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Garifuna Popular Music "Renewed":
Authenticity, Tradition, and Belonging in *Garifuna World Music*

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Ethnomusicology

by

Amy Lynn Frishkey

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnomusicology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2016

Professor Roger Savage, Chair

For almost thirty years, the electronically driven dance music *punta rock* remained the only popular music genre indigenous to the Garifuna, an African-Amerindian group based along Central America's Caribbean coast with U.S. diasporic communities. In 2007, however, a new genre ushered in by the award-winning album *Wátina* (I Called Out) by Andy Palacio and the Garifuna Collective effectively displaced punta rock as the musical icon of Garifuna identity and modernity to the outside world and attained much broader appeal. What I term *Garifuna World Music* (GWM) arose from the vision of Belizean producer Ivan Duran and Belizean Garifuna punta rock star Palacio to import the acoustic and reflective emphases of traditional music into the commercial realm in order to promote cultural and linguistic preservation internationally. However, they also conceived the genre as a means for securing Garifuna music a foothold within the world music industry, presenting a sustainable music career as a viable option for

Garifuna musicians for the first time. Periodic tourist witnessing of secular traditional song-dance performances has long been a component of community life, yet the effects of musically dovetailing tradition with Euro-Anglo cosmopolitan desires are newly felt.

This dissertation considers GWM as a nexus between these desires and assertions of cultural identity. Supported by fieldwork undertaken in Belize and Guatemala, I combine ethnography, historiography, and musical analysis not only to examine the multiple hybridities of Garifuna culture as they manifest in Garifuna popular music genres but also their interactions with the state of the millennial world music industry. Specifically, I ask "What was the work of GWM intended to do?" and, in turn, "What is the work actually doing?"

While GWM performs industry notions of "authenticity," rooted in esteem granted to activism, African heritage, nostalgia, and exemplarity, many punta rock musicians in Belizean Garifuna communities today consider it "authentic" for a different reason: its adoption of traditional music practices, especially those of an acoustic guitar-based men's genre called *paranda*, as the starting point for new compositions. Although envisioned and promulgated by a small group, and commercially lucrative for just as few, GWM has generated both local and diasporic pride and provided a means by which young Garifuna men can translate the ethos of their elders into the language of their own highly mediated experiences.

The dissertation of Amy Lynn Frishkey is approved.

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2016

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introvert like me!, and one of the most perceptive and just people I have ever met, constantly alerting me to aspects I hadn't considered. Tim's love of ethnomusicology and dedication to its excellence as a field, coupled with his formidability in the realm of rhetoric, has been a constant source of inspiration. Dazzled by Bob's brilliant lectures and incisive critique, like so many who see him in action, I quickly discovered his generous spirit and open mind in the course of working with him on my master's paper on trip-hop.

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2016	"Punta Rock: A Musical Ethnography," In *The Garifuna Music Reader*, edited by Oliver N. Greene, Jr. San Diego: Cognella, Inc.

2015	"'Si uno mismo viene a buscarlo, nunca le va a llegar': Defining Belonging in Garifuna Commercial Song Creation," Society for Ethnomusicology (SEM) 60th Annual Conference, Austin, December 4.
2015	"Spirituality and Neo-Traditionalism in *Garifuna World Music*," Association for the Study of the Worldwide African Diaspora (ASWAD) 8th Biennial Conference, College of Charleston, November 5.
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2012-2013	"Planet Voice: Strange Vocality in 'World Music' and Beyond," *Radical Musicology* Vol. 6. http://www.radical-musicology.org.uk/2012/Frishkey.htm.
2010	"Planet Voice: Strange Vocality in 'World Music' and Beyond," Society for Ethnomusicology (SEM) 55th Annual Conference, Los Angeles, November 13.
2010	"Modes of Cultural Preservation in *Garifuna World Music*," Society for Ethnomusicology/Southern Plains Chapter (SEMSP) Annual Conference, University of Oklahoma, April 17.
2008	"Moving Towards Plurality: Effects of World Music Recognition upon Central American Garifuna Communities," Society for Ethnomusicology (SEM) 53rd Annual Conference, Wesleyan University, October 27.

Chapter 1:
Introduction

Snapshot: the Rolex Mentor and Protégé Arts Initiative

In an article from December 8, 2009, British journalist Peter Culshaw describes a reception for artistic collaborators chosen as part of the Rolex Mentor and Protégé Arts Initiative. This biennial international program, sponsored by the one of the world's leading luxury watch companies, pairs a master artist from the fields of literature, dance, music, film, visual arts, architecture, and theater with a younger, emerging artist of their choosing for a minimum of six weeks in order to help the protégé achieve individual excellence and "affirm their personal artistic voices'" (http://www.rolexmentorprotege.com/about/the_heritage_of_mentoring). For the 2008-2009 season, Senegalese world music star Youssou N'Dour selected Honduran Garifuna musician Aurelio Martinez to be his protégé. Singing and drumming in traditional ensembles since the age of six, Martinez eventually made his mark within the world music industry performing *paranda*, a nineteenth-century Latin-influenced traditional Garifuna genre composed and performed by men singing over acoustic guitars, hand drums, and gourd rattles. He was the youngest musician featured on the album *Paranda: Africa in Central America*, a showcase for surviving paranderos throughout Central America released by Belize-based Stonetree Records in 1999 and produced by label head Ivan Duran. In 2004, Martinez released his first solo album under Duran's tutelage, *Garifuna Soul*, which garnered positive reviews from world music journalists in the U.S. and U.K.; shortly afterwards, Martinez participated as a member of the Garifuna Collective, a group led by Belizean Garifuna musician Andy Palacio whose 2007 album *Wátina*, also Duran-produced, made a lasting mark upon the world music community.

Figure 1.1: Aurelio Martinez and Youssou N'Dour (from the Rolex Mentor and Protégé Arts Initiative website: http://www.rolexmentorprotege.com/mentors__proteges/music).

Culshaw notes that the buzz surrounding Martinez's album in the works, what became 2011's *Laru Beya* (On the Beach), drew world music luminaries to the Rolex reception, including U.K. producer-musician Brian Eno, Brazilian musician Gilberto Gil (later a 2012-2013 mentor), and the late U.K. DJ and journalist Charlie Gillett. He also revealed that Real World Records, Peter Gabriel's incipient world music label, "is currently the front runner to sign the album" (Culshaw 2009); indeed, *Laru Beya* and 2014's *Lándini* (Landing Place) were both released by the label, and Martinez recorded at Real World Studios for the first time in July of 2015. Encouraged by these accolades from cosmopolitan circles, Martinez and Duran have claimed as their primary motivation the creation of original commercial music authenticated by its anchorage in centuries-old musical traditions of Garifuna culture. In Duran's words, "…we want to share this with the world without any artificial ingredients" (Vietze 2007).

This account points to important themes of this study. The European Rolex brand stands for a lifestyle of upper-class leisure; it also literally materializes the Euro-Anglo concept of time—as a valuable resource and form of control, influenced by industrialization—and its mentor/protégé program relates this concept to arts and letters from around the world and tacitly uses it to organize these domains. Given its contrast to the cyclical, open-ended format of the Garifuna traditional music in which Martinez is trained and which forms the basis of his songwriting, his status as a protégé prompts the question of what these novices to the level of fame achieved by their mentors have to do in order to be heard and seen in like fashion, as what unfolds from these collaborations is so much more than their framework can contain.

Behind the scenes of this ritual of inclusion lie at least two narratives of how Garifuna cultural preservation works within the world music industry. In one scenario that we might call "preservation-by-exemplarity," artistic sound production and entrepreneurial spirit operate hand-in-hand to fashion Garifuna songs and performances as enduring works that succeed as commodities precisely for their originality, evoking the romantic emphasis on individualism informing Euro-Anglo cultural and capitalist ideologies. In the other scenario, "preservation-by-authenticity," those on whom celebrity status is bestowed by world music tastemakers are usually culture brokers, often of African ancestry, who use their platform to promote pride and autonomy for a long-standing way-of-life in the face of encroaching postcolonial moves. Both storylines buttress the argument for world music acclaim as pivotal to launching sustainable and instructive commercial careers for Garifuna musicians.

Synopsis

My study is devoted to a group whose culture, rooted in long-standing West African and indigenous South American practices, developed at the border of Euro-Anglo modernity. The Garinagu, based along the Central American Caribbean coast, forged at least a century-long existence on the Lesser Antilles island of St. Vincent in tandem with French and British colonial administration, before the majority was deported to the island of Roatán off the coast of present-day Honduras in 1797. Since then, the Garifuna, as they are now known, have maintained minority communities in Honduras, Belize, Guatemala, and Nicaragua while also migrating to cities within these home countries and the U.S. to secure employment in line with global North ideals of "development." Drawing largely from fieldwork undertaken in Belize and Guatemala, I utilize the well-honed ethnomusicological method of combining ethnography, historiography, and musical analysis to examine the multiple hybridities of Garifuna culture as they manifest in Garifuna popular music genres. What I call *Garifuna World Music* (GWM), a post-millennial phenomenon, caters to a Euro-Anglo cosmopolitanism while *punta rock*, birthed circa 1980, conjures an increasingly Afrodiasporic one from a local base. While both genres contain an anchor in traditional rhythms, songs, and the Garifuna language in common, they not only forward contrasting experiences of the "urban" but also of cultural identity, registering a perhaps unprecedented degree of social differentiation within the diasporic Garifuna Nation.

While I necessarily address punta rock in this study, ethnomusicologist Oliver Greene Jr. (2009, 2002) has already produced a detailed inaugural body of research that interrogates its cultural implications. In contrast, the central questions motivating my research take up GWM specifically and are as follows. First, how, and to what extent, have the generic conventions of the world music industry shaped GWM? Second, how does GWM challenge or refuse those

conventions? In response to the first question, I discuss: a) the accentuation of the Garifuna African heritage in the world music press coverage of GWM; b) the motivation of the producer (Ivan Duran) to "modernize" traditional genres; c) the perceptual and physical inaccessibility of the sound-shaping and recording studio acumen of the producer to musicians; and d) the dovetailing of male-centered Garifuna traditional genres with the Euro-Anglo copyright concept due to their shared individualist orientation. In response to the second question, I discuss: a) the drive to formulate GWM as motivated by the genuine desire of a Garifuna punta rock musician (Andy Palacio) to (re)enter the fold of his community in a collaboratively musical way, having been a relatively solitary culture broker removed from traditional practices during his upbringing, in actuality; b) the twenty-plus-year commitment of Duran to producing Garifuna popular music made by both local heroes and global superstars; and c) the proclivity of musicians to view commercial music-making as an ultimately collaborative enterprise—as traditional music-making is in an immediate sense—in terms of income, duties, and the "equal-footing" valuation of genres.

