programs in ethnomusicology.

Journal of Musicological Research issue featured tourism and identity in Asia (1998). In the following year, *The World of Music* released a special issue titled, “Music, Travel, and Tourism” (1999).

More recently, Jennifer Post made a concerted effort to include articles on music and tourism in her edited volume *Ethnomusicology: A Contemporary Reader* (2006). The subject receives an entire topical section called “Cultural Tourism and Travel.” She affirms the youth of the study of tourism in the field of ethnomusicology, and suggests that cultural tourism is a major force in the current world music scene (*ibid.*, 4). The essays included in her volume are Peter Dunbar-Hall’s “Culture, Tourism, and Cultural Tourism,” and “Folk Festival as Modern Ritual in the Polish Tatra Mountains” by Timothy J. Cooley (republished from the 1999 *World of Music*). She also suggests Jonathan Sterne’s article on music in the Mall of America (1997) and Angela Impey’s article “Culture, Conservation, and Community Reconstruction” for their references to the interplay between music and tourism (2002).

Jennifer Post has condensed the project of music scholars in tourism to the following idea: “Ethnomusicologists look at the social organizations that are constructed in the process of production and ask how music is transformed when packaged for tourists” (2006, 5). This definition works for many forms of cultural tourism where visitors and locals interact in a performance setting and then cease all contact once the performance has ended. However, music study tourism requires extended analysis because of the prolonged contact between locals and visitors in the production of heritage. Music is transformed when packaged for

music study tourists, but the relationships between host and visitor are also changed as a result of collective group performance experiences. Post's definition also suggests that music is transformed for tourists as if it were a one-way relationship. However, in music study tourism, tourists also transform music production for locals when they become involved in cultural displays. In Ghana especially, the imbalance of power between locals and foreigners has a considerable effect on the culture-bearer; reception by the powerful Others has the potential to alter the way that locals understand themselves on the musical surface and ideology and belief. Tourists also contribute music to the local soundscape if they choose to share music from home with residents. So, to expand upon Post's music tourism research agenda, ethnomusicologists must consider the social organizations constructed in the process of production and ask how music is transformed and consumed by visitors *and* locals.

Peter Dunbar-Hall's work on Balinese cultural tourism supports the ways music serves as a transformative mode of communication between hosts and guests. He classifies sites of cultural exchange between tourists and cultural bearers as either boundaries or frontiers. Boundary sites are locations where tourists are "denied access to parts of events and their meanings. Sometimes this restriction is imposed by culture bearers, at others it results from a lack of knowledge or the means of obtaining it." Frontier sites require input and motivation from both culture bearers and tourists to expose the meaning of a particular event. Performers welcome tourist interest and assist tourists in comprehension of the event (Dunbar-Hall 2006, 56). Music study tour locations

fit into Dunbar-Hall's definition of "frontier sites" because they emphasize they acquisition of cultural knowledge between locals and visitors.

Dunbar-Hall's conception of the frontier site seems like an idealistic version of Edward Bruner's borderzone concept. A major theme in the anthropology of tourism, borderzones are constructed, ever-shifting bounded locations where locals and tourists interact (Bruner 1996, 158). In the case of music study tourism, each individual at the site exchanges information freely in order to maximize cultural comprehension. However, are those exchanges truly open, equal, and candid? Timothy Cooley has come up with a system of interpretive devices that can help evaluate motivations underneath musical and social exchanges at tourist sites. In his research on Polish music heritage festivals, he uses a Hegelian-dialectical approach to tourism studies using the following dichotomies: isolation v. multiculturalism, preservation v. invention, spurious v. authentic, and tourism v. ethnography (2006). Isolation v. multiculturalism figures heavily into the construction of borderzones. The second dichotomy points to the degree of cultural preservation that takes places at a site of heritage production. Cultural displays can range from spurious to authentic, but their ultimate value is at the discretion of the consumer. In my research, I will use these dichotomies to evaluate the tourist sites and show how some of these themes affect one another in the field.

Roles, Labels, Relationships

Just as the label "tourist" might offend a researcher in the field, some music study tour participants might similarly contest this label. Valene Smith's

groundbreaking book on tourism studies, *Hosts and Guests*, defines a tourist as “a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change,” though many music study tour participants would agree that the trip to Ghana was not a leisurely escape (Smith 1989, 1). For this reason, I use the label “tourist” sparingly, and when the term is employed, it is used in tandem with generally accepted theories of tourism to describe a wide variety of travelers. As an alternative, guests (term from Smith 1989), travelers, and participants are the labels used to avoid the superficial associations of the word “tourist.” On a similar note, the music study tour operators are referred to as locals, hosts, and culture bearers.

Scholars have developed a variety of tourist classifications that clarify particular consumer motivations and desires for travel. They are useful to consider because consumer motivations drive the tourist market, and the tourist market influences many features of heritage production. Erik Cohen developed a phenomenological typology of tourist experiences, which suggests that tourist desires can be viewed on a spectrum from recreational to existential needs; recreational tourists seek diversions whereas existential tourists seek transformative experiences that will augment their identity upon return to home (1979; 2004, 21-22). Smith uses a typology based upon a tourist’s ability and affinity to adapt to local norms—an alternative axis that does not necessarily correspond with Cohen’s spectrum (Smith 1989, 12). In general, music study tourists are traveling to learn and investing in personal creativity, which places them on the existential end of Cohen’s spectrum. And though some travelers

proved very adaptable to local behaviors, others delighted in their differences with the locals, placing them on various locations within Smith's typology.

The role of authenticity, though deemed irrelevant in the production of heritage, is considered a motivating factor for some tourists. Dean MacCannell argues that tourists are in pursuit of authentic experiences, and they search for places and experiences that contrast to one's everyday life (1976). John Urry argues that the search for authenticity is not a cornerstone the tourist impulse, rather the "tourist gaze" that searches for something different than one's normal daily experience (1990, 11). The object of the tourist gaze may be authenticity, but the tourist may delight in the inauthentic as well as long as their standards of rest and relaxation are met. Urry and Maxine Feifer's label "post-tourist" applies to travelers who recognize there is no "single, authentic tourist experience" and therefore, the traveler both questions and delights in the variety of experiences that arise throughout the journey (Urry 1990, 100; Feifer 1985). I find all of these labels to be equally helpful in describing tourist attitudes, though they are dependent on individual preferences.

The Camp Africa and Kusun Study tour were advertised as package tours; the trip details, such as food, lodging, itinerary, and transportation were more or less pre-established. Though package tours are usually marketed to leisure tourists, the Camp Africa and Kusun music study tours catered to a niche market of music and culture aficionados who were seeking to create and participate in the process of culture production. In other words, the group was not seeking leisure and comfort, or attracted to inauthentic "pseudo events" as Boorstin describes (Boorstin 1964,

also Urry 1990, 7), but rather they were invested in learning about Ghanaian life in dance workshops and drumming lessons on a structured trip. No one was traveling in order to escape everyday life; they were looking to enhance their lives upon their return with the cultural knowledge gained through travel.

Methodology and Terminology

Some ethnographers willingly assume tourist roles in order to study relationships between tourists and locals, and this is a technique I experimented with throughout my research to varying results. Most ethnographers researching tourism question in what ways they are alike and different from those they study; tourist and ethnographer motivations often overlap (Crick 1995, 205). Given their expertise and qualifications, some anthropologists are asked to act as tour guides for private travel agencies. Edward Bruner served as a tour guide-lecturer for two group tours in Indonesia. As a guide, he was a participant-observer, studying and shaping tourist experiences from the inside out: “there was a delicious ambiguity in my dual role: I was an anthropologist but also, in effect, one of the tourists, my professional self but also one of them. I was enjoying the tourists but simultaneously observing them, and I was providing the tourists with the very interpretations that I was studying” (Bruner 2005, 1-2). Unfortunately, Bruner’s relationship with the travel company that hired him deteriorated when they discovered he was deconstructing each activity on the travel itinerary for the guests. His goal was to encourage the travelers to “become more reflexive about their touristic experiences,” but the travel company felt that he was unnecessarily complicating the travelers’ leisure time (2005, 3). What is surprising to me is that

Bruner chose to guide the tourists' thought processes during the trip rather than observe them from a minor distance; it seems like a rather invasive ethnographic strategy. In the end, he discovered that he really could not fundamentally alter the way his tour group understood the cultural performances they visited simply because their travel motivations were different from his own. They were leisure travelers, content with out-of-the-ordinary experiences, whereas Bruner needed to understand and explain the creation and reception of those processes.

Scholar-guides are more successful leading study tour groups for students since traveler and guide motivations are properly aligned. However, student and scholar-guide may not identify themselves as tourists because their primary objectives are usually education or research. Study tours and research trips alike involve a lot of work on the part of the traveler, whereas a tourist may consider a trip to be a vacation or escape from work. However, the personal objectives of the traveler do not prevent locals from classifying study groups as tourist groups (Crick 1995, 207). This is frustrating for study groups and researchers alike: "Anthropologists may find tourists embarrassing and emerge from their encounters with them feeling that they know more than tourists, have more authentic experiences, are less harmful than tourists, and so on, but the stark fact is that in many areas anthropologists and tourists literally stare at each other" (Crick 1995, 210). In the end, tourists, study tour participants, and anthropologists share the search for the authentic and create stories of their travels to share once they return home.

The attractions of study tours in Ghana cater to specific groups of tourists, groups that are defined by their travel motivations and expectations. More specifically, study tourists value educational experiences over leisure. Using Erik Cohen's phenomenological typology of tourists, study tour visitors tend to range from the experiential to the existential as opposed to the recreational (Cohen 1979). The existential tourist would agree with the African music scholar/philosopher Meki Nzewi's adage, "A person who has not experienced does not recognize the true nature of a thing" (1997, 18); the West African approach to music study tourism is phenomenological out of cultural necessity.

Cohen argues that the experiential and existential tourists are very akin to pilgrims (1979, 190). Victor Turner describes the pilgrim's journey as movement from a Familiar Place to a Far Place and returning to the Familiar (1973, 213). Tourists and pilgrims both leave from a familiar place on a journey to 'worship' that which is sacred to them, and then return home once again (Cohen 2004, 125 and Urry 1990,10). In the case of West African music study tourism, travelers partake in the journey to West Africa, pay their respects to the local culture with music and dance, and (hopefully) return home with a deeper understanding West African music and dance performance and practice.

By equating the existential tourist experience to pilgrimage, I will explore Turnerian paradigms in tourism studies that are based upon Victor Turner's processual model. This approach warrants explanation because it is a model originally designed for sacred applications, not the secular world of tourism. Turner's processual form of ritual is based upon Arnold van Gennep's work on

rites of passage (1960 [1908]). In summary, Turner uses a three-step model to explain both the individual experience and social dynamics of ritual. In the first step, separation, the individual is removed from familiar social and physical contexts. The second step, liminality, implies the separated state where the individual is suspended from ordinary obligations and “stripped of usual status and authority” (Turner 1978, 249). The third stage, reaggregation, involves the reintroduction of the individual to their original social context with formally raised social status.

This model became popular in tourism studies in the late 1970s when Turner adapted this model to include obligatory liminal situations (rituals, sacred) and optative liminoid situations (secular) (Turner 1978). The theory of liminoid situations was quickly applied to leisure and travel (Cohen 2004, 124). An important feature of liminal and liminoid situations is the production of *communitas*, “a relational quality full of unmediated communication...the bonds of communitas are undifferentiated, egalitarian, direct, extant, nonrational, existential... an essential and generic human bond” (Turner 1978, 250). The term also implies a community of equals; individuals that are equal in the sense that they have been stripped of status (Turner 1969, 96). In my own research, I will use the Turnerian approach to evaluate various liminoid situations and examine whether or not *communitas* is produced, between whom, and why.

There are a few terms that ethnomusicologists, anthropologists, and the general public use very differently in tourism discussions. Authenticity, culture, tradition, and heritage are especially polysemic terms, so I will clarify my own

usage of them in this thesis. As previously discussed, authenticity is not used as an absolute term, as if it were something that could be consistently measured or evaluated. I use it as a construction based on an individual's personal tastes. So, a tourists' quest for authenticity is not necessarily a search for truth but rather the traveler's conceptualization of the truth. In some cases I use the word as used by someone else in the field, and in such cases I invite the reader to contemplate the usage and context.

Tradition, heritage, and culture are words often used interchangeably by locals and guests in the field, but the scholarly usage of these terms is less flexible. Following James Burns' work with the Ewe people in eastern Ghana, I will use capital "C" Culture to refer to traditional practices that may include music or ritual (2009, 4). Tradition is a complicated word in the Ghanaian lexicon because it may be used as a synonym of (reportedly) unchanging Culture or it may refer to traditional arts that are continuously reinvented. Acknowledging the term's ambiguity in the field, this work will use Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblet's definitions for tradition and heritage to clarify my own discussions of tradition and heritage.

Boundaries are an organizing principal of this work, because they provide a useful way of thinking about the major themes that arise in music study tourism. This interpretive device draws from Edward Bruner's concept of the "borderzone" (Bruner 1996). Bruner often uses the metaphor of a stage to describe the borderzone as a location where locals "perform" for tourist "audiences." This metaphor becomes a reality in the case of cultural tourism. A majority of my

research questions include iterations of this topic: What are the physical boundaries created by tour operators to separate the tourist experience from a less predictable or manageable local presence? What are the limits of traditional music? What are the boundaries that delineate traditional performance from tourist display? Are there certain boundaries between hosts and guests? How are pedagogical barriers overcome in the transmission of music from host to guest? On the other hand, an important theme is the examination of how boundaries, barriers, and limits are crossed by both hosts and guests in the borderzone.

