

Bossa nova and Twenty-First Century Commerce:

Branded Ubiquitous Music and the Global Bourgeoisie

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Bossa nova's prominent use in coffee shops, shopping malls, and restaurants in the United States often inspires divergent opinions among Brazilian music enthusiasts. Literature professor, composer, and critic José Miguel Wisnik memorably addressed the problem of how to interpret the style's ubiquity in retail spaces in a column he wrote for the Brazilian newspaper *O Globo*.¹ He described his surprise at hearing “Águas de Março” in an upscale Chicago supermarket. For Wisnik, this auditory moment was evidence of the extended reach and influence of Tom Jobim's music – something that Wisnik celebrated. His students at the University of São Paulo, however, saw it differently: they reasoned that the supermarket was expensive and wanted to portray itself as chic to its clientele; bossa nova seemed to fit that aim perfectly (in his words “cai como uma luva” which roughly means “fit like a glove”).²

Wisnik's example outlines two contrasting views over what in-store bossa nova signifies for Brazilian music as a whole – a tension that is at the heart of this essay. There are those that celebrate bossa nova's unique status in soundtracking the retail experiences as good publicity while others bemoan it as a crass example of Brazilian's music's role in consumerism. For those who view bossa nova as being of paramount importance in the trajectory of Brazilian popular culture (especially critics, musicians, and scholars of the so-called MPB generation), having the music heard so often in distracted contexts can pose problems: Does bossa nova's use to sell products or in sonic branding (or even

consumer affect management) degrade it or lessen its value? Does the regular exposure of bossa nova in retail environments carry over to the music's reception and aesthetic effect in other contexts where the music does not compete so overtly for listener attention with other products and experiences?³

There is also the potential for bossa nova to be interpreted as so-called elevator music. For many musicians and fans, distracted or inattentive listening, especially in the form and repertoire of Muzak, detracts from the quality and seriousness of the music.⁴

From another perspective, being associated with curated background environments (i.e., the music and other sensory experiences such as scent and color pallet that are supplementary part of the shopping ambiance) in retail settings can help bossa nova artists reach new audiences and thereby extend Brazilian musicians' influence in the U.S. How many bossa nova fans came to the music by way of hearing Bebel Gilberto at Starbucks or by picking up a Putumayo CD in a clothing store? Further, many independent artists seek out associations with non-musical brands and retail settings because they believe it will help them to earn money (through licensing fees) that just two decades ago would have come from record sale royalties and concerts alone.⁵ Due to the contraction of the recording industry, the life of a musician is considerably more risky for the majority of artists.⁶ Bossa nova's status as both a celebrated expression of Brazil's musical sophistication and its links to elevator music point to some fissures for what types of listening are ideal.⁷ Further, one could look at the values undergirding bossa nova's transformation to background music as a drama around what Ola Stockfelt might call a variety of "adequate modes of listening".⁸

What is at issue here, however, is that one of these listening modes enables commerce and takes part in larger systems implicated in neoliberalism. Bossa nova's popularity as background music raises issues about the appropriateness of certain types of listening and the long-term effects of the music's links to commerce. I argue that the process through which bossa nova arrives in the speakers of retail

stores and its associations with prestige for what I call the global bourgeoisie, illustrate the pernicious nature of neoliberalism. Specifically bossa nova's soundtracking of retail experience selects for individuals who want to experience their consumption in environments that are up-scale, trendy, and exude an air of cosmopolitan sophistication. Further, this illustrates that neoliberalism's marketization of everything has extensive consequences for the ways music and listeners interact.

Much of what I discuss in this essay centers on the relationship of bossa nova recordings to the brand of the locale where the music plays a supporting role in the consuming experience and the perceptions of marketing executives and music programmers that choose the music for the purpose of complementing their environment. Thus, I describe the relationships between brand, music, and commercial locale as "branded ubiquitous music," extending musicologist Anahid Kassabian's concept from her book-length essay *Ubiquitous Listening*. There, she connects the ways that listeners and corporations attempt to manage affect and subjectivity through a range of experiences from individualized wearable music such as portable MP3 players and smartphones as well as the piped-in music in retail locations of the type at the center of this essay. In both types of listening, music is supposed to produce a certain set of emotional responses regardless of varying degrees of attention.⁹ By adding the "branded" to Kassabian's concept, I seek to highlight how bossa nova enhances each outlet's core commercial identity as it exists through lived experiences. As sociologist Celia Lury argues, brands are a set of multidimensional relationships between producers and consumers. Such relationships are similar to the multidimensionality of attention and distraction that characterizes much of the listening that takes place in branded ubiquitous music.