Literature Review

Previous Studies of Garifuna Music

Scholarship on Garifuna music of any type is growing but remains a fairly small body of work. Ethnomusicologist Liam McGranahan is the first to survey the aforementioned extant literature on this topic, in his M.A. thesis from Brown University, as well as to synthesize and critique its conclusions (McGranahan 2005[2009]). McGranahan notes that Emory Whipple's 1971 M.A. thesis and Richard Hadel's 1972 Ph.D. dissertation on Belizean Garifuna music, both from the University of Texas at Austin, comprise the first substantial studies of Garifuna music

(Hadel 1972, Whipple 1971). This was followed in 1982 by Carol and Travis Jenkins's brief cantometric analysis of Garifuna song (*oremu*) in article form (Jenkins and Jenkins 1982; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 248) and in 1984 by Kenan Foley's M.A. thesis from Southern University on the sacred a cappella *uyanu* genre (Foley 1984). Since then, the work of ethnomusicologist Oliver Greene has addressed a number of topics within the realm of ceremonial life, with a music focus: the *dügü* ancestor veneration ceremony, the *lemesi* mass, and the *wanáragua* (or "John Canoe") Christmastime processional (Greene 2014, 2013, 2006, 2005, 1998b). As mentioned earlier, Greene is also known for his work on the *punta rock* popular music genre (2009, 2002). In his 2000 M.A. thesis from UCLA, Simeon Pillich compared rhythmic patterns used by Belizean Garifuna and Honduran Garifuna drummers in Los Angeles (Pillich 2000; Poluha 2015: 56). Most recent is Lauren Poluha's 2015 Ph.D. dissertation, also from UCLA, which explores the different ways in which the musical repertoires of the two most influential religious communities in Hopkins, Belize—one a Catholic church, the other an inter-denominational Evangelical church—articulate Garifuna identity (Poluha 2015).

Greene, ethnomusicologist Ons Barnat, and Latin American studies scholar Michael Stone comprise the handful of scholars who have discussed the relationship between Garifuna music and world music especially relevant to this study (Stone 2006; Greene 2009; Barnat 2013, 2012). While much of Greene's work on Garifuna popular music focuses on punta rock, he recently has turned to the ascendance of neo-traditionalism since the mid-2000s, exploring the work of Martinez and Palacio and the influence of their duties as national government figures upon this change in musical style (Greene 2009). Barnat participated as a bassist and guitarist in

the recording sessions for Martinez's *Laru Beya* album; for his 2012 doctoral dissertation from Université de Montréal, he uses these sessions as the locus for an analysis of producer Ivan Duran' s success in drawing the attention of the world music industry to the paranda genre (Barnat 2012). Finally, Stone—who has extensively reviewed Garifuna recorded music output for the *RootsWorld* online magazine and radio show—discusses Garifuna negotiations of world music industry exigencies in largely historical and theoretical terms, relating "global capital's indiscriminate, far-reaching wealth accumulation strategy" today to British colonial attitudes and actions toward Garinagu music and dance during the nineteenth century (Stone 2006: 62).[1] His preliminary sketch of the GWM phenomenon fomenting during the 2000s anticipated the ethnographic work of Greene, Barnat, and this study to realize the portrait with the particulars of audio production, marketing, musicians' impressions, and community effects.

Taking my cue from the Garifuna notion of *machularadi*—an ongoing sense of interrelationship between Garifuna—my study thoroughly examines overlapping webs of interrelationships: 1) between Garifuna popular music genres; 2) between Garifuna commercial and traditional musics; 3) between Garifuna World Music and world music industry discourses; 4) between different areas of the Garifuna diaspora and their particular histories; and 5) between the different contexts and circumstances surrounding the world music industry over time. While I magnify certain personalities and Garifuna living and working in Belize, necessitated in part by the genre focus of my study, their appearance is continually considered against the histories and happenings of related "elsewheres." This dissertation also provides the first in-depth discussion of punta rock's stylistic evolution and commercial workings and of music associations devoted

[1] The home page for the magazine is http://www.rootsworld.com/rw/. The home page for the radio show is http://www.rootsworld.org/.

to Garifuna music, as well as the first formulation of unique genre conventions and tropes linked to Ivan Duran's millennial Garifuna music production style. Perhaps most importantly, mine is the first research to my knowledge, ethnomusicological or otherwise, to address the topic of attribution in Garifuna song creation.

"World Music"/Music Industry Studies

The creation of the world music marketing category in the late 1980s sparked not only an international phenomenon but a flurry of debate among popular music scholars and ethnomusicologists. While the former group brought the category and its representational implications to scholarly attention, under the auspices of the International Association for the Society of Popular Music (IASPM) and its *Popular Music* journal, the latter group came to be known for its academic treatments of the topic, having been among the first to use the term "world music" and to take up systematic scholarly interest in musics neither classical nor European or European-derived (Feld 2000a: 2-3; Frith 2000: 307). Of primary concern within ethnomusicological literature has been the nature of encounters and collaborations between "Third World" musical practices and "First World" technologies of production and distribution. Beginning in the early 1990s, at least three principal areas of interest emerged. The first is the examination of world music as a site of financial and representational power struggles borne of wealth differentiation and colonial legacy, commonly referred to as the "cultural imperialism thesis" (Feld 2000, 1994; Frith 2000: 310; Garofalo 1993; Goodwin and Gore 1990; Laing 1986). The second area is the capacity for world music to provide a prescient window into what Simon Frith calls "the blurring of musical and cultural borders and histories" (Frith 2000: 315), commonly referred to as "hybridity" and characterizing what Stuart Hall calls "the global

postmodern" (Hall 1997). With this term, Hall captures a scenario whereby globalization renders all of the world's independent musical traditions as "variations of one cultural form" (Bohlman 2002; Erlmann 1996; Frith 2000; Regev 1997). The third area is the approach to world music in terms of a refiguration of perspectives and identities resulting from local practices, grassroots networking, and small-scale collaborations (Fairley 2001; Frith 2000; Meintjes 1990). This final area has become the world music discourse *de rigueur* among ethnomusicologists, in line with their devotion to the interpersonal relationships supporting ethnographic research. The prolific work of Timothy Taylor (2007, 2004a, 2004b, 2001, 2000, 1997) and Jocelyne Guilbault (2007, 2001, 1997, 1993a, 1993b, 1990 with Line Grenier), for example, balances attention to the category's commodifying work with a fidelity to the stories of individual artists and how enculturation and imagination combine with industry exigencies to produce unique forms of music-making. These authors also demystify the "authenticity" concept informing how these musicians get marketed, accentuating the ways modernity and hybridity form their habitus, inculcated within both life in their own towns and countries as well as in their experiences of touring and working in metropoles (Bourdieu 1977).[2] George Lipsitz also takes this tack, showing how international attention can work as a form of local legitimization, providing a voice for oppressed and minority groups of different nations and communities (Lipsitz 1994: 7-12).

The Need for Historical Depth in World Music Studies

Following anthropological models, Timothy Taylor repeatedly asserts the need for attention to particular histories in the studies of music-cultures, as opposed to a neo-evolutionary

[2] Pierre Bourdieu's concept "habitus" refers to abilities, dispositions, and habits to which our life experiences have conditioned us (Bourdieu 1977).

teleological sense of History, and transfers this idea to studies of world music.[3] He strives to work against what Philip Bohlman has called the "western historiographical obsession…with how exoticism affects…the music of the West, not with how the construction of exoticism affects the exotic and his or her world" (Bohlman 2002). However, the theoretical approach for the majority of his work to date, including his substantial world music offerings, derives not from ethnography but from sociology and cultural studies. Work within these disciplines not only privileges statistics and texts in their analyses, respectively, but also extrapolates from phenomena of Anglophone popular culture and Euro-Anglo literature. Both of these activities already assume a significant contextual familiarity on the part of the reader; thus, forays into multiculturalism by such scholars often give short shrift—from an anthropological standpoint—to the cultural and historical milieux of the event(s) being analyzed, knowledge of which is necessary for adequate comprehension by audiences of every ilk (particularly non-cosmopolitan). As a result, I am often left with the sense, after reading Taylor, that larger discursive patterns informing the world music industry could have been discerned if he had read

[3] However, his construction of a "culture/history"divide, whereby ethnographies are often too "presentist" and histories too universalist, tends to include discussions of history that too closely echo those that he is critiquing (Taylor 2007: 7). In this passage from a 2006 piece in the *Pacific Review of Ethnomusicology* journal, he mentions "history itself" as a "force" acting upon social groups, to which ethnographers fail to attend:

> I have been thinking about the culture/history divide more than ever lately, as I have been reading more and more ethnographies, by anthropologists and ethnomusicologists both, that are so focused on a particular social group that outside forces, even history itself, are left to fall by the wayside. It seems that for some writers, the old-fashioned "village ethnography" is alive and well, though in a more highly theorized guise. Such studies of a geographically dispersed group united by musical taste, or studies of a tiny, localized, community, can be very interesting and useful in teaching, but are nonetheless limited in their bracketing off of how historical forces shape particular social groups, individuals, and their music. […] The practices and ideologies of that group come to be seen as unique to itself, not the results of broad social, cultural, and historical forces that might have produced similar practices and ideologies in other groups.

more across disciplines and probed particular histories with more depth and breadth.[4] Furthermore, very little of the ethnography present in his world music literature involves personal interaction with the "Third World" that the majority of world music artists represent.

One of the functions of this study is to weave together certain threads discerned by Taylor with more ethnography and a more thorough historical analysis so that a more complete picture of world music can emerge. For example, in his 2007 book *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World*, he notes that "discourses of collaboration [in world music] are at odds with western—and specifically American—ideologies of individualism, individual creation, and genius. It is easier to sell a recording with a branded star's name on the cover than an album that might more truthfully represent its contents" (Taylor 2007: 137). Earlier in the same chapter, he mentions, via Edward R. Kealy's theory of the "art mode" of production, the expanded role of the music producer as a creative force in Euro-Anglo popular music since the 1960s and how this has mediated the relationship between producers and musicians in world music collaborations (ibid.: 130-31). This phenomenon begs not only a detailed, comprehensive discussion but also equally intensive histories of the social and ideological contexts from which it arose. This link also suggests that Taylor's interpretive lenses of "mass culture" and the "marketplace," while logical critical foci in response to it and instructive in their own right, may not be the most revealing lenses through which to view world music in the *twenty-first* century.