Cosmopolitanism is another theme that will be explored with respect to music study tourism. There are many definitions for cosmopolitanism, and tourism and tourists are often evoked as both examples and counter examples to cosmopolitan entities. In this work, I will rely on philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah's definition for moral cosmopolitanism, which is a belief in a human community in which every human being is responsible to every other (2006). There are many activities that are associated with the goal of creating a global community, and music tourism is a particularly effective agent. I argue that travelers are driven to music study tourism as a result of cosmopolitan impulses, and the success of a music study tour often depends on shared cosmopolitan attitudes between hosts and guests.

Chapter Preview

Chapters two and three each detail a particular field site and explore a theme in tourism scholarship that I found was particularly applicable to each site. Each of these chapters function as miniature ethnography of the locations they

feature in order to familiarize the reader with my research experiences in a chronological fashion. The proceeding chapter is on the Camp Africa tour and discusses ritualized activities and the generation of communitas as well as borderzones: the physical and conceptual boundaries constructed tourists and hosts. Chapter three, on the Kusun study tour, will explore heritage production and cosmopolitanism. When appropriate, I have included italicized excerpts from my own field notes to contextualize some of the analysis. Chapter four highlights some of the music and dance observations made at both music study tour sites. The juxtaposition of Dagbe and Kusun's heritage displays yielded valuable observations in the musical analysis. The final chapter will review, explore, and evaluate music study tourism Ghana and discuss possible avenues for future research.

Chapter 2: The Camp Africa Tour

The Dagbe Cultural Institute and Arts Center of Kopeyia, Ghana, is a facility that promotes the traditional dance, music and arts of West Africa. In addition to its efforts on behalf of the preservation of traditional culture, the Dagbe Center hosts students, researchers, and tourists from around the world and offers instruction in drumming, singing, dance and crafts to its many visitors. For this reason, Dagbe can be classified as a “cultural tourist center.”

The chapter will begin with a brief history and description of the Dagbe Center, and then focus on the Camp Africa tour, a particular music study tour that operates at Dagbe for two weeks in July. I will show how the Camp Africa tour fits within tourism discourse, and discuss several means of classifying hosts and guests at Dagbe. The rest of the chapter will detail some of the events that shaped the two-week tour. Various ritualized activities engendered a strong sense of Victor Turner’s *communitas* between hosts and guests. Group dynamics were further established through music lessons and performances. As personal relationships developed, economic and social relationships were increasingly negotiated between locals and visitors, creating a one-of-a-kind music tourism experience for the guests.

The Dagbe Cultural Institute and Arts Center

The late Godwin Agbeli founded the center in 1982 in the Ewe region of southeastern Ghana, almost 200 miles from the capital city of Accra. The current

compound was officially opened in 1992. Godwin's son, Emmanuel, now directs the Center and much of the extended family participates in the center's operations.³ Godwin chose to build the Dagbe Center in the village of his maternal ancestors, Kopeyia, which is about three hours from the Ghanaian capital. Nani Agbeli, Godwin's youngest son, explains his father's motivations for choosing the village location:

“He decided to put it there instead of the city because he didn’t want the city to have influence or to effect the tradition, the authentic[ity] of everything... it will still have that feeling of tradition because of the surrounding and the people... People can come there and feel like they are in the tradition, instead of being in the city where there is a lot of musics, like hip hop and other things running around” (Agbeli 2013).

The remote location of the village provides visitors with a non-touristic experience of discovery that gives visitors the impression that they are among the few to make it beyond the confines of city life to uncover a refuge for Ewe culture (MacCannell 1973, 594 and Cohen 1988, 372). The Dagbe staff actively promotes the message that their interpretations of Ewe music and dance are the most “authentic,” and the “pristine” village setting is a physical/geographical justification for that argument. Their concept of authenticity, for which they use the synonym “true,” is based on the self-evaluation that they, more so than other urban or neighboring performance groups, hold the most historically accurate stories, music, and dance traditions of the Ewe people. Their declaration of authenticity may be either a business maneuver or part of an Ewe cultural habit of

³ Due to the large number of Agbeli family members I encountered throughout my research, I will refer to each by their first name.

boasting. Regardless, the staff can promote their own interests while simultaneously appealing to the traveler's quest for authenticity.

The sense that the visitor is doing something that very few people have done before is very satisfying to the “tourist ego.” According to Dean MacCannell, tourism is a sort of elusive commodity that cannot be captured and taken home with the visitor. Thus, the status that a person gains through travel is not material but egoic. Attractions that cater to the inflation of the “tourist ego” tend to be the most successful (MacCannell 2002). The music study tour model is a great example of this phenomenon; travelers cannot take home Kopeyia, the Dagbe Center, or the ephemeral experience of the music and dance they learn there, but they can take hold of cultural knowledge and use it to construct their identity.⁴

For a seemingly secluded village in Ghana, Kopeyia has received great deal of international recognition, and therefore any sense of remoteness is an illusion. There are many different groups that visit throughout the year, and the village has been the site of many published research projects since the formation of the Dagbe Center. A large component of Dagbe visitors are university students on study abroad trips. Currently, the University of Massachusetts Amherst and Berklee College of Music bring groups of undergraduates to Dagbe in the summer, and students have the opportunity to earn credits toward their degrees. Dagbe has also had a long-standing connection with the Tufts in Ghana program,

⁴ The popularity of collegiate study abroad programs results from similar appeals to the “tourist ego.” Amongst college students, the study abroad experience is something of a status symbol.

one of the foreign programs administered by Tufts University; students spend their fall semester at the University of Ghana in Legon and have the opportunity to travel to Kopeyia. SIT Study Abroad, an accredited study abroad company, also sends students to Dagbe throughout the year.

Many scholars have been attracted to Kopeyia as a research site. Steven Cornelius discusses tradition and modernization in the village, with Godwin Agbeli as his main informant (2000). Steven Friedson's book, *Remains of Ritual: Northern Gods in a Southern Land*, is an ethnomusicological foray into a village shrine (2009). David Locke has produced a significant number of publications and recordings on Ewe music in conjunction with Godwin Agbeli, including *Drum Gahu*, a monograph on an Ewe composition that combines musical ethnography and an innovative approach to African music theory (1998).

The Dagbe Center is the perfect example of a borderzone. Such a site is the meeting ground between hosts and visitors, “the stage” where the theater of tourist displays takes place (Bruner 2004). Both tourists and hosts are the performers, equally contributing to a consumable experience. The Dagbe Center itself has physical borders: the walled compound is distinctly separated from the surrounding village. Within the compound, there are over ten two-person bedrooms and one large dormitory, though some rooms have been repurposed. The center boasts a modern kitchen and dining area for guests, an internet café, communal showers, and three flush toilets. A very large courtyard lies at the center of the compound, and within it stands a large, palm-thatched gazebo used for dance and drum rehearsals, or simply as a nice place to relax in the white,

wooden chairs that circle the pavilion. Across from the main guest residence, there is a long building originally intended as an indoor performance venue, though it was used for kente weaving classes while the Camp Africa tour was on site in 2012. A painted sculpture of the late Godwin Agbeli stands in the center of the premises, symbolically watching over all of the visitors and interactions that take place within the walls of the Dagbe Center.

The Camp Africa Tour

The Camp Africa tour is organized and led by Nani Agbeli, who is currently living in the United States as a West African drum and dance instructor. He is the teacher of MUS 91, Kiniwe (the Tufts University African Ensemble), and the Artistic Director of the Agbekor Drum and Dance Society, which also meets at Tufts University but has no official affiliation with the school. Agbeli leads the Camp Africa tour every summer. The tour is open to anyone with an interest in Ghanaian music, dance, crafts, and travel, though he mainly attracts students from his Boston-based performance groups. The three-week study trip includes dance and drum lessons, room and board, and a week of travel to visit sites beyond the small village of Kopeyia. My study will focus on the first two weeks of the tour itinerary, because the focus of the tour was primarily music and dance lessons at Dagbe for that time period.⁵ The tour is currently the only group visiting Dagbe that has no affiliation with a particular academic institution, and is

⁵ The final week of the tour was devoted to tours of slave castles, national parks, and shopping at the Arts Center in Accra. Music still figured heavily into the tour, though the tour members we mostly consuming local popular music via the tour bus audio/visual system. I plan on exploring these musical interactions with respect to music tourism in the future.

the only tour that is privately organized, advertised, and led by a native Ghanaian. Additionally, Nani's tour business is a separate entity from the Dagbe Center operated by his siblings, though he is officially the "Lead Instructor of Dance." Thus, he is both a Dagbe client and employee.

Here is Nani's account of the tour history:

"The whole 'Camp Africa' idea started in 2001 when I had my first outside trip, business trip outside of Ghana—that was when I was in Jamaica. A program like that came to me because of the students that I was teaching, and because of how people were suggesting I come back again, and they wanted to visit where I am from. When I had an opportunity to come to the US, the idea became much more because of the groups that came to my dad's school. So I thought, this would be something really great, not just great for me as a person trying to do something like that, but also great for my dad's school because that would create another venue or possibility for the school to get more business and spread the word more. My goal of doing all these things is to help the country, Ghana, and also help other people from other countries to bring out their cultures, the music and dance to the people, and to make them aware of something like this..."

"2008 was my first trip, which I took from the dance department of the University of Wisconsin Madison. I took a group of students, made a flyer, made an announcement, and I got 15 students signed up, and I didn't have any name at that time, I just was calling it 'Ghana Trip.' So we went to Ghana, [and] before we had our performance at the end of the two weeks, we were sitting down, 3 or 4 students including me, and we were just talking about the trip and how awesome it was that I put this together, and I was like, "You know, we don't even have a name for this trip. We need to find a name." And then, one of my students was like, 'Oh, lets call it Camp Africa, because it's an African trip, you aren't living in a nice hotel, but you're also not living in a tent, so it's kind of like in between, and the center is all inclusive, so you don't have to go out of the center to do anything apart from going to the beach and market, so it's like you are camping in Africa, learning all of these things, and its awesome, so we should call it Camp Africa.' All of a sudden, I was like oh, I like that name, and Camp Africa became the name of the program. Right after that year, I kept trying to push it to happen and the second time was 2010, and then it kept going from there. That was how it started, and my motivation for starting it was to help spread the word, the culture of Ghana."

“The first time I took the trip, in 2008, there were students from UW Madison, elementary school teachers from other schools around, not even from Madison, there was one music professor, [and] there were two tourists who loved dancing and thought the program sounded awesome and just wanted to come on it. [One] lady came with her boyfriend, and he didn’t know anything about music or dance, but he just thought the program sounded great and he came and he ended up dancing, which was awesome. But every year, I take different people. It’s just about whoever is interested in going on the trip. It varies, it’s different each time.”
(Agbeli 2013)

For the 2012 Camp Africa tour, ten travelers arrived in Ghana on July 15, 2012. Of that group, six participated in one of Nani’s performance groups in the US. Two members of the group had already been on the tour and enjoyed the experience so much that they wished to return again. Three of the group members had never met Nani before the trip, but were referred by other members of the group. My partner and I were both on the trip with the purpose of collecting research materials for our master’s theses, though we expected to have a lot of fun while doing so. As it turns out, many members of the group partook in personal research while on the trip: recording music, taking video of dance performances, informally interviewing hosts, taking private lessons, and of course, photographing memorable moments. In a sense, all members of the group were traveling to research, document, and learn Ghanaian culture.

The Tour Arrives: Ritual and Community

The group’s first night in Ghana was spent at a hotel on the beach in the capital city of Accra. For many, including myself, the hotel was our first experience with Ghanaian hospitality, cuisine, and the frustrating process of wrangling a mosquito net around one’s bed. The next morning, we packed our luggage and ourselves tightly into 16-passenger vans and made the 3-hour trek to the village of Kopeyia.

The vans rolled into the red-walled compound of the Dagbe Center and we were greeted by the staff as if we were long-lost family, although this was probably because our group leader was family and the welcoming gestures directed at Nani were extended to the tour group. After an obligatory tour of the facilities, the group was treated to some drumming and dancing in a large outdoor pavilion where our own classes would take place. Afterward, we were taken to another section of the Dagbe center for a libation ceremony.

Emmanuel explained that in order for the group to stay in the village and learn Ewe culture, we had to first ask permission of the ancestors. We all sat upon a long bench outside the compound's shrine as Emmanuel explained the finer points of Ghanaian palm wine and drinking methods. With a small cup of liquor in hand, the group was instructed to silently call out to the ancestors, speak our names to them, and drink, leaving a little in the cup to pour on the ground for the ancestors. After that, staff and visitors danced in the courtyard together in celebration. (July 16, 2012)

At Dagbe, visiting guests are welcomed on their first day at the center with a ritualized pouring of spirits. Libation ceremonies are an important aspect of Ghanaian life as a means of prayer and communication with both deities and ancestors, and locals practice certain aspects of the ritual almost every day. Emmanuel, who led the event, explained that libation pouring was an obligatory rite that would engender productive relationships between the group and the staff and protect us during our travel. By connecting with their hosts' ancestors, the group was told that they were now part of the family. It is not realistic to assume that the locals automatically accepted the tour group into the community through participation in this ritual; the walls of the Dagbe compound are a physical reminder of the tour group's separation from certain aspects of the community. However, the ceremony was particularly successful as a welcoming gesture, using recognizable symbols such as the drinking of alcohol and the act of prayer.