Bossa nova has a flexibility in its instrumentation and associations that makes it especially suitable for programming in a wide variety of retail environments; further, there is a direct link between the instrumentation of selected recordings and the image that a store wants to convey. Storefronts that

want to convey the ideals of organically grown natural products tend to favor bossa nova recordings that highlight acoustic instrumentation as epitomized by Luiz Bonfá. In contrast, outlets that want to communicate their links to technology, youth, and global sophistication favor bossa nova remixed with electronic dance music, such as Bossacucanova and Suba, even as it was at its peak in popularity at the turn of the new millennium. Even as musicians need to seek out new sources of income amid the turbulence of the current media industry landscape, there are consequences for bossa nova and related styles from Brazil having such a strong associations with retail and commerce. In the United States, having bossa nova as branded ubiquitous music poses the danger of affirming that the music only works in specific environments and only for audiences with enough capital to shop and dine out. It is a limitation, and it changes the circumstances under which listeners, performers and their brokers conceive of the music and its place in North American cultural practice.

This essay is based on interviews conducted with the people who take part in the process of turning bossa nova into branded ubiquitous music, including individuals from the music programming firm DMX (Digital Music Experience) and Putumayo World Music, among others. In what follows, I discuss the transformation of bossa nova recordings to sonic brands from the perspective of business. I trace the economic and symbolic factors that limit which tracks these outlets use in their programming and what those choices have to do with the specific markets these businesses wish to attract. First, however, I address the difficulties of parsing out how branded ubiquitous music works for the variety of listening experiences that any person, let alone a market segment, can have.

Functions of Branded Ubiquitous Music

Businesses that choose to have music as part of the ambiance in their retail locations do so for a variety of intentions – including encouraging customers to be more social and docile, increasing worker

productivity, and the overall aim of earning more money – thereby making the music’s function difficult to parse from the rest of the commercial experience. What is more, it is also difficult to determine how listeners receive the music in settings meant to encourage spending and where music is not the focus. By and large, most musicians do not envision their recordings reaching listeners solely as the accompaniment of commercial practices in stores, restaurants and other retail settings. Rather, music programmers (Muzak called them “architects”) or even online, personalized radio software utilizing content algorithms such as Pandora, typically curate the listening experiences (or request music similar to a specific recording) that help the retailer or client project an image consistent with their brand and thus attract the listeners who would appreciate whatever products or services are for sale in that location.¹⁰ Playlists and content algorithms (for digital music recommendation services such as Pandora) often include or reference a large variety of recordings; programmers choose songs not necessarily according to lyrical content but, rather, with the aim of creating a specific ambiance. In my experience and with what I have observed in others, when popular recordings are used as branded ubiquitous music, they often fade between the background and foreground of the listener's attention, especially in the event that a particular listener already knows the song in question and has opinions (either negative or positive) about it.

Recent scholarship has theorized how music is used in retail environments, and has subsequently deepened understandings of how music, inattentive listeners, retail, and semi-public spaces interact. Jonathan Sterne has described how the experience of music in shopping malls takes part in commerce in such a way that both “music and listener's responses to it are themselves commodities to be bought, sold, and circulated.”¹¹ “Programmed music” is Sterne’s term for musical sound that is “piped” into semi-public spaces. Like Stockfelt and others who work in sound studies, Sterne refuses to prioritize or lend value to any particular mode of listening, contending that “listening

designates a whole range of heterogeneous activities involving perception of sound.”¹² Such heterogeneous listening practices are crucial to the increasing commoditization of sound in consumers’ lives.