On the other hand, Taylor has done important work to show that, despite the compromises forged, global North dominance persists in many ways, that it is too early to declare a victory over this (although that is one strategy for moving past such dominance).

[4] Interestingly, Taylor (2006) has recently championed musical ethnographies, such as Erlmann (1999); Radano (2003); and Rees (2000), for their "extensive archival and historical research" on particular music-cultures.

Moreover, recent studies of the world music industry pick up where he leaves off, taking stock of the nuances and specifics of these compromises and doing more to "localize" this culture area. For example, Lucy Durán, a U.K. scholar and active promoter of world music artists since the 1980s, interviewed Nick Gold, the label head and producer who initiated *Buena Vista Social Club* and related albums, for the 2014 inaugural issue of the *Journal of World Popular Music* as a corrective to the tendency in ethnomusicological scholarship up to that point to presume the intentions of world music producers in lieu of speaking with them directly (Durán 2014). Following suit, Aleysia Whitmore, in a 2016 article in the *Ethnomusicology* journal, "presents a portrait of European world music industry personnel as they make decisions about how to develop sounds, images, and stories for European and North American audiences," based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in 2011 and 2012 including an internship at Nick Gold's London-based record company World Circuit (Whitmore 2016: 330, 332). My study not only augments this strain of presentist-leaning ethnographic work but also endeavors to historically localize by tracing world music discourses back to their philosophical and sociological underpinnings.

Defining the "Popular" in Garifuna Popular Music

In Garifuna popular music, we find a perennial tension between the notion of popular music as "authentic" music "of the people" (which coincides with most definitions of "traditional music") and as commercial, mass-produced music. Expanding its purview from the former to the latter, beginning in the late 1970s, arose from the desire to musically render tradition relevant to adolescents and young adults assimilating international pop styles into their musical consciousness. From that point, the genres of foreign popular music invoked within Garifuna

popular music delineated a continuum between local and global priorities –with culturally closer styles like soca and reggae found at the local level and more distant influences like Afro-pop and Afro-Cuban styles at the global level—while the continued centrality of traditional song-dance styles has maintained the distinctly Garifuna identity of this field (Greene 2010).

Since the millennium, however, its commercial side has begun accommodating the mostly Euro-Anglo cosmopolitan tastes represented by the world music industry (to which the incorporation of more distant influences plays, in part), bringing us to a notion of popular music as "cool to like," or music the enjoyment of which allows us to gain status within a particular group. This notion draws upon Pierre Bourdieu's notion of "cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1993), Dick Hebdige's formulation of "subculture" (Hebdige 1979), and Sarah Thornton's concept of "subcultural capital" (Thornton 1996). Interestingly, this newest inflection of the "popular" in Garifuna popular music has carved a space for artistic inclinations, which strongly inform the twenty-first century genre Garifuna World Music that was formulated to cater to a new generation of Garifuna youth as well as to world music fans. This inflection also reflects a larger trend in of what Tim Taylor calls "classicalization" within the twenty-first century world music industry (Taylor 2012: 183-184; 2007: 243-244).

Theorizing "Identity"(and "Culture")

Ethnomusicologist Nolan Warden published an article in 2016 taking stock of how the concept of "identity" has been implemented in ethnomusicological literature through the course of the discipline's history (the late 1950s to today) and within the related disciplines of anthropology, musicology, and folklore. This work is a response, in part, to Timothy Rice's observation in 2007 that scholars have relied heavily on the term but "failed to create any real

conversation about it by engaging each other's work on the matter" (Warden 2016: 3; Rice 2007). Warden notes the concept of identity's explosion as a substitute for "culture" during the 1990s (likely due to the increased use of the latter term in "popular media" at that time) and the regular lack of precision in its implementation (For example, does "social identity" or "cultural identity" refer to the characteristics of an individual vis-à-vis a group or of the group itself? Who is doing the describing? Why aren't implied theoretical applications—such as Pierre Bourdieu's practice theory—made explicit?). By synthesizing the term's uses, Warden teases out something akin to an ethnomusicological theory of identity that applies to both groups and individuals. This theory posits that "identity" is: 1) generally "layered and plural" (grouped horizontally or subcategorically); 2) "based on notions of inclusion and exclusion"; 3) "must be articulated and maintained (or changed)" (reflecting awareness of its elements); 4) contains several components, such as food, dress, and language; 5) "is historically situated and emergent"; and 6) "is often linked to a desire for autonomy" (Warden 2016: 16). Warden thus distills this theory into a definition of identity as "concepts about groups and individuals and one's relationship to them" (ibid.: 17).

Regarding his definition, Warden makes an interesting point that cuts to the performativity at its core. He asserts that:

> It is also more about the "ponderables" of life rather than mundane things not considered to be essential to a group's existence or uniqueness. Thus, this definition does not necessarily replace the word "culture" nor does it deny the existence of less-lauded cultural practices, those which do not form part of representational strategies (idem.).

In other words, when talking about groups, the difference between "identity" and "culture" for Warden hinges upon the performativity of the former, the conscious selection of "representational strategies" to realize a regularly shifting boundary line between "us" and

"them." In contrast, "culture" contains "identity" and includes within its purview unconscious behaviors still identifiable as unique to that group—those "givens" within most easily discerned from without.

For Garifuna culture, the performance of the ancestor propitiation rite known as *dügü*, discussed in chapter 3, remains primary among Garifuna identity performances, staged only in the Central American home communities and crucial to the return of those living in diaspora to these communities. At the same time, it has changed over time in response to its surroundings: for instance, the predominance of English-and-Kriol-only Garifuna speakers in the town of Dangriga, Belize, has resulted in unprecedented instances of *hiuruha* helping spirits speaking to *buyei* healers in English leading up to and during the ceremony rather than in Garifuna and Arawak (Mariano 2007).

Roger Savage highlights identity's temporal character by emphasizing its fragility. The fragility of identity springs from the threats to it, which include "changes wrought by the work of time," "the confrontation with others" (facing refusals to recognize people as "autonomous individuals with an equal claim to rights enjoyed by others as well as to [their] own aspirations"), and the "ever-present threat of being subjected to another's rule" (Savage 2013: 70, 73). He draws on Paul Ricoeur's distinction between *idem* identity (where identity becomes ideologized as immutable as a defense against the aforementioned threats) and *ipse* identity (the more flexible notion based on "an agent who is capable of keeping her word") (ibid.: 66). Savage warns that idem identity's removal of "the bite of time" and identity's "narrative mark" result in "essentializing representations" (ibid.: 66, 70).

Social theorists Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe have identified two contrasting strategies of identity performance that appear to assume ipse identity as their "ground." "Autonomisation" and "equivalence-building" constitute the poles of a spectrum that are theoretically possible but rarely realized. Laclau and Mouffe posit that the work of cultural definition is always "situated in the tension between groundedness and movement" (Irving 1993: 109; Laclau and Mouffe 1985). While positions close to autonomisation tend to unfold as an essentializing "shoring up," they recognize this not as a fixed but a temporary situation based upon current circumstances; conversely, Savage locates hope in the "capacity to intervene in the order of things through initiating a new course of action, which figures among the abilities of the capable human being" (Savage 2013: 73). The flexibility of their model for group identity performance, coupled with Savage's rejoinder, is useful for understanding changes in how Garifuna interact with non-Garifuna over time. On one hand, their perennial situation as a social minority and centuries of community isolation from other groups within their Central American nations-of-residence have encouraged autonomizing tendencies to ensure cultural survival. However, Garifuna slowly became more regionally oriented during the 1980s and 1990s. Today, feeling more secure in the widespread respect for Garifuna culture indicated by Euro-Anglo acclaim for Garifuna World Music and UNESCO's recognition of Garifuna music, dance, and language as a "masterpiece of the oral and intangible arts" in 2001, mostly male Garifuna musicians middle-aged and younger—from Belize in particular—are engaging in far-flung cross-cultural collaborations to an unprecedented extent; besides the N'Dour-Martinez collaboration already discussed, producer Ivan Duran brought together Canadian singer-songwriter Danny

Michel (whose sound is strongly influenced by Paul Simon) and the Garifuna Collective in his studio, resulting in the 2012 album *Black Birds Are Dancing Over Me*.

Hybrid Identities within African Diaspora and Indigenous Studies

The Garifuna case contributes to the growing literature in African Diaspora studies of African-Native American and Afro-Latino hybrid identities, demonstrating how members of such groups position their constituent ethnicities under various circumstances (Anderson 2009; Tayac 2009). To provide some Garifuna examples of this circumstance, the dominant Garifuna organization in Belize is the National Garifuna Council (NGC) formed in the independence year of 1981,[5] which has equally emphasized Amerindian and Afro-American Garifuna lineages in its effort to "integrate the Garinagu within national society in a spirit of union, patriotism and national conscience" (Izard 2005: 182)[6]; however, due to their "blackness," they had trouble arguing for their inclusion within the World Council of Indigenous People (WCIP), which they eventually won in 1992 (ibid.: 177, 189). In Honduras, lecture-demonstrations by the Ballet Nacional Garífuna de Honduras, led by intellectual Armando Crisanto Meléndez, convey the Afrocentric narratives of Garifuna history found in his writings since the mid-twentieth century (Anderson 2009: 114-116). In turn, the creation of the National Fraternal Organization of Black Hondurans (OFRANEH) by Garifuna in 1977, motivated by racial discrimination, saw the embrace of a concept of indigeneity in the 1980s not only by Garifuna members but by all Honduran black members, in an effort to create alliances with other ethnic minorities; this

[5] In contrast, the World Garifuna Organization (WGO), which emphasizes the African identity of Garifuna, is a minority organization in Belize (Izard 2005: 190).