Joseph K. Adjaye speaks on the performative nature of libations in Akan society, and he makes a connection between the ritual and the development of communitas, (2004, 86) an aspect of the liminal phase in Victor Turner's processual form of ritual (1969). He analyzes libation ceremonies enacted and experienced by cultural insiders, and the use of "shared textual traditions" in creating collective understanding figures heavily in this analysis (Adjaye 2004, 39). Can the ceremony evoke similar feelings in foreign guests, and develop communitas? Stephen Friedson's ethnography describes a variety of libations ceremonies in which he was an active participant; throughout the book his ritual participation is motivated by a need to find acceptance within the community he was living and working. These processes required appealing to humans, ancestors, and spirits to prevent afflictions caused by vindictive local spirits and people. He poignantly finishes the book with the anecdote of a local woman greeting him with *woezo*, or "welcome," suggesting that Friedson finally felt welcome to the community by both the physical and spiritual residents (2009). Regardless of the level of a foreigner's understanding of the textual aspects of ritual, both Friedson and the Dagbe visitors showed a desire to be welcomed into the community and interpreted the ceremony to suit their own needs. One group member reported feeling more welcome and connected to a lineage of hosts and visitors to the Dagbe Center in addition to "the ancestors," a particularly abstract concept for a first-time visitor.

The resulting bonds that were formed between group members and staff may have fostered a sense of community, but they did not exhibit the same type of

communitas suggested by Adjaye. Rather, ritual activities are designed to facilitate feelings of social acceptance that appeal to the traveler, but not necessarily the host. As I will show in the following examples, both tour group members and locals were active participants in ritual displays. However, because participants fell into distinct categories—traveling consumers of culture and local producers of culture—any sense of communitas was confined to the tour group.

Following the libations ritual, the first drum and dance lesson was replaced by an event that was deemed too important for the group to miss. This would not be the first time tour plans would be interrupted by fortuitous cultural experiences. A shrine in the village was celebrating the final day of a three-day festival. The Dagbe staff did not explain much about the event or the shrine, perhaps assuming that the event would speak for itself:

The celebration took place outdoors, and a crowd was gathered around a square, palm-thatched pavilion where dancers, musicians, and priests danced underneath. Participants were members of the Brekete shrine, and thanks to some background research, I had a slim understanding of the events we were faced with, and understood that it was rather gracious of our hosts to allow us to participate in a festival normally restricted to practitioners of Brekete [a local spiritual practice]. It did not take long for some older women to pull a few tour members into the dance space, and this seemed to frustrate some of the elderly men who were seated in front of the shrine. Although I couldn't understand their yelling, their indignant expressions and sweeping arm motions had me feeling like we shouldn't be there, although my fellow group members didn't seem to care as they were continually brought into the dance space. One of the priestesses, who may or may not have been in a god-trance-possession, shook one of my group member's and my hand. My fellow traveler was eager to share her experience with the group that evening; she understood the handshake as a message from the ancestors: we were truly welcome to the village. (July 16, 2012)

Though both locals and tourists were audience to the festival, not all participants were involved in ritual obligations. Therefore, Turner's ritual processes were manifested to varying degrees. Several locals exhibited the liminal phase: shrine members who fell into trance states, priestesses embodied the divine. On the other hand, the tour group experienced a liminoid state: they participated in an event where they had a slim understanding of actual events, yet were welcome in the ritual dance space and festivities. Many group members felt the unmediated communication and existential human bonds that characterize communitas because they were so effortlessly integrated into "Otherness"—ritual activity unlike anything they had ever experienced before. As a result, the study tour members created an illusion of authenticity for themselves, an illusion where the event could remain authentic in spite of the participation of foreign others whose interpretations were laden with errors. For example, the term "ancestors" was thrown around, as if the Agbeli ancestors we appealed to in the libations ceremony had something to do with the spirits associated with the shrine festival. Local participants and spectators did not universally share the liminoid experience of communitas because of the innocent conflation of rituals by tour participants. Though the group members had no ritual status at the event, thus facilitating a liminoid quality, they were also symbols of "Otherness" for locals; reminders of social and economic imbalances between Western tourists and local villagers.

At the end of the first week, the group was informed that they had received an invitation from a local chief to perform at the annual corn festival in Denu. The staff informed the tour participants that they were the first visiting study group to

receive an invitation to perform at a local ceremony beyond the village of Kopeyia. Apparently, Emmanuel had been talking with the chief about the progress our group had been making on the performance pieces, *Atsiagbekor* and *Asante Kete*, and the chief expressed that it would be an honor to have the foreign guests perform at the ceremony. It was the first time our group had performed outside of the Dagbe compound, and we were told it was the first time any tour group had performed for an externally organized event. The staff and tour members were fully integrated; one group member even played the master drum for *Atsiagbekor*.



Figure 1 Dagbe staff and tour members perform together at the corn festival

Although the group was told we would be performing for the local chief at the stool, we actually traveled to the neighboring town of Denu for the performance. Tour members were surprised that this local chief was not actually located in the

village; the illusion of village seclusion was erased as we recognized Kopeyia was not so isolated as the boundaries of Dagbe would lead us believe. Before the performance, tour members participated in a ritual that involved visiting the local stool.

We were led into a small dark storeroom with some words of encouragement and perseverance written in chalk on the walls. Some of the Agbeli women had the females in our group take off our shirts and pull our bra straps beneath our arms and wrapped us in the standard two-yard fabric wrap. This was in preparation to visit the stool. The men were instructed to remove their shirts and wrap themselves at the waist with fabric. So we were led across the courtyard and turned an immediate left, barefoot. We came to a small round hut with some animal skulls hanging next to the iron gate, which opened to the stool entrance. Several older men and women sat outside the hut, dress similarly to us. Emmanuel and some older men in white cloths beckoned us inside. I am not sure how we fit inside; in fact, some of the locals had to crowd around the doorway. The stool was actually a number of stools surrounded by drying greens, animal horns, figurines, and other small trinkets. Everything was placed on a step about six inches higher than the floor we gathered on. Two small candles burned in front of the altar, with three small bowls of libations placed in front. It wasn't until the priest picked the bowls up that I realized there were holes in the cement beneath them. We were asked if we wanted to speak any special requests to the ancestors: wishes or prayers. One of the tour members said a nice wish out loud. Only he and Emmanuel spoke their prayers aloud. After each person had their wishes, the priest would then speak to the ancestors and introduced each of us to them by name. I hope they heard us. We then ate from a bowl of starchy corn before exiting. Crouching on the floor, the flies buzzing around me were like little friendly spirits circling about in the light of the doorway.
(July 26, 2012)

Through participation in the stool ritual and corn festival performance, group participants once again passed through a semblance of each stage of Turner's ritual process. This time, the liminoid phase was marked by a change in dress. Participants thanked the ancestors for a successful harvest, shifting focus from personal needs to the needs of the community, reinforcing the bonds between

locals and guests. Afterward, the group was allowed to make petitions to the ancestors and the priest introduced each of us by name to the ancestors. As with the shrine festival, group members may have been participating in ritualized activities alongside locals, but any sense of communitas generated during the event was liminoid and separate from local experience. As suggested earlier, the liminoid sense of communitas is a sort of synthetic communitas; group members feel a deep connection with locals, but the hosts do not necessarily share this connection. Nani and the Dagbe staff recognize the power of ritual participation in the guest experience; as long as the guests are drawing meaningful experiences from the tour, business is good.

Host Perspectives

For the niche market of music study tourism that Dagbe provides, locals share their culture in addition to their hospitality. For this reason the Dagbe staff can be considered culture bearers, with responsibilities that extend beyond expectations of the average hotel worker or cultural performer at a given borderzone. Camp Africa members had the most exposure to a core group of Dagbe staff that was responsible for drum and dance lessons. The drum and dance staff were culture bearers in a very direct way, sharing culture in classes every morning and afternoon.

The drum and dance staff were all members of Dagbe's performance troupe, Sankofa Root 2. This performance group had nightly rehearsals during the Camp Africa tour that Dagbe guests and villagers were also welcome to attend. Where the daily music classes were examples of direct cultural exchange, the evening

rehearsals indirectly reinforced local values; they were not putting on a show, they were simply exercising a social activity and inviting visitors to be a part of the gathering. To borrow a distinction from sociology, daily music classes and nightly performances were *manifest functions* designed to impart musical and dance knowledge, however a *latent function* of the nightly performances was to reinforce social connections between locals and guests (Merton 1968).

Many staff members had their first exposure to music and dance as student members of a troupe at the local primary school. The Kopeyia Bloomfield local authority school was founded in 1988 after an American musician, Robert Levin, traveled to Kopeyia to study with Godwin Agbeli and took it upon himself to establish a fund to support the building of a school in the village (Kaufman 1994).⁶ Students that excelled in Godwin's school group were then invited to join Sankofa Root 2 and the Dagbe staff. Thanks to the education provided to them at the local school and by Godwin Agbeli, the Dagbe staff is well equipped to host foreigners.

In interviews I conducted with them during my field experience, staff members spoke about their training to become Dagbe staff members. The lead singing instructor very directly told me the rules Nani had laid out for the staff: "We have to be humble. We have to respect your time. We have to respect the student. Don't ask a gift from the student. Don't get into the student's room. Don't use a mobile phone whilst you have a lesson...so you have to be faithful to

⁶ Robert Levin, ethnomusicologist, not to be confused with the pianist Robert D. Levin.

the student. Be free to them. Not in any negative way” (Ali 2012). The “faith” and “respect” to visitors described in this interview demonstrates that the staff feels responsible to the guests, not necessarily their higher-ups.

Nani affirmed that the staff goes out of their way to make students feel welcome, but he attributes their behavior to his own presence: “I think I have a special connection with people in the village and the staff members...so anytime I suggest something to them or anytime I bring students, they treat my students special. Anytime I am doing something like that, and they have to be involved, they try to do the best they can to make sure that my students have a very memorable, great time” (Agbeli 2013). Nani’s trip is special because it is the only study tour visiting Dagbe that is led by a local, not to mention the son of Godwin Agbeli.

A large part of Nani’s responsibility on the trip was boundary negotiation between hosts and guests since he was so well connected in both the local and visitor community. He understood the expectations of his Western guests, but also mediated local problems as well. His roles on the tour are similar to his duties as a culture bearer-type instructor in his American ensemble, though the context is reversed, perhaps making his job a bit easier while on his home turf. Richard Trimilios borrows the term “staged authenticity” from tourism studies in his own discussion of culture bearers at academic institutions. He uses it to show how the institutionalized culture bearer is often placed in a position where he represents a whole tradition, though he may only be a qualified drummer or simply “look” the part (Trimilios 2004, 40). This may be the case while he is teaching in the United

States, but on tour he does not bear the burden of representing his entire culture to a group of foreigners.

Music and Dance

Dance and drum lessons commenced on our second day at Dagbe. The dances selected for the group were fast and slow *Agbekor* and *Ashanti Kete*. A few members of our group had studied *Agbekor* before, so there was some debate whether or not to put two weeks work into something a few people knew very well. However, Nani pointed out that studying *Agbekor* in Boston would be very different from learning from Ghanaians in the village.

The staff also discussed pedagogical methods, often with a chuckle at the varying speeds at which visitors learn the drumming. To staff members, the most important aspect of teaching foreigners was patience and the ability to vary one's teaching speed (personal interviews, July 25 and July 26, 2012). The staff also decides what pieces to teach and the specific movements that they would like to focus on before the group arrives and determine what a manageable load will be for the visitors. When asked what their favorite dances to teach were, each of the staff members interviewed could not settle on one piece but rather named about five of their favorite pieces.

A few of the instructors independently mentioned that it was easiest to teach students that had "zeal," one of a several oft-used words in the Ghanaian-English lexicon that has poignant accuracy when it comes to describing tourists' impulse to create meaningful experiences. Up until this point, I have discussed how the

staff shaped the tour experience by creating rituals, activities, and performance opportunities. Tour group members also had agency in the creation of their own itineraries. Those with enough “zeal” might choose to take private lessons and focus on music of their choice. Travelers could also choose to learn some local crafts, such as kente weaving, wax block printing, and basket weaving.

Beyond organized music and dance classes, a great deal of formal and informal musical exchanges took place between staff members and guests. Music was shared between cellphones, on the road during weekend excursions, and through official performances. Through these shared performances and experiences, the staff and tour group were able to connect and create memories together, more specifically on a more egalitarian level than in the ritual process since “unritualized” activities did not set stark boundaries. Thus, musical and dance exchanges were more rewarding experiences for travelers and guests alike.

Performers and Audience

To this point, I have discussed features of hosts and guests’ roles, identity, and experience on tour. In general, each group’s roles were notably different. However, roles significantly overlapped in the performance settings. Tour members could be the audience to a local performance, followed by a performance of their own for an audience of locals. The mediation of these roles often influenced a particular performance’s efficacy and reception.