Sterne's discussion of the commoditization of listeners is in conversation with the ideas that form the basis of Anahid Kassabian's *Ubiquitous Music*. At the core of her argument is what she calls “distributed subjectivity” arguing that the contemporary world enables subjectivity to shift toward temporary states with access to a vast field of connections and presentations beyond the bounds of the individual. She states, “the operations, engagements, and processes that we perceive as being between ‘us’ as discrete individuals and ‘objects’ including ‘objects’ of culture, *are* distributed subjectivities.”¹³ This type of subjectivity features an absence of focused attention, and the potential for multi-located technology. She uses the example of world music in retail (including bossa nova) to illustrate how subjectivity changes through listening. For her, world music listening takes part in a type of “distributed tourism,” a state only possible through her notion of subjectivity, since when she listens to these different types of world music, she does not literally travel through the music or go to that place.¹⁴ In reference to Putumayo and Starbucks, Kassabian suggests that distributed tourism maintains a differentiation between “here” and “there” while making it possible to inhabit both places at the same time.¹⁵ What is more, all of the locales hailed by world music and distributed tourism are entangled to the point where their distinctiveness is simultaneously maintained and erased.

Jonathan Sterne’s and Anahid Kassabian’s ideas are useful for unpacking what happens on an individualized affective level when a patron passes into and out of states of listening to strange-yet-familiar music that plays in retail spaces. Thus, my use of “branded ubiquitous music” seeks to highlight how brands that encourage those transitory states of subjectivity through listening do so to enhance a corporate identity. Sound and music can enhance a brand’s appeal and affect. In addition to

the sonic design of retail spaces, sonic branding—a key marketing tactic for record labels—can include sound logos (i.e. the NBC chimes), recorded music licensed for use in commercials, and compilation CDs. Brazilian music features prominently in the world of sonic branding. As I have shown elsewhere, associating a musical artist or recording with a particular brand proved to be a profitable strategy for Brazilian record labels as the market for recorded music began to contract during the early 2000s.¹⁶ Many of the most successful independent record companies view associations with major brands—especially through synchronization licensing for television commercials and soundtracks—as crucial to their survival. From the perspective of artists and record label personnel, being active in the right kind of sonic branding provides a clear source of recognition and revenue. Thus, branded ubiquitous music is a major part of the story for how Brazilian music finds new audiences.

In the course of marketing branded ubiquitous music, a company must balance its desire to control how it presents itself to the public with marketers' understandings of sound. Sonic branding firms draw on longstanding assumptions: that music is a universal language; that hearing connects people to emotion-rich experiences; that sound has supposedly “scientific powers” that can be exploited.¹⁷ Devon Powers has suggested that these assumptions increasingly lead sonic branders to prefer music to other (visual) forms of marketing because they believe that music and sound cannot be heard critically.¹⁸

Branded ubiquitous music may signal to listeners whether or not they belong in a particular environment. In their study of the effect of music on clothes shoppers, Tia DeNora and Sophie Belcher showed that branded music “is a device of social ordering, an aesthetic means through which consumer agency is articulated, changed and sustained.”¹⁹ In other words, their research showed that customers are at least partially aware of the role branded ubiquitous music plays in their shopping experience. DeNora and Belcher argue that through exposure to multiple forms of media, some consumers are

trained to embody different styles of being and personae in the moment of listening and, hence, exhibit a remarkable aesthetic flexibility. Thus, when consumers respond to the sonic cues of branded ubiquitous music, they often do so because they want to imagine themselves in a different pose or public presentation of self. It is a conscious decision. When consumers hear bossa nova in retail settings, they are likely to be aware that the music targets them as a demographic.

Bossa Nova's Routes to Semi-Public Spaces

Picking the proper music to accompany a retail or dining environment is often as crucial to a brand as the wares being sold in that venue. The most famous programmed music provider, Muzak Inc, used to provide instrumental arrangements of pop music hits but now typically licenses recognizable recordings with vocals. Notwithstanding, their programming still rests on the conviction that music can reflect and enhance brands while also encouraging ideal behaviors timed to the hour of the day (this practice is called following “temporal trends”). Like most marketing decisions, the process of curating and programming music for retail environments involves consultation about a company’s self-image. Programming choices take into consideration factors such as the origin of the product to be marketed, the availability of specific tracks, and the desired consumer demographics.