[6] The ethnic orientation of the NGC was also likely a way to publicly differentiate Garifuna from the Afro-Belizean Kriol majority of the time with whom Garifuna had fraught relations prior to Belizean independence. Kriols are descendents of British slaves with a history of complicity in Garifuna persecution.

concept marks "a particular cultural status or condition, a mode of being more than a matter of blood" (Anderson 2009: 8-9, 118-119, 121).[7] OFRANEH was challenged with the formation of ODECO (Organización de Desarrollo Étnico Comunitario) in 1992, a Garifuna NGO that emphasizes the group's heritage as Latin American "*afrodescendientes*" (Afro-descendents); this happened shortly after the Garifuna became legally and officially recognized as a "autochthonous ethnic" group "with the same cultural status and rights as indigenous peoples" (ibid.: 161). As Mark Anderson notes, "Patterns of cooperation and conflict between the organizations change over time" (idem.).

Methodology

This project is an ethnomusicological study that, accordingly, implements the ethnographic method of participant-observation, drawing primarily from five months of fieldwork in Belize and Guatemala conducted in 2007 and 2011 and follow-up interviews in 2015 and 2016. In 2007, I worked as an intern at Stonetree Records in Benque Viejo del Carmen, western Belize, under the supervision of label president and producer Ivan Duran. Duran is responsible for assembling the Garifuna Collective and crafting the Garifuna World Music (GWM) genre with Belizean Garifuna singer-guitarist Andy Palacio on the album *Wátina*, for which both men received the 2007 WOMEX (World Music Expo) Award. In my work for Duran, I gained access to Garifuna Collective members for interviews, local concerts, recording sessions, and label promotional materials and mechanisms. Moreover, Duran was president of the Music Industry of Belize (MIAB) in 2007, allowing me a first-hand look at the promotion of Garifuna music within the Belizean music industry; for instance, I transcribed meetings for that

[7] I observed a Ballet Nacional lecture-demonstration, led by Armando Crisanto Meléndez on November 19, 2010 at the Charles E. Young Library at the UCLA campus.

year's Music Week, a convention of the industry's key figures. I also interviewed punta rock musicians in Garifuna villages throughout Belize in order to paint a broader picture of Garifuna popular music and to learn about how local musicians have been impacted by world music industry recognition. As traditional music styles and messages heavily inform both punta rock and GWM, my project benefitted from a month of fieldwork in the Belizean Garifuna village of Seine Bight in 2001, during which time I studied performances of the *dügü* ancestor veneration ceremony, the *beluria* ("nine-night") wake, and secular traditional music genres for tourists at upscale beachfront resorts. Finally, I devoted a year of fieldwork to the booking/promotions arm of the world music industry as an employee of Folklore Productions in Santa Monica, California from 2004 to 2005. My study data consists of twenty-eight formal interviews, nine informal conversations, four e-mail communications, and thirteen event analyses.

Moreover, my data analysis draws upon interdisciplinary scholarship in ethnomusicology, musicology, popular music studies, anthropology, diaspora studies, area studies (the African Diaspora, the Caribbean, Latin America), ethnic studies (African American and Native American Studies), cultural studies, philosophy, and performance studies. In addition, I apply a vital body of reflexive cultural and musical analyses and activist literature produced by Garifuna scholars, including Joseph O. Palacio, Sebastian R. Cayetano, E. Roy Cayetano, Tomás Alberto Ávila, and Armando Crisanto Meléndez.

Chapter Overview

Chapter 2 draws upon ethnography and literature review to outline the development and discourses of the world music industry, particularly with regard to the perception of African

popular music as revitalizing British and American rock circa 1980 and the Euro-Anglo "genius" concept within twenty-first century world music.

Chapters 3 and 4, comprised of literature review and ethnography, describe Garifuna cultural history and traditional music styles and contexts, respectively. These chapters provide background on the Garifuna as a distinct group, focusing on their migratory lifestyle vis-à-vis Central American national contexts (Belize, Honduras, Guatemala, and Nicaragua) and musical practices over a century old.

Chapters 5 and 6 utilize musicological analysis, literature review, and ethnography to detail the development of Garifuna popular music via the genres of punta rock and GWM, respectively, and the position of Andy Palacio as a central figure within these genres. Chapter 5 provides an overview of Garifuna popular music, punta rock's four different stages over its thirty-year history, and the punta rock industry. Chapter 6 discusses GWM's musical characteristics, inception and development, production aesthetics, and meaning to the musicians making it.

Finally, Chapter 7 weighs performances of cultural unity against conflicting notions of cultural presentation in Garifuna popular music, providing the reader a glimpse into local identity politics. I focus on commercial musicians' differing responses to GWM along the lines of nation, class, gender, and generation.

Chapter 2:
"World Music" and Its Discourses

Introduction

In her 2014 book *Planet Beethoven: Classical Music at the Turn of the Millennium*, Mina Yang discusses how the western classical music canon currently is being revitalized by new technologies, performance contexts, and varieties of work undertaken, from the use of Beethoven's music in "Baby Einstein" DVDs to community musical outreach spearheaded by conductors of orchestras in global cities like Los Angeles and Berlin. It continues the work of New Musicology, begun in the early 1990s, to challenge disciplinary assumptions, including that of the universality of the romantic concept of "genius," by situating this concept as a Euro-American social construct. Yang does this with particular effectiveness in her discussion of the shift from hagiography to pathography in contemporary "master composer" biographies, where explanations of creative prowess have been explanatorily moved from "genius" to neurological disorder (Yang 2014: 17-18).

> Encouraged by these developments, Yang posits the following:
>
> > In taking as a whole the multifarious attempts to demythologize, debunk, re-diagnose and re-assess composers' lives in academia and laboratories, on the big screen and in print, one cannot help but wonder whether genius, even as (or perhaps because) it is packaged and sold in bulk by cynical toy companies, can survive the transition into the new millennium (ibid.: 53).

She perceives "New Musicology advocates," "scientists," and "producers and consumers of pop culture" all "chipping away at geniuses' claims to transcendence" and by and large erasing "the line that separates them from us." (ibid.: 67-68).

Yang also notes how genius in nineteenth-century Romantic period was imbued with "a sense of mystery, residing in human mortals who seemed to be touched be a divine spirit" (ibid.: 67). In *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius*, which oversteps traditional musicological attributions of Beethoven's success to genius in order to examine "the complex and collaborative processes of mobilizing resources, presentation devices, and practical activities that produced Beethoven's cultural authority [as the epitome of genius]," Tia DeNora makes a similar statement: "The belief, for example, that we know greatness when we see it is a pervasive part of our [western] common sense. Genius continues to be shrouded in mystery" (DeNora 1995: 189).

While I agree that the genius construct is on a steep decline as a justification for "hard creative work," thanks to the work of these scholars and others, I believe that it has survived post-2000 (albeit opportunistically, like mammals in the age of dinosaurs!) precisely for this association with mystery, which the world music industry has been so effective at cultivating since emerging in the late 1980s (Solis 2009: 99).

In this chapter, I demonstrate how this type of mythologizing can still be found in world music industry narratives, thanks to the assumption of an experiential distance between listeners and performers. I explore how remnants of the genius construct can be found in world music notions of "authenticity" and "innovation," creating a specific brand of what Sarah Weiss calls "intentional hybridity" oriented toward Euro-American classical music and indie rock in the past fifteen years (Weiss 2008). As a condensation of symbols, world music initially arose to provide "rootsy" alternatives to early 1980s Euro-Anglo rock and pop trends. Since the millennium, it has been positioned to provide a multicultural adjunct to the classical music canon—at the same time that this canon has opened up to proliferate more democratically within U.S. popular

culture—and, also, to help pluralize the sensibility of "hipness" in indie rock. In both cases, Euro-American-originated genres remain at the center of world music output, demonstrating the marginality endemic to its identity. I argue that an orientation to European and North American romantic thought is inextricable from world music's discourses and has become especially evident in the twenty-first century with the association of world music with edification, or what Timothy Taylor calls its "classicalization" (Taylor 2007, 2013). The unprecedented championing of Garifuna music by the world music industry beginning in 2007 is one of several recent instances where interculturalism unfolds against looming visions of transcendence, freedom, and control; this is constellation of characteristics provides a more fitting definition for "world music" than the long-standing but ultimately limiting "marketing category" and "genre" formations.

A Genealogy of World Music

"World music" as we know it today did not arise merely as a blanket marketing category for musics outside the realm of 1980s Euro-Anglo rock and pop, but is rooted in a particular community with particular tastes. The term, previously limited to academic and jazz circles,[8] was adopted by British independent label heads, promoters, DJs, and journalists in 1987 as a way to sell recordings that slipped past the pre-existing marketing categories (i.e., rock, pop, jazz, blues, reggae, folk, and classical) within the European and American music industries. Beginning in the

[8] Robert Brown, an ethnomusicologist trained at UCLA, first used the term "world music" in North America via the World Music Program he created at Wesleyan University in 1965 "to place Western art music into its legitimate but proportionate place alongside other musical traditions" (Klump 1999: 9). It was later adopted by other programs and institutions in the U.S. and elsewhere (such as the Center for World Music in San Francisco, beginning in the early 1970s, and university "world music" survey courses), where it came to, and continues to, refer to non-European-derived and/or ethnically "other" musics only, counter to Brown's intentions (ibid.: 9-10). Within the jazz world, Joachim Ernst-Berendt labeled a jazz movement that incorporates musics from outside America "Weltmusik" circa 1963 (ibid.: 8-9).

1960s, more and more of these recordings appeared commercially in England, North America, and Western Europe for the following reasons. First, people from around the world began to claim a public space for themselves via counter-hegemonic movements for civil rights and for independence from colonial rule; as a result, the Euro-Anglo public sphere became more varied in race, gender, and ethnicity (Feld 2000a: 2).[9] Second, American label Nonesuch, an affiliate of Elektra Records, began its Explorer series in 1967, bringing recordings from around the world out of the realm of ethnomusicology and into the commercial domain. Finally, high-quality recordings became a possibility in less modernized areas due to the shift from tube to solid state audio hardware, which greatly reduced equipment weight and increased recording reliability (Fink 2016).

At its inception, the world music industry derived its identity from what was happening in rock music.[10] There were several precursors in the 1960s: the introduction of Hindustani music to Beatles fans when George Harrison began an apprenticeship with *sitar* master Ravi Shankar in 1967; Rolling Stone Brian Jones's 1968 recording of the Master Musicians of Jajouka

[9] This phenomenon was accounted for in academic and cosmopolitan circles via "postmodernist" or "deconstructionist" discourses devoted to de-centering paradigms based in white, male bourgeois experiences in order to give voice to stories from the "margins." Postmodernists advocate for the recognition of multiple truths and the need for them to receive a hearing in the public domain, stressing the idea that no one particular perspective should be represented as applicable to everyone. At the same time, the work of a majority of postmodern scholars is more devoted to critiquing the "center" than to undertaking the work to understand other truths on their own terms.