On a few occasions, non-Dagbe performers were brought into the compound for entertainment. One group member had a special interest in storytelling, so a

villager was brought in to tell riddles and stories. Village children were also welcome to the event, so the tour members were actually a minority in an audience full of young people. As a result, the event felt authentic in the sense that it was grounded in the local context. The stories were just as much for the locals as they were for the guests, and this was made even clearer by a particular fable told during the performance that served as a metaphor for the economic imbalance between families profiting from the Dagbe Center and those who were not. The message of the story was that God has a plan for each one of them, and if it was not written to be involved in the profitability of the tourism industry, they should simply accept it and not fall into jealousy.

On another afternoon, a pair of “magicians” was brought in to perform; the only audience for this attraction, however, was the Dagbe tour members. This was probably the least successful/enjoyed event, as the audience was not padded with the usual group of village children, and the performers were last-minute replacements for some acrobats who had to cancel due to a funeral. Perhaps the displays of balancing, tumbling and contortion seemed unrefined to an audience familiar with artistic grandeur of Cirque du Soleil, but the lack of local presence at the performance also seemed to dissuade visitor enjoyment. Much of the Dagbe staff was present, though they provided musical accompaniment throughout the whole show. Otherwise, there were no outside village members constituting the audience. If anything was particularly interesting about the performance, it was the musical performance that accompanied the main attraction.

Much of the magicians' program involved audience participation, and it was the first time that we were performing for an audience of ourselves. The lack of local presence highlighted the Otherness of the Dagbe guests without the satisfaction of an audience that was not their own selves. For a group used to displaying themselves to a hearty audience of locals, the removal of the local element from the performance forced visitors to confront their Otherness.

On the final day of a group's stay at the Dagbe center, it is customary for visitors to perform for the locals in the village, followed by a performance of the Dagbe staff and Sankofa Root 2. The performance takes place in a clearing beyond the Dagbe compound; much of the audience consists of locals that the group has not necessarily encountered before. Following the performance, Dagbe hosted a banquet within the compound with free food for anyone in the village (most children) and a dance party hosted by a local DJ. Both events provide ample opportunity for visitors and hosts to take photos, share contact information, and exchange gifts.

From the very beginning of the tour, Nani and the Dagbe staff tried to create opportunities for community inclusion between hosts and guests. Although interactions took place in a defined touristic borderzone, many outlets were explored in order to overcome the boundaries that separated locals and foreigners to varying degrees of success. The purpose of the trip was to learn music and dance, so the lessons and classes offered during the tour were the primary sources of interaction. However, the use of ritual in the libations ceremony and corn festival provided a means of developing a fleeting sense of communitas amongst

guests. Unexpectedly, the ritualized events that generated group solidarity were not as effective at fostering local friendship as the performance of music and dance. Even in these particular activities that didn't emphasize cultural displays, informal music and dance was a focus and means of celebrating alongside one another. In the end, tour participants became so accustomed to interacting with and performing alongside community members that their absence from the Dagbe borderzone in the case of the magician performance left some tour members feeling uneasy. After leaving Dagbe, the Camp Africa tour left for a week of sightseeing in other regions of Ghana. For that final week, it was common to hear comments along the lines of, "I wish we had more time at Dagbe" or "I miss our instructor, (insert Dagbe staff member name)." The contrast between experiences derived from music tourism and site-oriented tourism points out the quality of host-guest relationships produced by music study tourism.

Chapter 3: The Kusun Study Tour

About the Tour

After the Camp Africa tour left Ghana, Phil and I headed to the Kusun house, home of a cultural group that Phil had studied with on his first trip to Ghana four years ago. Fascinated by his stories from Ghana, I was initially interested in studying the Kusun group as a music tourism location, but my connections to the Dagbe center led me to the Camp Africa tour. However, we had the opportunity to stay at the Kusun house while the group prepared for incoming travelers in the following weeks to come. Jane Pentland, an Australian woman and organizer of the tour hosted us in addition to her duties preparing for incoming tourists. The family of Nii Tettey Tetteh and his staff were very welcoming and let me participate in nightly rehearsals at the house. It would have been nice to continue my participant observation from Dagbe and actually participate on the Kusun tour, but it was really interesting to see the background operations of a tourist site. As a result, my own role as a researcher shifted as well. (August 8, 2012)

The Kusun Study Tour has operated out of Nungua, a small suburb east of Accra since 1998. The hosting Kusun ensemble, founded by Nii Tettey Tetteh, operates as a performance group year round and welcomes tourists into their compound for a four-week intensive music and dance course. Much of the tour's success can be traced to the group's affiliation with Ray Pereira, a renowned percussionist and teacher based in Australia. Pereira, who was born in Sri Lanka, met Tetteh in 1994 and studied African rhythms for the next several years. Realizing that they shared a passion for teaching and the philosophy of cultural preservation, they established a tour that would enable Pereira to send some of his students to study with the Kusun ensemble and thus support the local cultural and economy.

Nii Tettey Tetteh is a renowned Ghanaian musician with a contemporary approach to traditional music. He began his professional career at age 16, performing flute and percussion with a local cultural group called Ebahni Sounds. He went on to become a founding member of the Pan African Orchestra, and has collaborated with Fleetwood Mac, Stevie Wonder, and Isaac Hayes. In 1998, he formed the Kusun Ensemble, based at the Kusun Cultural Center in Nungua that was founded in the same year (Nii Tettey Tetteh 2013). The Kusun ensemble performs traditional music infused with modern elements; Tetteh has even developed a new style of music that he calls “Nokoko,” “something special,” that combines the sounds of jazz, highlife, and traditional West African instruments (Accra Mail 2003).

The Kusun ensemble has had the opportunity to travel internationally, which has greatly contributed to their success and visibility at home and abroad. Tetteh is a member of the Gã people, and “kusun” is the word for tradition in the local language. The group includes members of Tetteh’s own family and past members of the National Ballet of Ghana and the Pan African Orchestra. The ensemble present for the study tour also includes locals with an interest in music and dance that rehearse regularly throughout the year. Some members had only been studying traditional music and dance for the past year, and considered their membership in the group as much a social experience as a learning opportunity. The ensemble also has invested time and money into the local community: “We have chosen to operate these tours on a local level where the immediate

beneficiaries are the people of Nungua, the community that Tetteh and his family live in” (About 2013).

The 2012 Kusun Study Tour

The bulk of Kusun’s clientele are independent travelers seeking to learn more about West African music and dance, and though they have partnered with schools, they have no official institutional affiliation. As Pereira is based in Australia, many of his own students travel to Ghana for the tour. The study tour also attracts a great number of individuals with no affiliation with Pereira or Tetteh; they are simply travelers who are looking for a musical adventure. The 2012 tour was mainly composed of Australians with little to no experience in West African arts or percussion. There were two young men from North America: a Canadian and an American that studied percussion through college. All of the students were on their first trip to Ghana.

The annual Kusun tour program lasts for four weeks, and music and dance lessons are offered four hours a day, five days a week. These group lessons are included in the program cost. In addition, students are encouraged to take private lessons for an additional fee negotiated between the student and instructor. The Kusun ensemble can accommodate lessons on a variety of musical instruments. Though the classes focus on *kpanlogo* drums, *axatse* (rattle), *tingo* (bell), *gome* (square drum), and singing, private lessons for *balafon* (xylophone), *moro* and *gonje* (bowed instruments), *ashiwa* (thumb piano), and *atenteban* (bamboo flute) can be arranged. In addition, they offer lessons in contemporary Ghanaian music such as “highlife.”

In addition to performances of the Kusun ensemble, the study tour invites other local ensembles to perform in the evening once a week. Students are also encouraged to attend shows in Accra, which is only a 45-minute cab ride from the Kusun house. Local artists and seamstresses are also welcomed into the Kusun compound to display their wares for a day or two at a time. The house itself is almost like a small all-inclusive resort: all amenities, performances, and crafts can be offered within the compound. They even have an in-house “spot,” or bar just for tour members. Of course, the tour operators encourage students to explore on their own, and there are a few group excursions included in the trip’s cost. For example, participants were also welcomed a few days into the trip with a libations ceremony in Jamestown, Tetteh’s ancestral home.

The Kusun tour provides several opportunities for performance. The tour members usually perform in Jamestown, and a final performance is given at the Arts Center in Accra. According to past participants, these performances usually attract hundreds of locals. The spectacle associated with white tourists performing local music and dance seems to have wide appeal. The location, music, dancing, and costuming is more or less traditional and localized, but the performers themselves do not share the Culture (unless they are connected to the African diaspora). However, this factor doesn’t seem to deter local audiences.

Tour Background

The Dagbe and Kusun Centers have similar physical arrangements, but their tour models operate very differently. Dagbe is a designated compound for host and guest relationships to take place year round, with various tour companies,

schools, and individuals visiting throughout the year, whereas the Kusun tour exists for the four weeks that the tour is on location. The Kusun Cultural Center is a permanent structure complete with private bedrooms and bathrooms, kitchen and dining area, and a small bar, but it is only fully devoted to tourist activity for the one month in the late summer. The rest of the year, Tetteh's family and ensemble members occupy the guest rooms, and a few family members operate a small business manufacturing television antennas in the front courtyard. The resident ensemble rehearses throughout the year, but peak rehearsal time occurs just before the tour begins. The Kusun Center is open to visitors year round, but the music study tourism business only operates for a short time during the year.

For the benefit of the local community, "the aim of [the tour] is to establish and operate a cultural center which would employ dancers, drummers, drum makers and artisans on a permanent basis as well as educating and training local kids in cultural pursuits, especially since unemployment is chronic and no social security services exist" (About 2013). Pereira and Tetteh also hope to expose and revitalize traditional music forms among locals and foreigners who have an interest West African music. In order to more fully understand the mission and values of the Kusun tour, it is necessary to explore the relationship between Ray Pereira and Nii Tettey Tetteh.

In 1994, Pereira's musical relationship with Tetteh began to solidify. Pereira would go meet up with Tetteh's ensemble at the Jamestown lighthouse outside of central Accra and head down to the beach for music lessons. Pereira was not studying directly with Tetteh, but rather master drummers from the ensemble.

Pereira stated, “At first it was hard to work out what was going on, they aren’t used to teaching from outside the culture, rhythmic cycles, explaining where a rhythm starts, they didn’t really know how to explain” (Pereira 2012). Tetteh oversaw the lessons and became fascinated with Pereira’s ideas on rhythm cycles. It was an interesting challenge for Tetteh, “he hadn’t actually ever thought about it like that, it was more like a language that he just knew.” They began meeting up outside of lessons to exchange ideas on music, and their conversations were mutually beneficial, Pereira states (2012).

Pereira returned to Australia and began teaching the rhythms learned from Tetteh in lessons and workshops. To this day, he mostly teaches Afro-Cuban rhythms, but with beginners he focuses on West African rhythms “using *djembe*s and *kpanlogo* drums because that seems to be the popular thing” (Pereira 2012). In keeping with his own experience, he realized that his students might benefit from exposure to the rhythms in their original context.

This importance of study within a cultural context figures prominently in Pereira’s philosophy. He traces this conviction back to his childhood in Sri Lanka. Although he did not have any formal training in traditional Sri Lankan music, he was constantly exposed to the music at local performances. Pereira states:

“...Knowing the rhythms and hearing from a young age, you have the feel for it. You cannot develop the feel for it unless you actually hear it and play it in its context. This is the problem I find with people who learn it second hand. They might be able to read the rhythms or learn the rhythms, but they don’t have the right feel. And then if you don’t have the right feel, for me, it’s not right... [In] the actual cultural context... you can see it, you can see the dance, you can smell the dance, and the people. You can go to a village or even [the Kusun Center] and the community knows

the music and it's placed [contextualized]. So that's the main thing for me is that it's your understanding it from the perspective of the community or the place that it's coming from, not from some theoretical perspective." (Pereira 2012)

This philosophy has taken Pereira around the world to learn rhythms with masters in their own traditions. The drive to study music at its local source places Pereira in the pilgrim or existential tourist category. His interest in percussion began in the late 1970s, but at the time, there were very few percussion instructors fluent in world styles in Australia. He was left with ordering albums from the US and slowed them down with the pressure of his finger in order to teach himself different styles. When Santana toured Australia, he approached percussionists Raul Rico and Armando Peraza for lessons. Pereira stated, "the more I learned about the rhythms, the more he wanted to learn where they came from," which led to trips to New York and Cuba throughout the 1980s (2012).

Pereira's approach to music combines tradition and modern creativity. Although he emphasizes studying traditional music at its source, he incorporates the styles he has learned into his personal projects once he has achieved a certain level of mastery in the relevant context. "I see it like having a bank account, a bank balance [of traditional music], and you can make withdrawals and use it any way you want to" (Pereira, 2012). Pereira's professional career exemplifies this approach to traditional music. One of his contemporary jazz groups in Australia, Way Out West, combines traditional Afro-Cuban drumming with Vietnamese-inspired guitar playing. In fact, all of his professional ensembles typify world music fusion projects; Pereira incorporates West African and Afro-Cuban styles as a creative resource for the creation of new musical idioms. For example,

Pereira is developing what he terms “Afro-Lankan” drumming, where he is creating new percussion compositions based on common rhythms between West Africa and Sri Lanka.