During our conversation, Anita Benner, a music programmer from DMX (an affiliate of Mood Music and Muzak), cited a few factors that determine whether or not one of her clients will want bossa nova in their ubiquitous music program. It is often as simple as an outlet’s relationship to Brazilian products. For example, if a store sells coffee, then bossa nova is more likely to be programmed there because coffee beans are a well-known Brazilian export.²⁰ Such links can also include linguistic relationships. If a company or restaurant features products from a Lusophone country, it might choose international musical styles with Portuguese lyrics. Benner cited the example of a Mozambican

restaurant chain that programmed music from Cape Verde and bossa nova. However, the choice often simply responds to the tastes of the business owners. In the case of the Mozambican restaurant, the owners did not enjoy Portuguese *fado* so it was not in the program. In the above cases of branded ubiquitous music, bossa nova is indirectly linked to the product or experience.²¹

Sometimes, however, bossa nova is selected as part of a broader program to appeal to trendsetters. During the late 1990s and early 2000s, bossa nova/electronic dance music hybrids emerged as a key repertoire in branded ubiquitous music. These songs were often programmed in outlets intended for elite trend-setter shoppers between the ages of 25 and 30 who were aware of global trends in dance music.²² For this demographic, the sonic cues of the shopping experience were supposed to evoke a party or club setting.²³ Denilson Lopes notes that bossa nova electronic dance music was developed “as a hybrid ‘portuglish’ style that oscillated between Portuguese and English, between locality, between past and present.”²⁴ In recent years, this Portuguese/English hybrid music has been incorporated into the DMX sample format — a music programming pitch that firms feature on their websites to give potential clients an idea of the variety of branded ubiquitous music they can provide — called “Portuglish blend” (which the company offers as one of its Latin options).²⁵

According to Benner, DMX is also likely to program bossa nova to evoke what she refers to as “acoustic organicism.” Such programming would be marketed to stores and outlets that specialize in selling food or dining experiences that are natural or earthy, and that tend to prefer arrangements of bossa nova songs for voice and guitar over electronic dance remixes. Benner cited organic supermarkets and markets that sell “world goods,” such as Cost Plus World Market or natural food stores (the types of retailers that José Miguel Wisnik referred to in the anecdote from the beginning of this essay). Based on my own observations, I would also extend this category to restaurants that specialize in “local” or “seasonal” food, tea shops that sell vegan fare, and fitness stores that sell yoga

apparel. In all of these contexts, acoustically performed bossa nova helps promote organic and “natural” wares through an appeal to a sense of universal organicism.

Companies like Muzak and DMX exclusively use the catalogs from major labels or established independent and world music labels housed in the United States, thus limiting the range of bossa nova recordings available for programming. In contrast, Putumayo and Six Degrees produce compilations of music by artists represented by international labels. But these two well-known U.S.-based labels compel these artists to go through an arduous process of licensing for international distribution. Often, the rate of compensation is contingent upon an artist’s marketing power. In addition, compensation could be low for a track or an album licensed to a world music label between 2000 and 2005, the period when the Brazilian record industry was contracting. In the mid-2000s, for example, independent labels, concerned with staunching losses in a contracting market, often rushed into unfavorable licensing deals.²⁶ Thus, any given bossa nova track needs to pass through multiple levels of curation before it can be included in a ubiquitous branded music context:

A&R at the original record label chooses to record and promote the track.

A&R at a world music company hears the track while scouring the globe for new material. The world music company then requests a license for it to appear on a compilation.

The licensing department at a music programming company selects the track (or the compilation which includes it) to be in its catalog and pays the copyright holder(s).

The music programmers pitch a particular track (or compilation) to a specific client.

The client agrees to have the track (or compilation) as part of their in-store music programming.

The result is that what is available for branded ubiquitous music has gone through multiple levels of curation and only features artists who have the advantage of existing relationships to international world music market.²⁷

The international coffee giant Starbucks has been a major entity in the branding of bossa nova. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, most of the world music and bossa nova heard in Starbucks locations came through the partnerships of its in-house record label, Hear Music, with world music labels. At the time, Starbucks was interested in carefully curating the affective experience of its customers, often through the promotion of new artists.²⁸ For example, the San Francisco-based Six Degrees records has been licensing world music tracks to Starbucks for many years. Many of their bossa nova-influenced recordings came through the Ziriguiboom label out of Belgium. During this period, Ziriguiboom was invested in promoting Brazilian music that was largely ignored by world music labels, including tracks by artists who remixed bossa nova with electronic dance music, such as BossaCucaNova and Bebel Gilberto. This strategy eventually led Hear Music to collaborate directly with Six Degrees for the distribution of Céu's self-titled album in Starbucks stores.²⁹ Pat Berry of Six Degrees notes that by the 2010s, Starbucks' branded ubiquitous music moved more towards what Berry described as classic music which emphasized hits from the past (such as bossa nova recordings from the 1960s).³⁰ That shift meant that Starbucks still sold compilation CDs, but the orientation became less about breaking new artists and more about conforming to the Starbucks aesthetic of combining some new and established hits in a given genre.