[10] For the purpose of this study, I define "rock" music as North American and British music that, following Roberto Avant-Mier, has "historical associations with rebellion and counter-culture"; I would add that it descends from the "rock n' roll" that emerged in the 1950s U.S. (Avant-Mier 2007: 60). Avant-Mier locates rock, in part, in "the shocking reality of white youth listening to black music and Elvis Presley's hip gyrations that created so much public controversy in the 1950s…ideas of free love and an emphasis on using drugs for experimentation in the 1960s…the rise of punk and heavy metal in the 1970s…" (ibid.: 60-61). He describes these events as "examples whereby rock music has defined itself by its marginalization with respect to dominant or mainstream cultural ideals" (ibid.: 61). He also insightfully notes that "rock music celebrates marginality itself even as it is constantly being subsumed into the cultural mainstream, and rock music renews itself with a continuous search for marginal status," what she calls rock's "essential dynamics of defiance" (ibid.: 63).

from Morocco. British creators of the world music category shared a love for "roots rock" (regional and folk rock) and a disdain for the post-punk electronic pop that became mainstream during the 1980s (Frith 2000: 306-307; Stone 2006: 60). Its formulation, thus, was partly an activist stance: live, acoustic, socially conscious performances were seen to conjure the original impetus of 1950s rock n' roll to shake up the Establishment and convey a young, fresh spin on current events. Popular music critic and scholar Simon Frith characterized the motivation for creating the world music category as follows: "The implication is that world musicians can now give us those direct, innocent rock and roll pleasures that Western musicians are too jaded, too corrupt to provide" (idem.: 308). In their choice of artists to promote, the category's founders continued rock n' roll and rock's legacies of embracing African-derived musics of the dispossessed, like R&B in the 1950s, blues in the 1960s, and reggae in the 70s.[11] African artists such as King Sunny Ade (Nigeria), Youssou N'Dour (Senegal), and Salif Keita (Mali) were among the first to be promoted under the "world music" rubric, and, in turn, well-known musicians working within the rock idiom, such as Paul Simon, Peter Gabriel, and David Byrne advocated for these artists and imported their influence into their work.[12] Thus, the establishment of record industry world music continued rock's legacy of rebellion by way of an exoticizing Afrophilia, in search of more "authentic" experience; as Michael Stone observes, "the most popular genres [within the world music category] reflect the influences of the percussive,

[11] Rock musicians of the 1960s British Invasion, for instance, highlighted the theme of sexual prowess in the songs of male blues musicians for the purpose of overturning social expectations and domestic responsibilities. In the case of reggae, internationalized by Bob Marley and Island Records during the 1970s, British rockers of that later period (particularly punk and new wave musicians like The Clash and The Police) embraced the style as a way of injecting freshness and social consciousness back into rock.

[12] For instance, Charlie Gillett's BBC radio show "Charlie Gillett's World of Music" championed N'Dour and Keita to English-speaking audiences.

eminently danceable musics of West Africa and the African diaspora" (Stone 2006: 60). As a result, essentialist patterns arose that continue to hold within the world music industry: 1) the employment of Euro-Anglo male producers who balance constructions of "authenticity" and "modernity," whatever these may be at a given time; 2) guitar-driven roots music of African heritage (often fronted by a charismatic performer, exemplified in Afro-pop); and 3) activist messages of postcolonial resistance.

A bona fide world music industry infrastructure emerged in the early 1990s, as music so labeled started gaining recognition by the recording and entertainment industries. *Billboard* Magazine began publishing a bi-weekly "World Music" chart in 1990, and "Best World Music Album" became a Grammy Award category in 1991 (Klump 1999: 10-11; Taylor 1997: 5, 10). Furthermore, prominent record labels devoted to the category were created by Peter Gabriel (Real World), David Byrne (Luaka Bop), and Mickey Hart (Rykodisc's World Series), the likes of whom provided the clout for promotional support of artists on music video channels and in magazines and concert festivals. Another new label, Putumayo, began selling world music compilation CDs not just in record stores, but also in import stores and, later, Starbucks coffee shops. The World of Music, Arts and Dance (WOMAD) Festival co-founded by Peter Gabriel in 1982, became—and remains to this day—a coveted venue for world music acts. Finally, the star sponsorship of these acts—as in the case of Peter Gabriel with Senegalese singer Youssou N'Dour, Paul Simon with South African vocal ensemble Ladysmith Black Mambazo, and Kate Bush with the Bulgarian Kutev and Radio Ensemble Choirs collectively known as *Le Mystère des Voix Bulgares*—brought them attention on a broad international scale for the first time.

As the financial stakes rose for the British category creators' formerly pet projects, however, familiar and negative effects of "authenticity" discourse began to take shape, including homogenizing marketing strategies for the music and minimal profits for its artists relative to those of the musician-curators who had taken up their cause. Ian Anderson—founder and editor of the influential U.K. folk/world music magazine *Folk Roots* (*fRoots* since 1999)—concedes that "virtually all world music producers and promoters have at least one sad tale to tell of an unfortunate misunderstanding or relationship breakdown over money with a musician they'd worked so hard to help" (Stone 2006: 62; Anderson 2000). Artists were automatically categorized according to their ethnicity rather than their chosen musical styles. For example, Cameroonian saxophonist Manu Dibango, known for his trademark blend of Africanized funk and reggae, complained that both people "back home" and Euro-Anglo world music audiences both would repeatedly tell him to "Stick to African Music!" when he tried out a new style (Frith 2000: 319). Furthermore, artists were often criticized for inauthenticity, or "selling out," when they adopted U.S. or European styles wholesale. This was the case when, in 1998, Beninoise singer Angélique Kidjo's jazz and R&B album *Oremi* was panned by U.S. critics for sounding too "American"; ironically, she was regularly exposed to R&B by her brothers as a child, strongly influenced by James Brown and Jimi Hendrix, and trained in Paris as a jazz singer prior to receiving world music recognition (Taylor 2004b: 222, 224). As a result, world music has remained a relatively homogenized category characterized by ubiquitous compilation and multi-artist releases (Taylor 2014: 193). Rock artists and bands can dabble in "other" musical traditions with the end result still received as "rock": as Timothy Taylor astutely observed, Paul Simon's watershed 1986 album *Graceland* was received as an American rock album, not the global

stylistic hybrid it was (Taylor 2007: 245-246). But, whatever traditions an artist from outside North America, the U.K., and Europe adopts, her music remains ethnically marked as "world" (as with *Oremi*); as Kidjo bitterly remarked, music categorized as world music "is given the same weight in the market that the Third World is given on the global economic chessboard" (Taylor 2007: 245-246; Klump 1999: 13; Aubert 1992: 25). Throughout the history of the world music industry, these expectations have helped to keep the focus of world music audiences on Euro-Anglo genres in some measure and to maintain pressure on world music artists to adopt "traditional" sounds of their countries despite the eclecticism of their transnational touring and recording experiences and their familiarity with cosmopolitan living (Whitmore 2016: 344-346; Klump 1999: 14).

In 1994's *Music Grooves*, Steven Feld attributes world music industry homogenization, in part, to the schizophonia of sampling and of compilation albums, where sounds are removed from their original contexts and inserted into new ones. He also devotes a chapter to a different type of division—one that arose just prior to the world music category's acceptance into the music industry—between more folkloric world musics and those more driven by global North commercial music approaches that came to be known as "world beat." Feld describes the split as a distinctly Euro-American politics of representation, ruled by oppositional yet co-dependent categories (such as "authenticity" and "hybridity"). This is most apparent in the appearance of "world music" and "world beat" albums as complimentary projects patronized by a single U.S. or U.K. celebrity musician in the dual roles of curator and entrepreneur, whereby one album helps to sell the other. He gives the example of Mickey Hart, former drummer for the Grateful Dead, whose curation of works from Brazilian, Indian, indigenous North American, and Latvian

artists (to name a few) comprised his Rykodisc series *The World*, while his 1992 album *Planet Drum* was his personally devised hybrid of different rhythmic traditions (Feld 1994). Another example is Peter Gabriel, who followed up his soundtrack for the movie *The Last Temptation of Christ* (called *Passion*), made up of atmospheric citations of North African and Middle Eastern musical styles, with a compilation of the North African and Middle Eastern songs that inspired his compositions, called *Passion: Sources*. Since the 1990s, world music artists—with famed Pakistani *qawwali* singer Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan being among the first—have adopted this model for their own financial benefit, combining releases intended for audiences "at home" with those "globally" oriented that pair them with European, North American, and U.K. producers and musicians. For instance, it is common for Senegalese musicians to release albums foregrounding the homegrown *mbalax* style in-country while reworking the same recordings in accordance with this aesthetic for the world music market (Jorjorian 2009).

By the late 1990s, a discernable world music "genre" had emerged out of world beat, marked by a particular type of production regardless of an artist's origin or trademark style. Songs pair "exotic" sounds with the sounds of not just Euro-Anglo styles but *cutting-edge*, iconoclastic variants such as avant-garde, experimental, and sampladelic musics, where even the "western" components of the hybrid can take on an "alien" element. As Timothy Taylor notes, "non-western" components are usually made up of vocals sung in unfamiliar languages,[13] a

[13] Early world music stars like Irish singer Enya and the Bulgarian women's choirs represented as *Le Mystère des Voix Bulgares* set the standard for ideal world music vocality in this respect.

characteristic instrument,[14] and/or percussion (Taylor 2000). In addition, these hybrids are often the result of collaborations, which I discuss below, between a non-Euro-Anglo artist and a European, North American, or U.K. producer who creates a soundtrack appropriate to global metropolitan living, evoking a sense of worldly sophistication.

This phenomenon was foreshadowed in *My Life in the Bush of Ghosts* by Brian Eno and David Byrne, released in January of 1981. This album mirrored projects and ideas floating around the U.K. and New York post-punk scenes in the early 1980s that married mostly subcultural and African sounds to *musique concrète*.[15] It was informed by Jon Hassell's "Fourth World" concept, through which he promoted "the merger of hi-tech Western music and archaic ethnic musics from all corners of the globe" (Reynolds 2005: 136). The end result was a densely textured collage—spliced together on tape in an early analog form of sampling—of radio broadcasts from evangelist preachers, North African Arabic-language music,[16] funk, and disco, all subject to high-tech effects processors, synthesizer accompaniment, and interlocking editing influenced by West African polyrhythms (idem.: 137-38). "Fourth World" had its American counterpart in the co-existence of experimental and non-Euro-Anglo musical performances hosted by the Alternative Museum in New York from 1980 to 1985 (and since 1976 within a small alternative arts center), out of which grew the renowned World Music Institute.