As stated previously, Pereira emphasizes learning music at its source, but he is not a proponent of recreating traditional performances outside of their original context with non-native performers: “I don’t actually study traditional music to play traditional music, I just see that there is not much point of me going back and forming a band that plays Ghanaian rhythms. So my whole point is to study the traditional rhythms so I can understand how traditional rhythms work, and then I can use that in my own groups” (Pereira 2012). Although he has performed with Tetteh, the Kusun ensemble tours outside of Ghana seem to be the only time when Pereira performs West African music. However, he does teach West African drumming classes with the help of former students in Australia, which provides a base of potential clientele for the Kusun study tour. So, Pereira has constructed a business model where he is able to explore his own professional creativity while simultaneously enticing a market of African music aficionados and sending them to Africa to study in the context. The model is a peculiar mixture of approaches; Pereira’s music classes and the Kusun tour support Ghanaian music, dance, and craftsmanship, but he also promotes the appropriation of the tradition for personal use.⁷ The fact that Pereira does not have a West African Ensemble back in

⁷ Kusun requires all tour participants to purchase drums in order to support the local economy and encourage participants to value the long-term benefits of African music performance. Although the cost of the drums is not included in the program tuition, the requirement is disclosed in the Kusun study tour promotional materials.

Australia may be an ethical decision. It may be observed that it is perhaps contradictory of him to emphasize context and then allow for what might be regarded as “appropriation,” i.e. removing local cultural capital for the benefit of the foreigner. It should be noted that the goals of tour participants do not necessarily align with Pereira’s vision for tour members. It is possible that some of the travelers to Kusun *do* wish to continue traditional music and dance beyond their trip to Ghana, but those involved in Pereira’s percussion studio presumably focus on applying the rhythms learned on the trip to other creative work.

Kusun and Perceptions of Authenticity

This approach to traditional music is one of the fundamental differences between Kusun and Dagbe. Dagbe creates a narrative of preservation that Kusun avoids. Both locations promote Ghanaian culture, but Dagbe aims to protect and preserve their output rather than creating new choreography to capture an undiscerning tourist market. In general, Dagbe has a greater interest in creating informed “authentic” performances that emphasize Ewe music and dance for the consumer, whereas Kusun offers a broader scope of African music and dance in addition to their own local repertoire. Because Kusun is not setting a precedent for authentic recreation by tourists beyond the tourist site, they have more freedom to evoke modern forms in their tourist performances.

A sense of modern and creative approaches is evident in the Kusun ensemble’s current repertoire. An extroverted performer named Frank Adjei Adjetey currently leads the Kusun dancers and teaches dance to tour participants. Adjetey does not restrict the group’s repertoire to traditional Ghanaian work, but

rather incorporates music and dance styles across Africa and beyond: “In Ghana, we believe in culture, we do like to do another people’s culture, we don’t do only our own. I’ve learned some dances from South Africa, some dances from Guinea; [they’re] not ours but because I love my culture, I love to learn about other people’s culture. Same to you guys who want to learn our culture here. We Ghanaians are multi-artists—we don’t only do the things we have here, we do other people’s culture as well” (2012). In a way, this statement is in line with Pereira’s approach to world music idioms; they both express a fascination with cross-cultural invention in their own creative work. However, Adjetey’s pan-African presentations may conflict with Pereira’s desire to immerse his students in Ghanaian dance and drumming since local performers want to prove that they too are fluent in a variety of music and dances themselves.

In the summer of 2012, the ensemble was working on *Sindimba*, a dance from Tanzania to be added to their cultural display repertoire. In addition to traditional choreography, Adjetey included a notable moment in the dance where all drumming ceases, and the dancers (in male/female couples) rise from a crouching position to a ballroom dance position while singing a local song. The group rehearsed “the Salsa move,” a relatively brief movement, all week long; the “otherness” of the movement to the local dancers was physically apparent. However, by the end of the week the ensemble was flawlessly executing the Salsa pose, combining idiomatic African movements with Afro-Cuban style. When asked if the Salsa movement distracted from the traditional form of the dance, Adjetey suggested that he added it to differentiate their style from other local

ensembles. Although Adjetey adds to this perspective that it is important to understand the story behind the pieces, he could not explain the history of the dance to me. He confirmed that Tetteh was also unfamiliar with the dance, but he liked the feel of it so much that was added to their cultural display.

I tried to determine what guides Adjetey's creative process; especially how he determines whether certain additions are appropriate to the dance or not. Creative approaches and modifications are inherent to the recreational dances in the Kusun repertoire; in addition to *Sindimba*, Kusun frequently performs recreational dances like *Kpanlogo* and *Fume Fume* where creativity and enjoyment are maximized. Acting out on a touristic impulse—MacCannell's quest for authenticity—I tried to understand how Adjetey justified his creative modification to tradition, which may have reflected a personal bias against his choreographic decisions. When asked about traditional dances, Adjetey began discussing tradition as a whole: “Tradition, it’s important to keep tradition because you can go ‘off way’... Every Friday you pray to the sea... if you throw it away you don’t know what will happen... you have to keep tradition very good, I respect it a lot” (2012). In other words, Adjetey did not make the distinction between traditional and recreational music and dance as I would have in my “quest for authenticity” but rather considered tradition as something tied to sacred practice. Adjetey later added this distinction to dance in our conversation: “We have some dances that are traditional, ritual, we have some dances that are [re]creational and we have some occasion [dances]. Recreation you can change, but the Fetish dance is a dance you can’t change” (2012). This discussion revealed the fundamental aspects

of artistic decisions that Kusun values in the production of heritage; the concept of “tradition” captures all types of music and dance, and their creative expression of tradition allows for modifications in secular works.

Recently, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s work on heritage production in tourism has provided the foundation for ethnomusicological studies of cultural displays (DeWitt 1999, Cooley 2006), and her ideas easily adapt to the Kusun philosophy. Whereas tradition is that which is latent, transmitted, and taken for granted, heritage is a distinct mode of production that “produces something new in the present that has recourse to the past” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995, 369-370). Heritage production in this sense is a hallmark of African music and dance, it is active and changing, reenacted and reshaped in the present (Nzewi 1997, 25). From the nightly rehearsals I attended, it was clear that the production of pan-Ghanaian, if not pan-African heritage was the aim of the ensembles’ choreography and repertoire choices. They explored local recreational music such as *Kpanlogo* and *Fume Fume*, and music from abroad: *Sindimba*. For Adjetey, recreational dance is self-conscious and allows for “re-creation” through the production and expression of heritage.

Kusun and Cosmopolitan Approaches to Cultural Tourism

My researcher role at Kusun focused more on the behind-the-scenes aspects of the tour than at Dagbe, especially since I was not a paying participant. As a result, it was far more difficult to understand just how group dynamics between hosts and guests played out than it was at Dagbe. On the other hand, it was a lot easier to understand the underlying motivations of the tour operators since Tetteh and

Pereira expressed their motivations with the tour to me as a researcher. In terms of the tour philosophy, they seem to be more concerned with helping the local community than preserving tradition, though there are unspoken personal economic benefits that must figure into the business philosophy as well. With the loss of my participant-observer-tourist status at the Kusun Center, I was able to examine the role of music study tourism within the community rather than focus on specific interactions between locals and guests. As a result, the connection between music study tourism and cosmopolitanism was revealed to me.

Appiah's definition of "moral" cosmopolitanism (see page 18, above) is based on the belief in a global human community where human beings are responsible for one another:

"...There are two strands that intertwine in the notion of cosmopolitanism. One is the idea that we have obligations to others, obligations that stretch beyond those to whom we are related by the ties of kith and kind, or even the more formal ties of a shared citizenship. The other is that we take seriously the value not just of human life but of particular human lives, which means taking an interest in the practices and beliefs that lend them significance." (2006, xv)

Kusun is represented by an array of global (musical) citizens; Pereira connects both to his Sri Lankan culture and Australian identity and performs Afro-Cuban music. Tetteh has toured several continents with the Kusun ensemble to share his blend of contemporary West African music, and Adjetey reportedly has also traveled throughout Africa for a love of his culture and the culture of others, and both conveniently can make a living off of cultural exchange. They show an obligation to others by combining their global music experiences into a music study tourism business that supports the local community, a major tenet of their

philosophy. The tourist money brought in from Pereira's students and other tour participants supports local musicians. In addition, Tetteh is a leader in the local community government and has facilitated community cleanup days where the Kusun members pick up trash in the local market, and Pereira has set up a scholarship fund for some Ghanaian students that is funded by ticketed African drumming concerts in Australia. Musically, the study tour embraces all forms of music making; although "traditional" Ghanaian music is given a priority, they cater to a variety of other West African music traditions, old and new.

The second feature of Appiah's moral cosmopolitanism, considers not only a global conception of human well-being but also the well-being of particular human lives. In order to develop compassion for the particular, the cosmopolitan must take interest in the features in a given person or group that gives them meaning. Music study tourism, as demonstrated at Dagbe and Kusun, is the perfect vehicle for cultivating and reinforcing cosmopolitan morals. Travelers on the quest for authentic experiences express a desire to connect with locals, and music study tourism provides them with an opportunity to explore music and dance alongside locals in a structured environment. Whereas other forms of cultural tourism place hosts and guests in separate performance and audience roles, the music study tour integrates locals and foreigners through the medium of music and dance. Music study tourism supports local artists and respects traditional practices, demonstrating to locals that their heritage has value to the outside world. The interactions that take place within a study tour borderzone generate relationships that may extend beyond the confines of the tour.

Nii Tettey Tetteh and Ray Pereira's musical relationship was founded on a cosmopolitan curiosity for the culture of the other. Each shared a desire to share traditional music with a modern twist with the rest of the world. The Kusun study tour grew out of a realization that others might be willing to share in their cosmopolitan vision. Rather than focusing on preserving and protecting local traditions, the Kusun ensemble designs heritage productions by creatively adapting recreational music from all over Africa for foreign audiences to enjoy. Through music study tourism, visitors can break free from the audience and join local performers in cosmopolitan exchanges.

Chapter 4: Musical Exchanges and Meaning

In tourism studies, discussions of the production of culture or cultural displays designed for tourist consumption invariably include music and dance. Anthropologists recognize the importance of music in tourist productions, but often fall short of fully analyzing “the music itself;” a product of cultural tourism that falls within the realm of ethnomusicological discourse. I will explore some recent contributions to the field in order to identify a few important themes in the ethnomusicology of tourism. Following this discussion, I will provide an analysis of the Ewe song “Nyentobe dzeadzea vielo” to show the variances in musical practice from Kusun to Dagbe. I will then look at musical and structural decisions in some of the cultural displays performed by both ensembles to examine the modes of heritage production by each ensemble. Finally, I will discuss the music and dance interactions between hosts and guests in performance and pedagogy in music study tourism.

The Music Itself

As mentioned earlier, most scholars discuss music in a tourism setting as a product to be consumed. Some argue that the moment music is commodified, it becomes less “art” and more “thing,” which is why most scholars recognize the exchange of music at tourist sites but do not attempt to analyze the product itself, because it is easier to examine the social dynamics that music creates and not ask why music has that special power (Cunningham 1998). Or, the music-commodity can be relegated to the realm of “kitsch;” a value-less product and therefore not worthy of scholarly analysis. A final possibility is that the study of music itself is

foreign enough to scholars outside of musicology, and the consumers themselves, so why discuss it? Is it possible to determine what it is about the music that causes these social relationships to happen? Or, more specifically, what are the musical devices that cause social relationships? Can we actually identify these devices? The project of doing so does not require value judgments to be passed on the music itself, so whether or not the music is good, bad, “worthy” of study, is irrelevant.

But this is the same problem tourism studies as a field of inquiry had to overcome in order to prove its worth; the field of music tourism studies must do the same. One major obstacle to overcome is that tourist music is inevitably watered-down, simplified for easy access to foreign consumers, and as scholars, we must take care not to write off the “simplified” musical display. It may be even more helpful to have access to the distilled version of a musical tradition since the local has determined the essentials of what should be passed along in a given musical tradition.

Helen Rees and Frederick Lau have considered the problem of diluted, low quality tourist productions with respect to traditional performances intended for tourist audiences in China (Rees 1998, Lau 1998). Rees provides a set of questions that are helpful to consider when examining a musical display and its relationship to tourism: “First, what were [the] origins and uses? Second, what elements have been abstracted to create this display of traditionalism? Third, how do presentations of this repertoire to external audiences (foreign tourists) and internal audiences (the local interested population) differ? Finally, what is the

nature of the ‘authenticity’ marketed to tourists?” (Rees 1998, 138). To expand upon Rees’ third query, I would like to add the question, are audience members incorporated into the performance, and if so, is audience participation a traditional feature of the performance or simply added to appeal to foreign audiences? Since music study tourism is a phenomenological approach to music and dance, and Ghanaian music includes many participatory features, we must further develop the ethnomusicological scope of tourism studies to include the possibility that the tourist may produce a heritage product in conjunction with local performers. This approach would require researchers to examine tourist productions with greater attention and observe methods of music and dance transmission from local to tourist *and* vice versa. Researchers should also examine how heritage production varies from location to location, especially looking for connections between the musical output of a site and its consumer profile and borderzone characteristics.

Since music is usually treated as a social function in ethnomusicological works on tourism, I would like to compare and contrast possible issues that arise when dealing with “the music itself” in the tourist environment through the analysis of a few performances that took place during my travels. The most logical analytical approach is to compare the tourist display to the related local context. What is the significance of such evaluations? Adherence to the local, “authentic” performance practice does not necessarily appeal to foreign tastes. Thus, a follow up question to the analysis of musical events might be, what musical decisions create successful tourist displays, and how do those decisions differ from what would normally happen?