A good example of Starbucks' recent approach to compilations and playlists is *In A Bossa Nova Mood*, a 2011 collection that combines classic bossa nova recordings from the 1960s with eclectic and more recent tracks by Beck and Los Amigos Invisibles, among others. These latter artists are peripherally related to Brazilian music and are not normally cited as bossa nova musicians.³¹ Only one of the artists represented in the collection was not already established on a national scale: Passarim, a Seattle-area bossa nova group who contributed their version of Tom Jobim's "Você e Eu." The group's drummer, Brian Willett, told me that Passarim managed to get their recording on the CD because their

singer, Francesca “Francie” Merlini worked for Starbucks and had heard that they were putting together a bossa nova compilation. Through her in-house connection she was able to pass along Passarim’s recording to the producer who was putting together the compilation.³²

Another retail setting where listeners often encounter bossa nova as branded ubiquitous music includes the clothing and gift stores that sell CDs from the Putumayo label and other world music labels.³³ Unlike retail locations and semi-public places that contract through music programming companies, shops that sell Putumayo CDs often play music from those CDs in an attempt to encourage customers to buy them while also reflecting the values of their store. This is a different approach than that taken by companies that adjust their music programming by tempo and style to accommodate time of day and season, something that Muzak and its affiliates has historically touted as a defining feature.³⁴ Jacob Edgar, the director of A&R for Putumayo World Music and the owner of the Cumbancha record label, describes the process of selecting music for Putumayo CDs as one of “musical discovery by consensus.”³⁵ As A&R head, he travels the world to find new recordings from a variety of independent and major labels. He then selects music that will balance both a globally conscious and universal appeal which then gets selected by a committee of employees, many of whom are not experienced in A&R.³⁶ As of this writing, there are at least seven separate Putumayo collections that directly evoke Brazil and bossa nova in their title or by implication, with one being specifically targeted and marketed as a kids’ CD. There is also an additional compilation that directly references Brazil’s history as a coffee exporter: *Music of the Coffee Lands*.

Putumayo is fairly clear about whom they consider their target audience: the so-called “cultural creative” marketing demographic.³⁷ “Cultural creative” is a demographic category that describes upper-middle class people with a “worldly” view.³⁸ In their book, *Cultural Creatives*, Paul H. Ray and Amy Ruth Anderson describe the demographic as having a general love of nature and concern for global

politics. They also state that this group tend to be physically active and they have a willingness to pay more for goods and services if that action works for the “greater good” of humanity. By and large, cultural creatives tend to be younger.³⁹ Anahid Kassabian has connected Putumayo’s target audience to Richard Florida’s notion of the “creative class” who, in his view, are transforming cities, and by extension, global urban life.⁴⁰ I would further connect this category to what Timothy Taylor describes as the latest permutation of the new petite bourgeoisie who pride themselves on bringing their good taste (in the trendy rather than “high culture”) to the masses.⁴¹ In a sense, then, Putumayo's use of bossa nova puts the music within the larger milieu of cultural products that are appealing to a global bourgeoisie.

Due to its popularity in the jazz repertoire, there is a long tradition of jazz musicians performing bossa nova in upscale restaurants.⁴² The connection between restaurants and bossa nova sometimes proves to be the entry point for Brazilian artists seeking to establish their careers. One Miami-based musician, Mônica da Silva, has licensed recordings of her music to the restaurant chain where she performs: SushiSamba – a restaurant that mixes Peruvian, Japanese, and Brazilian cuisine. She has established affiliations with other Brazilian brands in the United States: Leblon cachaça and Havaianas sandals.⁴³ If her case is any indication of what the future holds for bossa nova and retail, it demonstrates the coexistence between having one’s music take part in branded ubiquitous music and overt branded affiliations through direct sponsorship of non-music related products. It also highlights the increasingly interconnected nature of musician, retail chain, and advertising for non-music related goods. Since artists are enthusiastic about using brand affiliation to expand their audience, then marketers are becoming the tastemakers and are replacing record label A&R.⁴⁴