[14] Probably the most famous example of metynomically hinging the representation of a non-Euro-Anglo culture onto a trademark sound is the prevalence of a synthesized Japanese *shakuhachi* in advertisements, pop music, and films during the mid-to-late 1980s (Théberge 1997: 201-203).

[15] For example, London band 23 Skidoo performed a set at the first WOMAD Festival in July of 1982 that merged African polyrhythms with industrial city noises (Reynolds 2005: 243-44).

[16] Artists sampled (via analog, not digitally) include Lebanese singer Dunya Yusin, Egyptian pop star Samira Tewfik, and Algerians chanting the Q'uran (Reynolds 2005: 140).

With the later appearance of the world music marketing category in 1987 came two developments that fed directly into the aesthetic requirements of an eventual world music genre. The first was the founding of Real World Records by Peter Gabriel in 1989. The second was the staggering international success of "ethno-techno" groups who produced some of the most lucrative tracks of the 1990s by juxtaposing indigenous vocal samples with trance and techno beats.

From the beginning, Gabriel has promoted individual artists with distinctive voices, backed by top-notch production values via Real World Studios and a cadre of seasoned Euro-American producers that includes Canadian Michael Brook and France's Hector Zazou.[17] The sonic and visual brand identity that Gabriel established sets its artists against a canvas of imagined universality in an attempt to bridge the gap between musician and listener. The music draws from world beat, containing a repetitive groove that functions similarly to a drum loop, often accompanied by Afro-beat bass and guitar lines (Klump 1999: 12). Album covers are linked by a trademark rainbow strip on the left edge as well as mysterious images of its artists that render them unidentifiable in many respects.

The Real World brand becomes especially apparent when comparing the audio tracks and album covers of musicians' international recordings for the label with limited distribution domestic releases. For example, Uzbek singer Sevara Nazarkhan recorded two versions of the

[17] Brook's previous work includes the 1985 album *Hybrid*, on which he collaborated with Brian Eno and Daniel Lanois employing multicultural musical instruments and samples, and his 1996 collaboration with Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan released on Real World, *Night Song* (Taylor 2007: 141, 245). Zazou appears to specialize in female vocalists, having also produced Icelandic techno and alternative rock sensation Björk.

song "Soqinomai Bayot," one for her self-produced folk album *Gozal Dema* (2004) and the other for her Real World debut album *Yol Bolsin* (2003).[18] [19] The version for Real World sounds more leisurely and less markedly "ethnic," containing the addition of synth washes, harmony, and repetitive percussion to create a soothing sheen to the end result that tempers and contains the unfamiliar. Tanya Merchant notes that the vocals on *Yol Bolsin* are often less audible in the mix than the vocals on her national recordings, creating a sonic anonymity to match the visual anonymity of the album cover (Merchant 2005). Merchant also describes the production aesthetic as refusing to challenge the listener with an Uzbek appreciation for unmetered improvisation and ornamentation delivered via the solo voice. In another example, *Billboard* album reviewer John Dilberto compares Tibetan meditative singer Yungchen Lhamo's debut album for Real World, *Tibet, Tibet* (1996)—a reprise of an Australian release containing primarily *a cappella* Buddhist chants—with her follow-up album *Coming Home* (1998) as follows: "Her last album was a bit too straight, but this one puts her in a more contemporary framework and softens her music. This one will be in fairly heavy rotation" (Fitzpatrick and Pride 1998: 1). Amazon.com reviewer Cristina Del Sesto describes the added instrumentation of *Coming Home*—produced, like Nazarkhan's *Yol Bolsin*, by Hector Zazou—as evoking "the intangible spaciness [sic] of world-groove trance dance tracks."[20] In the end, Zazou's insertion of

[18] The title of the song refers to a particular rhythm pattern played on the *doira* women's drum (Zeporro 2010).

[19] Since then, Nazarkhan has divided her time recording Uzbek folk music for labels that release folk recordings (such as Calabash) and urbanised music for Real World (Gutierrez 2007).

[20] Cristina Del Sesto, 'Amazon.com's Best of 1998', *Amazon.com*, 1998, http://www.amazon.com/, Accessed 10 July 2008.

Lhamo's vocals within such soundscapes yielded critical acclaim and increased record sales for both Lhamo and Real World.[21]

Moving to "ethno-techno," producer groups—those creators of "world-groove trance dance tracks"—sampled vocals from ethnographic recordings without permission, initially reaping the monetary benefits of being the sole proprietors of their releases according to existing copyright laws (Feld 2000a, 2000b; Lysloff 1997: 213-214; Pride 1995: 1, 52, 104). They also justified their actions according to a fantasy of "world harmony" and mystical connection underwritten by the myopia of privilege as well as MDMA-fueled idealism (Lysloff 1997: 213). Probably the best-known and most analyzed of these groups, French producer duo Deep Forest, reached the number one position on the Billboard World Music Charts in 1992 with the track "Sweet Lullaby," which features the lullaby singing of a Baegu woman from the Solomon Island Malaita sampled from a field recording made by French ethnomusicologist Hugo Zemp in 1969 (Feld 2000a: 154-155; Lysloff 1997: 212-215). Two years later, the track "Return to Innocence" by German dance outfit Enigma topped the pop charts in Western Europe, Britain, New Zealand, South Africa, and the U.S., and went on to achieve widespread fame not only in commercials but also as a theme for the 1996 World Olympics in Atlanta. This track features a singer named Kuo Ying-nan from the Amis aboriginal group of Taiwan, whose vocals were originally recorded by a

[21] It should be noted that Lhamo's choice to incorporate cutting-edge Euro-Anglo elements into her music arises from her experience as a world traveler since leaving Tibet in her early 20s and not as a capitulation to label pressures or industry standards. As she remarks about *Coming Home*, "I write new songs and Zazou takes care of the musical arrangements. In Tibet, it is hardly possible to know what is done in other countries or cultures on a musical level. But my exile gave me the chance to make enormous discoveries. I therefore believe it is possible to create modern arrangements of traditional songs [translated from French]" (SolHimal 2003). At the same time, Zazou revealed in a 1998 *Billboard* article Lhamo's initial mistrust of him as a European producer, in neo-evolutionary language no less: "From what I understood, she was traumatized by working on her first album…it was like dealing with a wild animal…"(Fitzpatrick and Pride 1998: 1).

Han-Chinese ethnomusicologist in 1978. Kuo Ying-nan learned of the use of his voice on "Return to Innocence" only after a friend heard the song on the radio, and he and his wife proceeded to sue Enigma's record companies for royalties (Taylor 2001: 120-21).[22] However, as ethnomusicologist Nancy Guy (1999) explains, the Kuos won their case due primarily to the consonance between the "single author" basis for the applicable intellectual property laws and the pronounced emphasis on individuality within the Amis creative process. Thus, despite widespread airplay and the Kuos' victory, singers sampled on ethno-techno tracks by and large saw precious little of the millions of dollars in profit made by producer groups.

The sonic configurations established by Real World and in ethno-techno hits synthesized into a prominent stylistic template for world music category releases. For example, Putumayo began releasing its "Groove" series in 2001, often marrying the timbral and rhythmic characteristics of techno with an equally entrancing vocal personality. Within this template, non-Euro-Anglo sounds both merged with and "rescued" the listener from an urban condition embodied in edgy, "new" sounds, simultaneously transcending and returning to the realm of the organic. For instance, after the massive popularity in the U.S. and Western Europe of the album *Le Mystère des Voix Bulgares Volume 1* in the late 1980s, subsequent world music recordings of Bulgarian singing featured the more avant-garde choral arrangements that Bulgarian composers began writing in the late 1960s, in what appears to be an attempt to meet the market demand for

[22] In response to the use of his vocals in Enigma's hit song, Kuo Ying-nan created his own solo album under his Ami name, Difang, in the same ethno-techno vein a few years later, following the lead of Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan and other world music artists (such as Amadou and Mariam and Rizwan-Muazzam Qawwali) who release both traditional and Euro-Anglo-influenced recordings (Tan 2000).

"mystery" beyond what foreign vocal timbre and language could provide.[23] The influence of this demand for mystery has continued into the millennium, as in the case of the group Konono No. 1. Angolan musician Mawangu Mingiendi and his sons and nephews captured the ears of Belgian producer and former punk musician Vincent Kenis with their performances of *masekuru* (played on hocketed horns among the Bazombo to communicate with deceased ancestors via possession trance) on *likembé* thumb pianos made from abandoned car parts. After a twenty-year search to locate the musicians, Kenis formed with them a new group, Konono No. 1, in 2000, whose homemade amplification system (also from car parts) on their subsequent *Congotronics* albums (released on Crammed Discs Records) eclipsed discussions of masekuru in the numerous feature stories that followed in world music and indie rock presses. In fact, these articles and broadcasts repeatedly described masekuru in mystical terms as "Bazongo trance music," devoid of any further description (Font-Navarrete 2007).