Defining what would “normally happen” at a musical performance in Ghana is problematic given the wide range of creative interpretations and applications of traditional music. During my research trip, I saw a wide variety of cultural displays designed for tourists, local social functions, and even a technical school graduation ceremony. Comparing these different musical presentations in search of an authentic original is fraught with problems, regardless of tourist influence. This issue arises in published material as well; some of the songs collected in my own field experiences did not exactly correspond to other published versions.

Take for example the widely known Ewe folk song “Nyentøbe dzedze vielo,” which Kofi Agawu uses in his discussion of African music as text (Agawu 2003, 100-101). People at both Dagbe and Kusun taught and performed this song, though each version varied in context and content. Here is Agawu’s version:

The musical score consists of five lines of music, each starting with a quarter note. The tempo is marked as 100 BPM. The lyrics are as follows:

- Line 1: Nye_nu - to - fe dze-dze - vi ye lo, To - bo - li Nye_nu - to - fe
- Line 2: dze - dze - vi ye lo, To - bo - li Me - ga fa vi le zā - me nam
- Line 3: oo, Me - ga fa vi le zā - me nam oo, Na - dę - na xo_a-gbe le_a-siwo nam
- Line 4: oo, Dze-dze vi - nye loo To - bo - li Newo kpuie hă loo To - bo - li, Ne - wo
- Line 5: Ko hă loo To - bo - li yo - ti le gba dzaa ne loo, To - bo - li

Figure 2: "Nyentøbe" from Agawu, 2003, 101

Agawu notates the song in a way that demonstrates its social context as a lullaby; there is no bell pattern, call and response, or harmony; it is just a tune sung for a restless child. Both Dagbe and Kusun incorporated the song into larger drum and dance contexts, so I chose to notate the song in context with the bell.

The Dagbe version is as follows:

Nyen - to - be dze-dze vi - ye - lo To - bo Nyen - to - be dze-dze vi - ye - lo
 To - bo Ne - gan - yo - ha nyea_ dici To - bo Ne-gan - ble - ha nyea_ dici
 To - bo Me - ga - fa - vi - le za - me - na - mo To - bo Me - ga - fa - vi - le za - me - na -
 mo na - de na - va xo - gbe - la - siwo nam - lo dze - vin - ye - lo to - bo

Figure 3: Dagbe version of "Nyentobe" Song

This transcription uses a meter that better accommodates the bell pattern, but the flow of the eighth-note pulse shows just how different the Dagbe version is

from Agawu's transcription in the first statement of "Nyentɔbe dzedze vielo."⁸

Presumably, Agawu's version is to be sung out of a regular, isochronous beat pattern, especially since his barlines and eighth note groupings do not always reflect the marked time signature. For example, bar four only has five eighth note pulses.⁹ The methods by which the Dagbe version reflects the bell pattern are quite ingenious in comparison to the freely sung version. The bell rhythm that accompanies this song is a very common 12-pulse Ewe bell pattern. Although the bell pattern is usually has an unarticulated ternary beat feel (similar to 12/8 time), this song emphasizes a binary-six feel since the melodic movement of the song groups pitches in pairs.

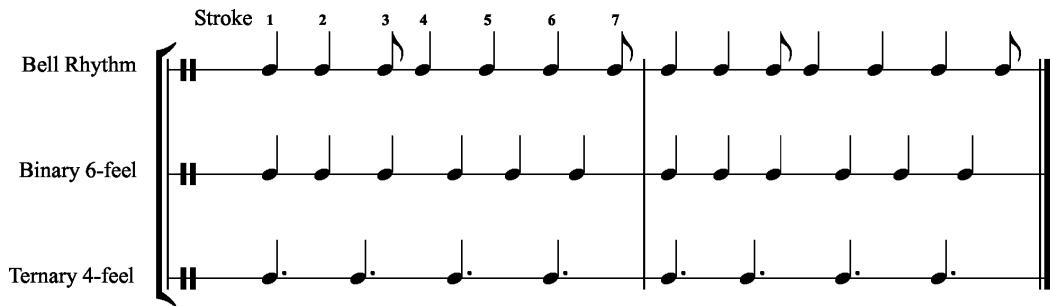


Figure 4 Bell Rhythm with Two Different Time-Feels

Musical vitality is created by the interaction between the bell pattern and song rhythm; the two parts begin together, but after bell stroke three the song syncopates off of the bell rhythm until the beginning of the next bell cycle. For

⁸ The musical analysis here is influenced by my theory studies of African music in David Locke's MUS 0110 course, African Music Systems, at Tufts University. The concepts of pulse and time feel such as "binary-eight feel" can be found in his article "The Metric Matrix: Simultaneous Multidimensionality in African Music" (2011).

⁹ Agawu does not reveal much about the source of the song or his own transcription principles in his presentation of "Nyentɔbe dzedze vielo," so I have been left to speculate in my own analysis.

those with a background in western music, it may appear as though the bell is in syncopation with the song rhythm since the song moves in a steady, even beats. However, the bell pattern is such a strong organizing factor in West African music that the song rhythm must be understood relative to the bell pattern, and the barlines provide an organizational reference for the bell cycle. The response part, “Tobo” falls on the important arrival stroke of the bell. In addition, some rhythmic interest is added whenever the lead part enters just after the second bell stroke; the bell and lead part reinforce a composite eighth-note pulse. As the song progresses, the verses and lyric order, but there are fragments of similarities. For example, “Mega favilezamenamo... vinye lo” follows a similar melodic contour and rhythmic pattern. Agawu’s version ends with new different verses, but the melodic contour of those verses matches the opening of the Dagbe “Nyentøbe” melody better than the Agawu’s opening.

A third version, performed by the Kusun ensemble as a part of their choreographed Ewe music and dance suite, opened with a chant “Aiyuwele yuwele yuwele,” which is a common chant used in the Ewe dance *Adzogbo*,

immediately followed by this version of “Nyentöbe”:

Figure 5: Kusun version of "Nyentöbe" Song

The rhythm and melodic content are almost the same as the Dagbe version, and they also use a different, abridged collection of lyrics from the version Agawu presents. In performance, the Kusun ensemble also chose to sing the response part, “Tobo,” as more of a pitch-indefinite shout than a melodic response as seen in the Agawu and Dagbe versions. In addition, the Kusun version does not have the consequent-antecedent melodic structure in the lyric “Mega favilezamenamo” that was used in both of the other versions. Rather, the ensemble repeats the lyric at the same pitch class level in the call and response. The Kusun version is immediately followed by a return to the “Aiyuwele” chant, giving the sense that they conceive of the song as an ABA form: chant, song, chant.

The question of how these differences arose has less to do with music tourism, and more to do with regional differences and changes that naturally arise with the passing of time and local creativity. Creative additions or alterations may be influenced by foreign elements, but to attribute those changes to tourism ignores a wealth of other types of foreign interactions in Ghana. In addition, the Agawu version has a distinctly different social function from the Kusun and Dagbe versions, which are performed for a variety of occasions and audiences. The Agawu and Dagbe versions may be able to claim the most repute because they are from the Ewe-speaking area of West Africa that the song originates in. Geographical location does not fully explain the fact that the form of the Kusun version is more similar to the Agawu version. The majority of Kusun members are Gã people living in the central Ghana, not the Ewe of eastern Ghana. However, performance decisions in both ensembles are guided by what they feel will be most appealing to their audience—and in the case of traditional music and dance, perceived authenticity has great appeal. To return to my original question, it is difficult to distinguish the authenticity of local displays, let alone parse out differences in value between local and tourist products. However, the tourists' "quest for authenticity" can be left to the traveler's discretion since they alone can determine what is most authentic to them.

Form and Choreography in the Tourist Display

In Kusun's music and dance repertoire, the "Nyentõbe" song fits into a larger Ewe suite designed to give audiences a sample of the various music and dance from the Ewe people. It is common for Ghanaian performance ensembles to

appropriate the music and dance of their neighbors. Nani Agbeli had the opportunity to see the Kusun ensemble perform the choreographed compilation of dances and we both observed many differences between the Kusun and Dagbe presentations. In all heritage productions, it is worth considering whether or not an ensemble performs works as compilations, singular pieces, or even abridged versions of works, and why that decision is made.

The Kusun Ewe suite begins with singers singing an *Agbekor* song called, “Kondo yi yevuwo.” The drummers enter on the lead Ewe drum, *atsimevu*, bell, the *axatse* rattle, and a small, high-pitched drum called *kagan*. Two other supporting drums, *kidi* and *sogo*, enter as the dancers approached the dance area. The first performers to enter the dance space are women performing *Atsiã*, a female dance where the performers hold a *lasi*, or horsetail attached to a wooden handle, in each hand. The *lasi* are spun with rotating gestures in the wrist and brought to a rest position over the top of the shoulder. The horsetail movements often correspond with a step of the foot on the same side as the upper body gesture. As the women reach the end of their dance, the singers enter with a new chant, “Aiyuwele” and then begin the “Nyentõbe” song. The women exit the dance space only to be quickly replaced by the male dancers running in a circle. The opening choreography of the male dancers is not rooted to a particular Ewe dance, but after a while they break from their fast circling and perform a version of the Ewe work *Adzogbo*. At Dagbe, *Adzogbo* performances rely upon a lead dancer who calls out a specific chant that is then repeated in the lead drum, and then the dancers perform movements that are specific to that chant/drum call. In

Kusun performances, there is no chanting, so the drumming is never interrupted. Kusun's lead drummer plays abridged versions of longer calls that are clearly choreographed to fit the dance routine. Eventually, the women reenter and paired off with the male dancers on stage. The dancers then exit in pairs with improvised partner movements. As a whole, the Kusun performance is a fascinating combination of music and dance elements presented in a concise format.

The "dance suite" approach to performance has its benefits. It is a great way to display the variety of a given group's cultural output. Many of the ethnic groups in Ghana seem to have a defining movement or instrument that marks the group's identity: the Ewe have the popping back movement, the Dagomba spin their heavy tunics, but a compilation of dances offers an alternative to these generalizations. Kusun's Ewe set makes musical sense because they chose to perform dances that share the same bell pattern. Although the bell stays constant, the drum parts do change from as they move from dance to dance. On the other hand, the constant bell pattern does eliminate some of the temporal nuances in speed when the music and dances are presented individually. Songs are used between new dances or to signal dancers' entrances, which helps define the sections of the choreography. Also, the Kusun version does not feature a lead dancer, which affords equal attention to all of the performers on stage. Lastly, the combination of male- and female-oriented dances creates gender interactions that would not be present if the pieces were performed as disparate entities.

On the other hand, the Sankofa Root 2 ensemble at Dagbe chose to perform the men's dance of Adzogbo in a far more traditional manner for the Camp Africa

tour. Although there are multiple phases to a traditional *Adzogbo* performance, the men’s dance is commonly performed as a discrete piece for locals and visitors. The dancers enter with the sound of a large ensemble of drummers and singers chanting “Aiyuwele.” Once the dancers make it to the center of the space, the drumming ceases. The dancers circle the area with flexed arms and intensity as Nani Agbeli, the lead dancer, chants. At the end of the chant, the lead drummer signals the whole ensemble to begin dancing/drumming the current variation. Sankofa Root 2 usually performs about six different dance variations, each with unique drum language in the *atsimevu* and supporting drum parts. Similar to the Kusun choreography, the dancers exit the dance space in pairs, exerting all possible energy in their final movements before the audience.

During the *Adzogbo* performance on the final day of the Camp Africa tour, the performers made an unusual mistake that was observed by both locals and visitors alike. As the lead dancer was speaking the first chant, he reached the final line and the drum ensemble did not enter at the correct tempo. Rather than ignoring the mistake and continuing with the dance movement, the lead dancer gave the ensemble a second chance to correct the mistake and started the chant from the beginning again. However, the second time through, the *atsimevu* player entered at the incorrect time, and at that point the lead dancer left the stage in frustration and another ensemble member took over the lead dancer’s role.

This mistake, and its resolution by the other dancers, raises a few issues. When comparing a traditionally formatted *Adzogbo* performance to the “through composed” version performed by Kusun, the room for error is very different in

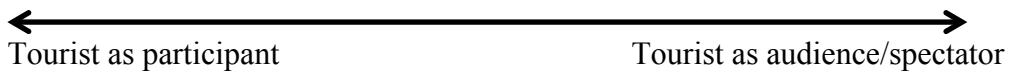
each context. In the Dagbe version, the lead dancer, lead drummer, and other ensemble members are responsible for entrances and they must rely on one another for temporal information. At the Kusun performance, the music was already underway at the entrance of the male dancers and they simply had to perform the choreographed dance; if a mistake were made, the dancer or drummer would have to figure out how to regroup with the rest of the ensemble. This is not to say that one version is better or more difficult than the other, they simply present different challenges. In the Dagbe performance, the lead dancer simply left the performance, and let another dancer take over. He later revealed that he felt compelled to stop so as not to offend his ancestors with the unsatisfactory performance, though this may have been an excuse shared with tour members to cover his frustration with the locals. Some guests took amusement in applying their understanding of Culture to the botched performance. Earlier that day, the centuries-old village spirit tree was cut down at the order of a local property owner. Although the loss of the enormous tree was horrifying to the environmentally conscious guests, the locals were happy to have it removed because it reportedly harbored evil spirits in the village. James Burns' discussion of Ewe spirits adds another layer of meaning to spirits and social identity. Early Christian missionaries in Ghana deliberately equated the Ewe word *abosayu*, meaning “divine spirit,” with Devil or Satan. Today, some Ewe translate the word to “evil spirit” based upon these Christian influences (Burns 2009, 7). Tour members reasoned that the evil spirits may have taken their vengeance on the locals in performance for cutting down the tree, but locals generally did not share

this view, revealing their deeper affiliations with the classic sense of the word *abosayu*.