Toward the end of my conversation with Putumayo’s Jacob Edgar, I asked why so many stores

choose bossa nova in their sonic branding. He responded with some references to the music's relationship to international music trends, and then he said: "It's unobtrusive, melodic, has smooth contours. You know... it makes the perfect elevator music." That "unobtrusiveness" was part and parcel of the "cool" approach that many of these musicians took, with an emphasis on voice and guitar.⁴⁵ Notably, it is not the "hard," "bright" arrangements of bossa nova, such as those by Dizzy Gillespie, that often serve this function.⁴⁶ The smoothness of melodic contour (even with leaps and extended harmonies) and timbre is the one quality that seems to carry through all permutations of bossa nova that are programmed as branded ubiquitous music; whether they are of the "cool" recordings exemplified by the early 1960s or the remixed bossa nova recordings that hail the trendsetting crowd, the majority of those recordings emphasize unobtrusiveness timbres and melodies over bossa nova's other qualities.⁴⁷ Even if it is bossatrônica, the records are remixed in a way to emphasize soft vocals and lighter drum samples so as to blend more smoothly into the background to support commerce and conversation. Bossa nova is effective in retail environments because of what it represents to specific demographics (an openness to diversity and nature to cultural creatives; global urban hipness to trendsetters) and because it blends well with other ubiquitous music choices (many performances utilize a deceptively simple instrumentation that emphasizes the guitar, piano, and voice).

Throughout this essay, I have attempted to show how the desire for certain brands to attract specific customers has led to bossa nova being used as branded ubiquitous music. As such, bossa nova is taking part in a milieu of affect management and the larger influence of branded sensory engagement. Since its origins in the Muzak corporation to encourage worker productivity, many firms that utilize branded ubiquitous music to maintain a consumer-friendly affect through sound in much the same way that stores such as Victoria's Secret attempt through scent. Bossa nova works in retail settings as branded ubiquitous music because it affirms the values of the stores as well as their target

customers. Recently, many scholars have begun to critique the corporatization of our tastes and senses and, by extension, our bodies.⁴⁸ The case of bossa nova illustrates the economic, industrial and affective structures at work in shaping how musicians get their performances to new listeners, and what options they have for earning living. At this stage, how many musicians could feasibly refuse to take part in branded ubiquitous music and still survive?

¹ Semi-public spaces include retail outlets, such as stores and restaurants. They also include spaces that are more fluid in function, such as outdoor shopping malls and airports.

² “Meus alunos têm uma visão bem menos encantatória, e literalmente mercadológica do fato. Dizem que esse supermercado é caro, quer parecer chique, e que a bossa nova ambiente cai como uma luva para a construção dessa impressão.” Wisnik, “Águas de Março.”

³ One of the central conundrums of distraction and its relationship to music is the inability to engage in active or “structural” listening, an ideal championed by Theodor Adorno. In recent years, scholars in sound studies have critiqued Adorno’s framework for its limited view. The central problem of music and sound competing for a listener’s attention occupies scholars from such diverse fields as art history (Jonathan Crary’s *Suspensions of Perception*), ethnomusicology (Veit Erlmann’s *Reason and Resonance*) and musicology (Anahid Kassabian’s *Ubiquitous Listening*).

⁴ Similarly, Robert Fink critiques the negative associations of background music as it applied to the proliferation of Barococo recordings in the second half of the twentieth century. Fink, *Repeating Ourselves*, 196.

⁵ Musicians often co-brand themselves with non-musical products even though it can be risky; if the non-musical brand tarnishes that of the musician, it can take years to recover.

⁶ Widespread licensing is now a common practice for music marketing. Standard texts on the music industry instruct musicians to identify products that appeal to the same demographic as their ideal audience for help expanding their audience and for co-sponsorship deals in their tours. See Lathrop, *This Business of Music Marketing*.

⁷ Consider the ubiquity of the TV trope “The Elevator from Ipanema,” where characters hear a Muzak version of “Garota de Ipanema” piped-in on an Elevator.

⁸ Stockfelt, “Adequate Modes of Listening.”

⁹ Kassabian, *Ubiquitous Listening*.