In terms of reception, the world music genre has represented not so much a global village as a global metropolis, catering to an orientation toward cultural tourism by cosmopolitan-oriented leisure class audiences. Drawing from her ethnographic fieldwork with world music industry personnel in 2011 and 2012, Aleysia Whitmore describes the "base audiences" for world music very similarly to how Timothy Taylor had described them earlier in the 2000s: as "generally older than thirty-five," with "disposable income," and a tendency to view themselves as "cultured and interested in current affairs and international news" (Whitmore 2016: 334). At the turn of the millennium, marketers catered to this group by featuring world music in television

[23] Avant-garde techniques employed include "atonality through dense chromatization of chords, drastic changes in rhythm from traditional arrangements, and the combination of 'two pre-existing songs to create a new piece'" (Frishkey 2003: 6; Buchanan 1997: 140, 144; 1995: 409).

ads: "Sweet Lullaby," for instance, established ethno-techno as a staple soundtrack for commercials advertising higher-end brands such as Neutrogena, Porsche, Sony, and the Body Shop (Feld 2000a: 156). It is telling that the 1999 smash album *Play* by American techno producer Moby, which employs numerous samples of African American blues vocals from field recordings made by Alan Lomax in the early twentieth century, is the first album to have all of its tracks licensed for commercial use (Smith 2002). As observed by Taylor, these soundtracks drew heavily upon vocalizations, languages, and dialects "non-sensical" for much of their audience, conjuring "an exoticized elsewhere" conflating luxury and spirituality (Taylor 2000: 162-163, 172).[24] Moreover, signifiers for "modernity" endemic to electronic dance music (EDM) genres such as digitally generated sounds and effects have acted as both anchor and launching pad for these vocals. In sum, world music genre aesthetics have tended to construct a sort of nature/culture binary, reminiscent of social evolutionary thought, whereby non-Euro-Anglo elements are both tempered and "elevated" by Euro-Anglo elements associated with modernity for the sake of consumers' safe experience of difference.[25]

The post-2010 efforts of world music industry personnel to "expand and diversify audiences" by booking artists at jazz and indie rock festivals like the New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival, Austin City Limits, Bonnaroo, and Coachella is paying dividends as a younger "hipster" subculture embraces African-heritage acts for the novelty or obscurity (or both) of their

[24] In the early 2000s, these soundtracks had also begun to be aired in upscale U.S. outdoor malls such as The Grove in West Hollywood, CA, and The Shops at Legacy in North Dallas, TX.

[25] This is similar to the logic by which the Communist government in Bulgaria reworked the country's rural musical traditions in the mid-twentieth century, giving birth to the professional folk ensembles from which women's choirs emerged (Rice 1994).

sound and backstories (Whitmore 2016: 334). Examples of this phenomenon abound. Bombino, an electric guitarist from Niger who is also part of the semi-nomadic Tuareg group, received positive reviews for his multiple showcases at the 2016 South-by-Southwest (an annual conference and festival in Austin, TX, geared toward showcasing groundbreaking independent music, media, and film), thanks in part to the similarity of his sound to psychedelic blues rock artists like Led Zeppelin and Jimi Hendrix (Virani 2012). David Byrne's label Luaka Bop reissued tracks in October of 2013 by William Onyeabor, a Nigerian filmmaker-turned-entrepreneur who recorded funk-inflected albums between 1977 and 1982 featuring analog synthesizers. Onyeabor's unwillingness to reveal details about his life, coupled with the similarity of his sound to current outsider electronica, led to quick critical acclaim; within a few months of the recording's release (titled *Who Is William Onyeabor?*), tribute concerts took place in London, New York, and Los Angeles featuring Byrne alongside big-name rock, indie, jazz, and hip-hop acts, followed in 2014 by a box-set reissue of all eight of Onyeabor's albums (Beta 2013, 2014). Finally, British folk-rock group Mumford and Sons wrote and recorded the five-song EP *Johannesburg* with Senegalese star singer Baaba Maal, Afro-U.K. dance/hip-hop outfit The Very Best, and Cape Town pop group Beatenberg mostly while on tour of South Africa in early 2016, with each entity contributing the styles for which they are known (Vain 2016).

Echoes of "Genius" in World Music's Discourses

Production

Probably the most obvious place to "hear" the genius construct in world music's discourses is musical creation and the role of the Euro-Anglo producer in shaping the sound of the majority of world music projects. 1990s phenomena that showcased producers, like the

ascendence of Real World and ethno-techno, cannot be explained without recourse to the sampling eventually allowed in late 1980s popular music by developments in microprocessor technology, for here is where a new schizophonic distance arose between musical traditions and the commercial recording milieu. Describing this past moment, Paul Théberge notes that "with the vast, decontextualized collections of sampled sound available…, technoculture neither allows for the type of profound encounter experienced by a composer such as Bartok, nor is it required" (Théberge 2003: 106). The term "world music" itself masks the role of technology in mediating manifest sounds to audiences, already perceived by the category's founders and initial fans as antithetical to the "authenticity" that world music musicians have been expected to provide (idem.: 105). As Aleysia Whitmore notes, Nick Gold and Ry Cooder strove to create a specific type of "liveness" while recording 1997's *Buena Vista Social Club* for Gold's label World Circuit (where she interned in 2011 and 2012): one that evoked an intimate living room concert, preventing "technological mediation" from being audible, instead of a live show outdoors where audio distortion from mics and amplifiers was likely. She states,

> Industry personnel cannot sell a sound recording filled with the timbral distortion and synthesizers commonly heard in Bamako, for instance, without being accused of inauthenticity. […] Taking away buzzing resonators, distortion, and synthesizers makes the music easier to listen to without taking away the impression that it is coming directly from a non-Western source (Whitmore 2016: 341-342).

The invisibility of technology in world music production speaks to its long-standing role in post-twentieth-century Europe and North America as a quasi-magical tool of the producer. Euro-Anglo-derived sound technologies remain rendered, in some measure, as specialized and rarefied—not unlike shamanic technologies—despite their global ubiquity in the twentieth and

twenty-first centuries.[26] Today, digital technology is the invisible wand that is perhaps producers' most highly guarded implement (and still a predominately male one). In his book *The Producer as Composer*, Virgil Moorefield posits that "the producer gradually became a composer, utilizing the studio as a musical instrument" (usually with the help of a trusted and highly skilled engineer) and that this figure played a part in solidifying the interdependence of "technology and artistic creation" marking the U.S., U.K., and Europe (Moorefield 2007: 18, 45). He discusses the expansion of producer role in England and the U.S. from the 1950s and 1960s, starting with NYC songwriters Jerry Lieber and Mike Stoller wanting to realize specific sounds for their R&B, rock 'n roll, and pop songs and creating in-print and royalty credits for the role (ibid.: 30). Their apprentice, Phil Spector, "redefined what it meant to produce a record" by "taking total artistic control," implementing a sonic "vision" in pop by "manipulating the available technology," and being publicly associated with his own "strikingly original sound" (ibid.: 33, 36). He opened the floodgates for the studio experimentation that became associated with rock, starting with the early rock productions of George Martin (for the Beatles) and Frank Zappa (in his work with the Mothers of Invention) in the mid-1960s (ibid.: 50-56). Spector also cultivated a "Superman image," creating a cult of personality around the producer role for the first time, a personality at times associated with the erratic behavior associated with genius (Zappa and Brian Wilson are other examples) (ibid.: 36, DeNora 1995).

Within this "art mode" of production, as Edward R. Kealy christened it, the producer's breadth of musical knowledge and interests places him a cut above the average musician,

[26] This is especially manifest in their long-standing dominance by the male gender.

providing him with an expansive toolkit of effects. For example, bassist/producer Bill Laswell, who has worked with Angélique Kidjo, states regarding his producer role:

> You get obsessed with the idea of being a catalyst, a person who can put things together. When a collaboration works between two people, that creates a kind of third power, a force or energy that becomes bigger than the two. […] And it sometimes can produce a magical effect which is incredibly orchestrated and perhaps even handed down from somewhere else (ibid.: 131).

Laswell depicts the producer as a mediating specialist in "orchestrating" this "third power," aided by his ready access not only to studio equipment but also to "other" musical practices via recordings and personal experiences. Paul Théberge uses William Leiss's term "ideological reflex" to refer to this "strategic denial of cultural appropriation" by depicting it as "a form of cultural exchange among equals and the inevitable byproduct of larger social forces, such as the diffusion of modern communications technologies and increased cultural contact in the 'Global Village'." He claims that it derives from twentieth-century ideas about musical liberation, as manifest in freedom from tonality, acoustics, and the "real time" of live performance and that it supports the ideological reduction of non-Euro-Anglo musical practices to "raw material" for producers' fashioning (Leiss 1972; Théberge 2003: 104-107). Indeed, this position informs a mission statement found on the website for WOMEX (World Music Expo), an organization that holds an annual conference for world music industry personnel to network and discover new acts; founding director Ben Mandelson describes one of the world music community's highest goals as "meeting international standards and global vision whilst using local resources" (WOMEX website, accessed 2009).

While producers have received public recognition only since the 1960s, the marketing of performers in the popular music industry for far longer has relied upon the name recognition of a

figurehead. Théberge notes that world music promotion, following suit, has historically emphasized

> …the development of star performers, allowing certain individuals to come to the fore on the international music stage. The ethnic origin and perceived cultural integrity of the artist is taken as the primary guarantee of authentic musical expression (Théberge 2003: 99).

Additionally, Timothy Taylor points out:

> It is easier to sell a recording with a branded star's name on the cover than an album that might more truthfully represent its contents. [Bill] Laswell is not immune from market pressures, though they are incompatible with his stated desires for more truly collaborative modes of working with other musicians, western and nonwestern (Taylor 2007: 137).

This promotional tactic contradicts the discourse of collaboration that has attended world music from the beginning, used to describe the initial partnerships between Euro-Anglo celebrity musicians and culturally "other" musicians relative to them. As Taylor notes, this discourse presents the often genuine intentions and aspirations of British, North American, and European musicians, producers, and culture brokers for sharing and interconnection as the *reality* of their world music co-productions, painting these co-productions in a non-exploitative light that masks the role not only of marketing, but also wealth differentiation (including such considerations as travel, accommodation, equipment costs, and compensation) and learned stereotypes (Taylor 2007: 127-29; Meintjes 1990).

Promotion/Reception

Thus, the "exceptional individual(s)" emphasis descended from the genius construct can be located not only within discourses attending world music creation and production, but also marketing, dissemination, and reception. As Whitmore notes, world music "audiences search for

immersive yet foreign experiences that allow them to connect with other peoples, spaces, and values without ever losing sight of the exit"[27]; these are the attributes that make a song sound "authentic" to them. She points out common points of connection for these fans—such as "sounds that feel live and close to their source [whatever that may collectively mean at any given time]," artists' virtuosity on their instruments, a commitment to home communities expressed in artists' involvement in business ventures and politics, and unlikely "comeback" and "triumph-over-adversity" stories—while also crucially asserting that the perception of these points is always "emergent," changing with listeners' experiences (Whitmore 2016: 335-336, 340, 348-351). For some, interest in world music acts remains in the realm of flaunting taste and embracing difference-for-difference's-sake; for all, however, these storylines contain the potential to create an entryway leading away from the "exit sign" and opening out to the complexities of cultural reality.