From a music and tourism standpoint, the most fascinating byproduct of the Dagbe *Adzogbo* performance was the fact that the non-Ghanaian audience members were well versed enough in *Adzogbo* to recognize that a mistake had been made in the first place. By the end of the two-week tour, the Dagbe staff had imparted enough cultural knowledge to their foreign visitors that they had also created a critical audience for their own performance. The informed, discerning, foreign audience member is an interesting byproduct of music study tourism; and it may be further propagated by the performance roles given to music study tourists.

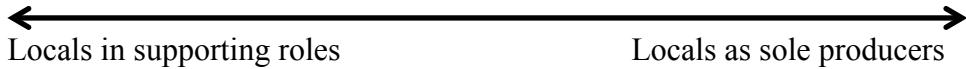
Tourist Performers, Local Audience

One major factor influencing musical products in tourist zones is the roles of foreign guests and local hosts in the performance. There is a phenomenological spectrum of tourist to host musical relationships:



All music and dance displays designed for tourist consumption fall somewhere on this spectrum based upon the role of tourists in production. The role of tourists in a production is even quantifiable; one could find a percentage of local and non-local performers at an event. Such a view does not account for host agency in production, as in most cases the hosts were always participants in the

productions themselves. Therefore, another spectrum could be made based upon the level of local involvement:



These spectra are linked, for the addition of non-local performers into a cultural production is inversely proportional to the level of support given by locals. The latter spectrum does not take into account the role of locals as audience members though.

Many of the performances encountered did not have a distinct target audience of tourists or locals. Most ethnomusicologies of tourism generally discuss displays that are designed for tourist consumption alone; the local element may be absent because the events are usually ticketed and therefore exclusive. Any financial payments to the performers were included in the program costs, so locals and guests were able to attend performances as if they were naturally occurring local events rather than ticketed performances. Dagbe performances always included some mix of hosts and guests, and the audience members were a combination of travelers and local villagers. Performances often went beyond “art for art’s sake” status, e.g. the corn festival performance actually had a ceremonial function. The Kusun tour brought in outside performers every week, so there were some real “cultural displays,” but like Dagbe the visitors were also put on display in a final performance for an audiences of Ghanaians. Is it possible, or even logical to compare tourist productions to local productions because quality and expertise vary? Or should we only compare performances of the same caliber?

In the case of Ghanaian music tourism, I argue that the participatory nature of local music and Ghana's reputable hospitality *requires* audience participation, local or foreign. There are dance and drum works that are exclusive in the sense they require serious study and practice, but there are quite a few dances where audience members move in and out of performance roles. As a result, impromptu music and dance opportunities were offered to tourists on the Camp Africa and Kusun tour as a means of socializing with locals.

After the libations ceremony on the first day at Dagbe, the staff performed the music and dance of *Agbadza* with the newly initiated guests on the patio adjacent to the shrine. A small elderly woman, who I would later learn was a cook on the Dagbe staff, pulled me out into the dance space. Though she spoke no English, she had me quickly mimicking her arching and popping torso movement that characterizes many Ewe dances.

Agbadza is a social dance that usually accompanies funerals or memorial services, though it is also performed on occasions that celebrate Ewe identity because it is easily recognized by other ethnic groups in the area (Locke 2012, 3). The structure of the dance allows for full audience participation; members of the community enter the dance space in small groups, perform for however long they desire, and then return to their seats on the perimeter. In the context of the libations ceremony and the group's official welcome into the village, the choice of *Agbadza* provided an outlet for locals to express their Ewe identity and guests to join in. Regardless of whether or not the guests were aware of the significance, meaning, or structure of *Agbadza*, they were now physically (in addition to

spiritually) welcomed into a defined dance space by staff members to perform alongside locals.

The seemingly informal performance of *Agbadza* was not dressed up in any way, which helped with an overall approachability for guests. None of the staff was uniformly costumed in a particular way, so the hosts were not needlessly exoticized by their dress. The spontaneity of the event gave the impression that this type of community-dance-get-together happened all of the time. It was special for visitors because they were being integrated into a locally significant activity, not a blatantly designed cultural display. In general, Dagbe tried to create opportunities for cultural immersion within controlled borderzones, and the ample opportunity provided for host-guest interaction within the Center created a level of community that surpassed the average tourist experience.

The Kusun ensemble brought in local performance groups to their cultural center, and one particular group chose to finish their cultural display with a final dance that included audience participation. The ensemble chose to close their performance with *Kpanlogo*, a recreational dance-drum work developed by an Accra-born performer named Otoo Lincoln in the 1960s (Collins 1992, 43).

Kpanlogo is associated with the Gã people, and the work is regularly taught during the Kusun tour. As a result, the audience members were familiar with the basic movements and structure of the piece, and they were invited to perform alongside the visiting culture group. Lincoln states that originally, the Ghanaian Arts Council criticized *Kpanlogo* because “one of the beats in the dance [made] the body move in an indecent way” (*ibid.*, 45). Although the 1964 Council was

shown otherwise, some of the dance movements incorporate sensual gestures that challenge the attitudes about sexual propriety of the more prudish foreign guests. A few of the male tour members were invited up to perform and mimicked the suggestive movements of the performers to various degrees of success. In this case, these male tourists confronted their sexual Otherness to the great enjoyment of local and visiting performers and audience members.

In the *Agbadza*, *Kpanlogo*, and *Brekete* shrine performances, the foreigners in the audience were called to perform alongside locals with no prior knowledge or expectation to perform, and the resulting interactions conceived were some of the most memorable for the tourists. This may strike at the heart of why music study tourism in Ghana appeals to “existential” tourists that crave meaningful and culturally rich interactions with locals. The integration of audience, performers, locals, and guests is achieved because the music and dance traditions outlined here have explicit and structured modes of open participation. The instrumental and vocal music of Ghana is also well suited to tourism because it can be taught to travelers of wide-ranging abilities, especially those that struggled with written traditions and Western musical practices.

Pedagogy: Learning “From the Womb”

In Ghana, the fundamentals of musical style are enculturated. When it comes to music, all of the local informants in the study had trouble placing the point at which they started “studying” music and dance, mostly because they had been exposed to it for as long as they could remember. Frank Adjetey stated that he started learning “in my mommy’s womb” with a laugh. Nani Agbeli similarly

described his first exposure to music and dance as a child on his mother's back. It is easy to observe this process in action as an outsider, for if there is a drum and dance rehearsal happening in any given location, there is bound to be a group of kids who are miming dance moves from the sidelines. For tourists, this enculturative learning process is formalized to fit within a handful of weeks, and further expedited through provisional inclusion in a local performance group.

Kobla Ladzekpo gives an overview of the structure and purpose of dance clubs among the Ewe in Ghana (1971). These recreational groups are often organized by age. Ladzekpo states that there is no formalized "music practicing," but the groups meet several times a week to rehearse. What Kusun and Dagbe have done is welcomed a rotating cycle of travelers into their performance groups to great social/economic benefit. Tour members at both research sites were grouped by experience level and taught percussion parts that reflected ability. Once tour members gained a certain degree of proficiency with their parts, the whole group, locals and guests, performed and rehearsed together.

Much of Ghanaian music involves a set of percussion instruments playing in rhythmic polyphony; each part varies in difficulty and responsibility. As a result, participants with little to no musical experience as well as master drummers can find equally challenging and rewarding aspects of the music. African polyphonic music is driven by repetition, and for a beginner, repetition can help reinforce foundational elements of music performance. On the other hand, repetition can help a more advanced performer perceive and enjoy the "simultaneous multidimensionality" of the music: the shifting temporal structures that may be

present in African drumming (Locke 2011, 59). Additionally, more advanced students may explore improvisation and leadership roles within the group. And success in African music can have little to do with experience in Western music; aural/oral pedagogy and the lack of musical notation can level the playing field for foreign visitors exploring new musical traditions through music study tourism. A good foundation in Ghanaian music and dance comes about through experiential learning where tiers of difficulty, responsibility, and group involvement can ensure learning at all levels of ability.

Chapter 5: The Ethnomusicology of Tourism

The corpus of scholarly work on tourism spans a great deal of disciplinary foci: sociology, anthropology, economics, and now ethnomusicology. I can think of no other topic so rife with musical, international, monetary, and social exchanges; it takes a team of scholars to cover all of the possible topics that arise in tourism studies. So, in this study, I have had the task of combining a great body of existing literature on tourism and a smaller, but growing body of music and tourism studies. The challenge has been exactly where to draw the line between relevant musical topics and the other factors that shape those musical experiences. What theories to include? Which theoretical paradigms to consider, and what is better left aside? Maybe the strength of tourism studies is that it *is* so broad and hard to define, and therefore necessitates and facilitates interdisciplinary efforts and perspectives.

Having shared some of my ethnographic and musical data, I would like to revisit some of the concepts laid out in my introduction and suggest how the analysis of music study tourism contributes to a wider field of tourism studies. Tim Cooley's dialectical approach to music tourism accommodates the multi-faceted nature of this study, so I will revisit some of his suggested themes: Isolation v. Multiculturalism, Preservation v. Invention, Spurious v. Authentic, and Tourism v. Ethnography (2006). Within those topics, I will examine how the formation of borderzones at Dagbe and Kusun ultimately shape the musical output and social life of each study tour. Finally, in an effort to understand the

appeal of music study tourism, I examine whether or not liminoid communitas is appropriate in music study tourism and suggest that the cosmopolitan ethos generated through music production between hosts and guests may better explain the attraction for not only music study tourism but also ethnomusicology as a practice.

Cross-Cultural Interests, Breaking Boundaries

Preservation and isolation are often tied together in the Ghanaian culture industry, as are their alternatives, invention and multiculturalism. The artists I encountered who were exposed to a variety of cultures were also more likely to create new material from existing traditions. However, the tendency to create multicultural art may be driven by personal inventiveness rather than caused by exposure to many different cultures; the inventive artists actively seek out other material to incorporate into their creative output. This was certainly the case for Ray Pereira whose impetus to study West African and Afro-Cuban music stemmed from a personal curiosity for genres he had little access to in Australia. And, the exposure to many cultures may also drive traditional artists to preserve their culture through isolation. Perhaps it is the attitudes individual artists have towards the increasing influence of other cultures that drives them towards either preservation through isolation or invention through multiculturalism. I argue that these attitudes shaped the borderzones, and therefore, creative output at Dagbe and Kusun.

Appiah makes the distinction between preserving culture (artifact) and preserving cultures, the latter being a more imperialistic goal of ensuring that

people keep their traditional ways, even if it means revoking modern technology or common benchmarks of modernity (isolation). The choice to preserve the culture should be up to the people of that culture, not some outsider (Appiah 2006, 106). At the Dagbe Center, the preservation of Ewe culture was a tenet and guiding principle that was upheld by the staff. Godwin Agbeli made a distinctly isolationist decision to build the center in a village hours from the capital city, a conscious move to preserve and protect Ewe culture. In the case of Dagbe, the tendency toward preservationism seems to be internal, though the idea may have been planted into Agbeli's ideology by external forces he encountered as a member of the Folkloric Company of the Arts Council of Ghana, his affiliations with universities in the United States, and his collaboration with foreign scholars. Agbeli certainly became aware that non-local interest in Ewe culture could support a business of selling heritage to foreign travelers. Preservationist rhetoric translates well from a marketing perspective; something that may be threatened with extinction (even if it is not, and I do not think that is the case with Ewe culture) give a traveler a certain sense of urgency and satisfaction for supporting a noble cause.

Dagbe's affiliation with the outside world is generally more research oriented, and the expectations of outside visitors, especially those affiliated with universities, may have shaped their tendency to focus on the local and "authentic." On the other hand, Kusun's relationship with the outside world (specifically through Ray Pereira) has been shaped by performing artists with general interests in sharing and exchanging music for performance purposes. To

some extent, it seems like both Centers have experiences with non-Ghanaians that shape the product they locally produce at home full-time, regardless of whether or not tourists are around. With respect to borderzone creation, Dagbe and Kusun differ quite a bit, but their decisions reflect their affiliations.

Just as Dagbe is spatially isolated itself from the influence of the urban, the compound itself also isolates travelers from the village itself. Understandably, the staff wants to prevent visitors from getting into trouble with the locals who are out of their jurisdiction: the purpose of a well-defined borderzone is to ensure that all elements of the tourists' experience are controlled and therefore pleasant. But this sense of control carries over into the musical and dance output, resulting from Nani Agbeli's high standards and a clear vision for the level of performance the local ensemble should uphold. Conversely, the Kusun Cultural Center has a far more permeable and nebulous borderzone. They are located in the urban sprawl of Accra, and tourists are encouraged to explore as they wish. With increased freedom comes greater chance for discomfort; theft was a lingering problem, and some of the local food (carefully controlled at Dagbe) would cause the occasional runny tummy. And yet, Kusun seemed more willing to experiment in music and dance, choreographing productions to suit the multicultural tastes of their visitors, as evidenced in Adjete's eclectic approach to dance collection and choreography.