¹⁰ Although some businesses also still use radio, the practice is fading in popularity.

¹¹ Sterne, “Sounds Like the Mall of America,” 23.

¹² Sterne, 24-25.

¹³ Kassabian, 93.

¹⁴ Kassabian, 101-105.

¹⁵ Kassabian, 100.

- ¹⁶ Goldschmitt, “Joga Bonito Pelo Mundo Guerreiro.”
- ¹⁷ Jackson, *Sonic Branding*, 23-37.
- ¹⁸ Powers, “Strange Powers,” 288-9.
- ¹⁹ DeNora and Belcher, “Musically Sponsored Agency,” 82.
- ²⁰ For an excellent discussion on the discourse of Brazilian coffee in the U.S., see Seigel, *Uneven Encounters*, 13-66.
- ²¹ Anita Benner, interview by phone, 18 May 2012.
- ²² As of June 2012, DMX’s equivalent of this program is called “Global Gräv” under “Dance” genre, <<http://www.dmx.com/samples>> last consulted 23 June 2012.
- ²³ qtd. in Owen, “The Soundtrack of Your Life.”
- ²⁴ Lopes, “Transnational Soundscapes,” 215.
- ²⁵ See “Portuglish Blend” in the “Latin” genre, <<http://www.dmx.com/samples>> last consulted 23 June 2012.
- ²⁶ Goldschmitt, “Mobile Tactics.”
- ²⁷ The majority of small-scale venues (i.e. not major franchises) do not use music programming services and opt instead for internet radio stations such as Pandora and Spotify. In those cases, companies control their sonic brand by hiring employees who match their target clientele. Thus, an employee’s Pandora or Spotify choice will likely match the tastes of their customers. See DeNora and Belcher, 89. Most venues that become well established and visible through franchises and local fame use DMX and other similar services to avoid being sued by ASCAP and BMI.
- ²⁸ Kassabian, 86.
- ²⁹ Michael Kelly, interview by phone, 5 December 2007.
- ³⁰ Pat Berry, interview by phone, 4 May 2012.
- ³¹ Beck, a rock musician, was a champion of Tropicália during the early 2000s with his album *Mutations* hailing Os Mutantes. Los Amigos Invisibles are a rock en español / Latin alternative group from Venezuela best known for their party music.
- ³² Brian Willett, interview by phone, 12 December 2011.
- ³³ Putumayo World Music established itself as a label that did not sell through conventional record stores, but rather clothing and other “lifestyle” stores.
- ³⁴ Lanza, *Elevator Music*, 48-49.
- ³⁵ Jacob Edgar, interview by phone, 31 May 2012.
- ³⁶ *ibid.*
- ³⁷ Putumayo lists this demographic on its website: <<http://www.putumayo.com/AboutUs>> last consulted 22 June 2012.
- ³⁸ Ray and Anderson, *The Cultural Creatives*, 24.
- ³⁹ Ray and Anderson, 139-168.

⁴⁰ Kassabian, *Ubiquitous Music*, 89. Florida famously described the attributes of “creative class” and their appeal for city planners in their branding efforts. Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*.

⁴¹ Taylor, “Advertising and the Conquest of Culture.”

⁴² The connection continues. In a 2012 associated press article, New York restaurant Le Bernardin is cited, “a light waft of Brazilian artist Antonio Carlos Jobim or down tempo jazz creates an atmosphere as sophisticated as the wasabi risotto and peekytoe crab.” See Kayal, “The Sound of Food.”

⁴³ Cachaça is a liquor made from fermented sugarcane juice.

⁴⁴ Other scholars note how ad industry professionals who choose the music for TV ads, music supervisors, have nearly eclipsed the role of A&R for breaking new music. See Klein, *As Heard on TV*; Taylor, “Advertising and the Conquest of Culture.”

⁴⁵ It was also about production quality. Creed Taylor, the producer of Getz/Gilberto, championed a crossover production style that would become smooth jazz. See Carson, “Bridging the Gap,” 5-6.

⁴⁶ In my discussion with Passarim’s Brian Willett, he contrasted his group’s current approach to its earlier tribute to Sérgio Mendes & Brasil ‘66.

⁴⁷ For a study on the enduring appeal of bossa nova, see Treece, “Movement and Time in Bossa Nova.”

⁴⁸ Goodman, *Sonic Warfare*.