Other researchers tend to conclude that the effects of tourism on a performance culture are profoundly devastating. Sarkissian notes that in Malaysia, "...after forty years in the touristic borderzone, myth has become reality: the

repertory has been modified, expanded, and absorbed so thoroughly that not only do the young performers consider it their ‘authentic tradition,’ but community leaders old enough to remember the first performances exhort these youngsters to ‘keep up their culture’” (Sarkissian 1998, 100). This observation demonstrates how nostalgia for traditions that exist only in (potentially faulty) memory can reshape the present. Although this sentimental reinforcement does take place in Ghana, it is not motivating the design of cultural displays. This is true for both Dagbe and Kusun, in spite of attempts by one group to preserve their music and another to expand their musical horizons. It may be true that the repertory has changed as it has become associated with tourism, but both groups assert creative identities through local innovation. Given the high degree of local agency in the creation of productions, I do not find that tourism has “devastated” local culture.

Tourists and Ethnographers

Let me now return to identity issues between tourists and ethnographers that were made evident in the introduction. One of my great challenges in this project has been legitimizing myself as a researcher in a tourist economy, and the solution I have found is to simply embrace the messiness that comes along with an ambiguous identity in the field. I willingly identify myself as a tourist-ethnographer. Even if I were as qualified to lead a tour group as Edward Bruner, I would still choose to observe tourists and locals from the viewpoint of a tour group member. I believe it is easier to relate to fellow travel mates and I would be less likely to actively shape the experiences of the tour. On the other hand, tour participants can be less accessible to locals. My experience as a participant in the

Camp Africa tour starkly contrasted with my experience with Kusun due to the fortuitously convenient relationship I had with the tour coordinators of the latter. As a result, I gained access to very different sets of knowledge on the business of cultural tourism with Kusun since I was regarded as a researcher rather than a client. An ideal research approach might include a balance between tour participant and outside observer roles over a longer period. I would explore this method in future tourism fieldwork.

As discussed previously, the activities of music study tourists and researchers are very similar on the surface. The desire to understand a little more about a given culture drives them to travel, and they desire to interact with locals beyond superficial touristic transactions. They record a great deal of music, take lessons with local masters, and even interview locals. There is nothing like living in close quarters with a bunch of other researchers to force you to consider how you differ from your tourist counterparts. It becomes very easy to understand why tourists and researchers look the same from the perspective of locals. However, scholars who have closely examined the comparisons between researcher and traveler argue that the distinction remains.

James Clifford has taken a particular interest in the various types of travel—physical or ideological—that reshape local and global cultures and attitudes. The definition of fieldwork figures prominently in his discussion because, historically, travel to a distinctly Other place was a hallmark of the fieldwork experience. Clifford's discussion was provoked by new forms of fieldwork that do not require travel, and though his discussion is directed towards recapturing the essential

features of fieldwork that differ from travel writing or journalism, his views also help distinguish researcher from tourist. Foremost, fieldwork serves a disciplining function; it is a rite of passage for university students, and fits in with proscribed interactive modes. Researchers are “ungendered, unraced, and sexually inactive subjects” in the field in order to maintain academic distance and avoid entanglement (Clifford 1997, 72), so some of the freedoms of expression and activity enjoyed by tourists must be restrained in the researcher. Complete discretion in the field is impossible, and my work as a participant-observer sometimes placed tourist and researcher roles in direct conflict. Rather than suggesting that these roles must always conflict, Michelle Kisliuk suggests that we embrace the overlap: “As ethnomusicologists, our ancestors and our roles both diverge from and unite with those of anthropologists, missionaries, tourists, and journalists, among others. But in each comparison there is a crucial difference, I've found, and that difference is rarely generalizable, but changes depending on particular circumstances and particular people” (2008, 192). Depending on the parties involved, fieldwork is reshaped to the needs of the situation, and my research in music study tourism required constant negotiation between locals and guests.

Another distinction between tourists and researchers lies in the cerebral output of the individual. Based on his experience, Anthony Seeger suggests a stereotype that “tourists come to learn and experience but leave with little knowledge or experience,” but I do not think this was the case with all of the Kusun and Dagbe participants (2008, 280). Some integrated their knowledge into world music

curricula in their teaching jobs at home. Others, as was Pereira's initial intention, integrated their music and dance skills into their own creative outlets, including local West African music or fusion ensembles at home. Though many of the tour members had similar research activities while on tour and used some of those materials upon return, my project required a great deal of reflection and contextualization within a scholarly sphere; this professional distance is "essential to the interpretive process" (Clifford 1997, 84). For music study tourism, fieldwork may not be determined only by the activities that take place in the field, as they are indistinguishable from the activities of leisure travelers, but rather the process of reshaping of research materials into scholarly ideas and contextualization of those ideas with the goal of expanding an academic discipline.

Music and Tourist Economies

Whether we like it or not, researchers in music study tourism are contributing to tourist economies in the same fashion as tourists. It is increasingly difficult to move from economic relations to social interactions with locals that who are accustomed to and depend on brief or temporary interactions. Luckily, individuals in the music study tourism industry are accustomed to building relationships with tourists, but sometimes those relationships have power imbalances or can leave the visitor (or local) feeling as though they are being used for their unique resources. Efforts to control economic interactions were made at both sites, which served as a preventative measure to ensure that visitors were not overpaying for services, though the inevitable "yevu tax" (the increasing of prices on goods for

foreign “white people”) was commonplace. Locals who had reputations for scamming tourists were also disclosed to the group, creating an economic incentive for locals to refrain from trying to take advantage of guests.

Afternoons at Dagbe and Kusun were free, although many used the time to take private lessons with the staff. Private lesson pricing was discussed on the first day at both locations; 17 cedis for an hour lesson at Dagbe, and varied from 10 to 20 cedis at Kusun.¹⁰ This was the only aspect of the tour where group members were paying for services, so group members began to question the costs of the other factors of the trip. This also led participants to examine the economic imbalance between employees of Dagbe, who profited from foreign money and status, and the Kopeyia village members who were restricted from participating in the lucrative tourist market. The awareness and curiosity of economic relationships on tour is another post-tourist impulse, and at times questions led to group disenchantment. Some of the economic unease amongst tourists stemmed from a realization that the income from the program cost may not be distributed evenly among staff members.

Many tour companies with all-inclusive packages try to cover up economic imbalance and operation costs; undesirable economic operations directly affect a traveler’s sense of enjoyment and shatter the attraction of leisure travel. Some have argued for the creation of “tourist bubbles” in urban planning to hide unattractive aspects of city life (Judd and Fainstein, 1999), and, from a

¹⁰ The exchange rate for Ghana cedi to the US dollar is about 2 to 1.

psychological standpoint, undesirable situations can threaten the traveler's ego and diminish the traveler's satisfaction (MacCannell, 2002).

One factor that contributed to group uneasiness was the frequent requests for gifts from locals, especially as each tour was leaving. Appiah, a cultural insider, explains this behavior as it occurs in the centrally located city of Kumasi:

"There is something else about Kumasi, something that probably strikes every tourist eventually: people are constantly asking you for things. It's not just beggars... Ordinary people will ask, "What did you bring me?" Or, "Can you take me to America?" Or, "When you go home will you send me a watch?" (Or a cell phone or a laptop.) They will ask you for help with visas and plane tickets and jobs... To understand these constant demands you have to understand something about Ghana. It is true now, as it was true one and two and three centuries ago, that success in life depends on being enmeshed in a web of relationships... In a society like this, to ask someone for something is to invite him to become your patron. It's a sign that you think he has the status to get things done. And so it's a way of indicating respect." (Appiah 2007, 91-92)

Although some travelers took joy in sharing gifts brought from home, some found the requests were bothersome and inconsiderate. These requests are perhaps just as frequently made to foreigners with very few relationships beyond one transaction in a market. But the prolonged relationship building that occurred at both Dagbe and Kusun put increasing pressure on the guests to provide monetary and material support. Again, some travelers delighted in supporting new Ghanaian friends, but others were insulted that their relationships might have been founded on a desire for material wealth. Though this may have been the case for some relationships, Appiah's insight suggests that the gift culture in Ghana may have (sadly) been misunderstood by some of the travelers.

The economic misunderstandings between tourists and hosts are an ongoing problem, especially since economic disparity is so clearly manifested in Ghana. In spite of the negative associations with these interactions, most of the music study tour participants and hosts had positive evaluations of their tour experience. This was achieved without the protection of a tourist bubble or well-controlled borderzone, which suggests that such measures aren't necessary in certain forms of tourism. In the case of music study tourism, the strength of communal bonds between locals and guests, reinforced by collaborative performance, fostered meaningful tour experiences in spite of cultural or economic difference.

Communitas Turned Cosmopolitan

In the first leg of my tour with the Camp Africa group, I was fascinated by the generation of communitas through the ritualized activities created by locals for the guests. These events were some of the most memorable for the group because they generated an awareness of global human bonds between tour participants. Building on Turner's liminoid communitas, Erik Cohen makes the argument that "it is necessary to incorporate the concepts of liminality and inversion into a comprehensive, comparative theoretical approach to tourism, which will take account of the variety of touristic phenomena, ranging between the poles of the "serious" tourist and the "frivolous" vacationer" (Cohen 2004, 127). In my own research, I used a Turnerian approach in order to further differentiate tourist and researcher identity, but I felt dissatisfied because this approach ignores local presence and identity. As discussed earlier, the liminoid ritual situations were designed for the guests, and therefore restricted any sense of communitas to the

tour group, not locals an guests as a whole. Additionally, feelings of communitas did not necessarily persist once a liminoid ritual has ended. So how could I explain long-term human bonds experienced by both locals and guests?

Once I had some time to reflect on my experiences at Dagbe, I realized that the Camp Africa group's affinity towards communitas, and the attraction of music study tourism itself, grew out of a predisposition to cosmopolitan ethics. Cosmopolitanism is not generated by a specific ritualized situation like communitas, but they both emphasize human bonds. A major difference between the two concepts is that communitas is usually a fleeting sensation of human-interconnectedness, whereas cosmopolitanism denotes a more resilient worldview. Music study tourists exercise a form of cosmopolitanism when they choose to participate in this form of tourism as a quest for the authentic. In the case of music study tourism, Dean MacCannell's "quest for the authentic" is more accurately described as the cosmopolitan desire to connect and share an appreciation for other individuals. Notions of authenticity are less important when human interests and relationships are at stake within the Kusun and Dagbe borderzones.

Kusun and Dagbe are cosmopolitan centers in their own right. James Burns, a scholar who has worked with Ewe singing groups in Dzodze (about 12 miles from Kopeyia) points out that even seemingly remote villages can have transnational connections. His evaluation stems from Thomas Turino's definition of cosmopolitan that is "based on a common meaning of the word, 'of the world': to be cosmopolitan, given ideas and features must be widely diffused among

particular social groups in dispersed locales” (Turino 2000, 7). Burns uses the term in a slightly different fashion, “as a non-pejorative term to refer more generally to people throughout the world who connect to these global distribution networks in various ways and to varying degrees” (2009, 27). He goes on to show how Dzodze reflects the local perception of the town as a “relatively developed town” that is connected to the national electric grid, and global mass-media and telecommunications networks (27). Both music study tourism centers are connected to the outside world on similar levels, but the variety of interactions with foreigners afforded by the tourism industry set them apart from Dzodze. A cosmopolitan worldview thrives at Dagbe and Kusun because the relationships between locals and the outside world are reinforced by transnational connections of the human kind.

Transnational networks built upon cosmopolitan ethics strengthen communities, and music study tourism in Ghana facilitates this process. The prolonged interaction between hosts and guests through the mediums of music and dance not only economically reinforce villages and towns, but also provide a opportunity for international exchange of culture and ideas. As a counterexample, another sector of the Ghanaian tourism industry is built upon volunteer tourism, where privileged foreigners descend upon a village to build housing or provide medical aid. One criticism of “voluntourism” is that it reinforces distinctions of Otherness and difference in travelers because it commodifies and peddles economic imbalance within communities (Raymond and Hall 2008, 532). After studying the impact of volunteer tourism in the field, Eliza Marguerite Raymond

and C. Michael Hall made the following recommendations for effective volunteer tourism: “approaching [a program] as a learning process rather than simply an ‘experience’ should be recognized through the use of experiential learning techniques... opportunities for interaction with other cultures should be deliberately facilitated” (*ibid.*, 541). The practices of music study tourism found at Dagbe and Kusun coincide with these recommendations. As a result, service projects grew out of relationships fostered by music and dance. At Dagbe, tour participants arranged charitable projects over meals, such as painting the Dagbe sign, painting murals at the local school, and providing bikes for students. It is beneficial that volunteerism grows from the bottom up rather than the top down; tour participants can identify needs in a given location on personal level and act accordingly.

Music study tourism is certainly not a holistically perfect environment for intercultural engagement; confronting and overcoming Otherness necessarily involves personal struggle for both hosts and guests. In the scholarly sphere, music study tourism provokes many challenging discussions on identity, authenticity, creativity and innovation, heritage production, and global relations. However, these dialogues can and will advance the study of tourism and ethnomusicology, just as borderzone interactions can lead to great personal development for locals and travelers. I have shown that the music and dance practices of Ghana are particularly well suited to fostering a sense of community between unlikely fellows. The growing amount of comparable music study

programs all over the world demonstrates that these programs could have a significant impact on tourism in countries worldwide.

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