Acts that fit this emergent bill of "authenticity" are scouted and promoted by culture brokers: the world music industry not only arose from but continues to be driven by a small, close-knit network of respected tastemaking journalists, promoters, label heads, music supervisors, DJs, and musicians.[28] Each of these groups operates according to a heightened sense

[27] Ons Barnat similarly observes, "Les producteurs de world music seraient donc toujours en train de naviguer entre deux impératifs commerciaux, qui peuvent apparaître de prime abord comme antagonistes: proposer de la musique qui soit à la fois 'exotique' (afin d'attirer l'attention de consommateurs désireux de découvrir des sonorités nouvelles) et 'familière' (pour ne pas trop bousculer leurs habitudes auditives)." (World music producers are always trying to navigate between two commercial imperatives, which may appear at first as antagonistic: to offer music that is both "exotic" (to draw the attention of consumers wishing to discover new sounds) and "familiar" (so as not to upset their listening habits). (Barnat 2015: 156).

[28] As Jan Fairley points out, world music sold in stores, promoted on the radio and in print, and chosen for live shows—up to the millennium, at least—had depended less on sales volume and patterns than on the aesthetic preferences of network members (Fairley 2001: 281).

of connoisseurship, driven by the appeal of being the first to discover and/or record a little-heard style of music. As Peter Lunt and Sonia Livingstone state with regard to achieving exclusivity in an age of hyperconsumption, "Intellectuals oppose the spread of cultural capital by staying one step ahead of the supermarket shopper in their discovery of exotic products and practices" (Taylor 2007: 135; Lunt and Livingstone 1992: 171).

The premium that world music tastemakers place upon *discovery* cannot be overstated. As conveyed to me by Jacob Edgar and Los Angeles-based world music DJ Tom Schnabel in 2008, this group is most gratified by the importance of its role in "breaking" a particular artist or genre. As Edgar explained:

> You have to make tastemakers feel like they are in on it and part of projects. When Andy [Palacio] passed away [in 2008], all of the e-mail I received [was] from tastemakers who felt personally connected to Andy and the project [the Garifuna Collective and *Wátina*]. They felt like they were part of something really important. That personal connection…propelled them in every case to make other people aware: "I'm an important part in spreading the word. They need me." That's why they turn away from more successful projects: [they have] gone beyond them, [who] are no longer needed. [It's] not their little secret anymore (Edgar 2008a).

Ivan Duran, world music producer and founder of Stonetree Records in Belize, recapitulates this sentiment in his description of his motivations for starting the label in 1995 and how he would like Stonetree recordings to be received:

> And the other thing about Stonetree that I like—and in a way it's also a reflection of *my* own personality—is…the understatement. I like the fact that you can discover a Stonetree album and go, "Wow…this is really cool!" And "this is really cool" means a lot of things…mainly, the reaction is because you've never heard of it, it is totally unexpected in a way. You really appreciate the fact that this CD is coming from Belize and there's this backabush label doing it…(Duran 2007a).

The cultivation of connoisseurship and its affective quality of "hipness" is endemic to several realms of British and American popular music, out of which world music emerged.[29] Robin James interrogates the concept of hipness, in part, to show how "the conceptual tools of aesthetics are a necessary component in analyzing the politics of embodiment" (James 2009). One of the ways in which she describes hipness is

> as the ability to ride this very ambiguous line between inside and outsider, to use one's appearance as an outsider as a means to secure one's 'insider' status as part of a specific elite within the dominant culture. To be "hip" is to be in, but not "of" dominant culture in the sense that a hipster rejects various hegemonic norms while at the same time being privileged by them. Alternately, to be "hip" is to be "of" dominant culture but not "in" it in the sense that one might have rather mainstream origins (e.g., white middle-class upbringing in the Midwest) but no longer actively participate in the culture of one's birth (James 2009).

The world music industry historically had an outsider or "fringe" status within European and North American music industries ("in," but not "of"), and yet nowadays its offerings invite the "refined judgment" of critical acclaim, increasingly reviewed in online magazines associated with "indie," like *Pitchfork, Consequence of Sound,* and *PopMatters*.[30]

Evoking the recurring theme of Afrophilia as a component of the expression of "white" rebellion in both rock and world music, James further describes hipness as a relation of privileged to non-privileged similar to that found in the genius concept:

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[29] I would define hipness as the marriage of African American signifying, eluding comprehension of the hegemony as a way to communicate freely, and the Euro-American Romantic genius construct; both ideas converge in their elevation of minority (of some and one) viewpoints as unique and impenetrable to the majority. It came to fruition with the emergence of post-war Black modernity, where Romantic rebellion against a renewal of "mass culture," in the 1950s, joined forces with an extant language of the oppressed. This union eventually propelled that language into the earshot of other oppressed groups (women, homosexuals, Hispanics, for ex.), joining forces with their languages (machismo, suburban baby boomer idealism) to ideologically render the Left.

[30] In arguing for the elimination of the "indie" category, *Slate* journalist Carl Wilson calls out the artists and audiences thus labeled for being "disproportionally white, male, and upper-middle-class" and indicative of a "distinctive cultural 'sophistication' and social status" (Wilson 2015).

> When this sort of rebellious marginality appears in privileged (i.e., white) bodies, it is socially desirable; however, when it appears in non-privileged (i.e., non-white) bodies, it is seen as a threat to society at large. Constructed in accordance with this double standard, "hipness" mirrors the logic of marginalization ←→ appropriation which feminist aestheticians have diagnosed as common to most Western conceptualizations of genius. Patriarchy posits femininity as emotional, irrational, and intuitive. When these traits are found in women, they are given as evidence for women's exclusion from achievement; however, when they appear in privileged male bodies, these traits, when tempered with properly masculine reason, moderation, and education, are signs of exceptional intellect and creativity (idem.).

In my interactions with members of the world music industry both as an employee of a booking agency and in the course of research for this dissertation, I found that they tend to distinguish themselves from ethnomusicologists as educators of the world's musics in these terms: positioning themselves as more socially adept and "one-with-the-band" than their academic counterparts and invested in the accuracy of cultural information only to the degree that it supports a dramatic cultural narrative of overcoming obstacles encapsulated in a select few heroes (Whitmore 2016: 349, 351). As Jacob Edgar, head of the U.S. world music label Cumbancha, expressed in a 2012 interview with the online travel magazine *Afar*, "After completing my master's degree in ethnomusicology at UCLA, I felt the academic side was too stodgy. I was more interested in energized, real-world stuff" (Virani 2012). It brings to mind Steven Feld's recounting of journalist John Szwed's introduction of the word "ethnomusicology" to *Village Voice* readers in 1982: "Who needs a Ph.D. when there are enough records stores stocked with product in New York, Tokyo, Miami, London, and Paris to give you permanent culture shock?" (Feld 1994: 263).

A recurring theme of Timothy Taylor's world music literature is that this kind of cultural capital tends to be highly leveraged (Taylor 2007: 172). Two different understandings of

"culture" usually motivate the desire of world music enthusiasts looking to diversify their skill sets and points of reference: 1) its modern anthropological definition as the unique lifeways and assumptions that differentiate groups; but also 2) its definition as "high" culture. As a result, cultural unfamiliarity is often approached as a form of what Taylor calls "global informational capital," his term for *signifiers* of local knowledge (rather than actual knowledge) that answer to one's need to "know something about the world" in order to succeed in today's global economy (Taylor 2000: 173-174, 176, 178). Flaunting such capital performs a wide range of experiences and capabilities in a tacit affirmation of quantity over quality: in this case, one's depth of understanding does not factor into the resultant equation of the appearance with the reality of cultural competence and affective affinity, a product of the Romantic ascendance of symbol to be discussed shortly. The "foreign" is allowed to remain mystically as such and completely "known" at the same time.

Conclusion

Genius appears in discourses endemic to world music largely via discussions of creativity and individuality. Generally speaking, these characteristics are attributed to Euro-Anglo producers or to non-Euro-Anglo musicians exceptional in ways that intended audiences can easily understand (Whitmore 2016: 349, 351). Thanks to the legacy of genius, these ideological priorities remain as a mirror for the activities for Europeans, North Americans, and British, yet not so much as a way to understand others: where creativity publicly manifests more collectively than individually, for example—as in festivals or sociopolitical movements—creative prowess is discerned with difficulty. Within the world music industry itself, for example, the collective of elder musicians comprising the Buena Vista Social Club, with their "changing line-up" and no

"one defining front person," was a source of confusion for journalists used to hinging their stories upon stars (Male 2007).

Genius as an Attribute of Romanticism

My discussion of the genius construct itself necessarily begins by situating it within its original cultural milieu, Romanticism. Having arisen in Germany and England in the 1770s, Romanticism spread throughout Europe by the 1820s, finally traveling to the Western Hemisphere by the mid-nineteenth century. It appeared largely in reaction to the swift and large-scale social changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution and extends concepts introduced during the Enlightenment era that have since been naturalized within European and American discursive vernacular.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth-century "Age of Enlightenment," philosophers applied systematic thinking to their observations of the earth and the cosmos, and discerned reliable patterns of motion and change: a process known as "reason." On a social level, tremendous faith began to be placed in the power of reason to uncover the mysteries of human existence. Within the new domain known as "science," individuals, using their reason, could do things they had believed for more than half a millennium that only God could do: namely to harness the powers of nature according to the will. At this point, science began to overtake religion as a guiding principle in the lives of the educated and literate.

The application of reason resulted in transformational technologies during the nineteenth century such as the steam engine locomotive, which had the effect of accelerating transportation, the production of goods, and the execution of services to an unprecedented degree. As cities—

long the centers of market-based commerce and trade—became the primary locations for factory-based manufacturing as well (especially London), "the masses" appeared as a concept to account for the fact that factory work could be performed by any healthy and strong individual. In his theory of alienation, best elucidated in his *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* from 1844, German philosopher Karl Marx warns against the rising divide between industrial workers and the commodities they labor to produce: earning a living was no longer about developing a craft (such as shipbuilding, shoemaking, and husbandry), but about power, speed, and efficiency in manual labor. Factory work requires one's behaviors and uses of the body to be more mechanistic, and people's contributions to the work force became reduced to bodies, undifferentiated by personality or ingenuity. Time away from work increasingly became a time of freedom from the restrictions of the workplace: a time for catharsis, relaxation, and self-expression. Thus, by the nineteenth century in Europe and North America, we see a growing distinction between "work" and "leisure" (Cox 1998).

It is in the experiences of middle-class city dwellers—the bourgeoisie—that the rise of Romanticism can be found. These are people who had direct experience of industrialization but with enough leisure time on their hands to create art that communicated preoccupations disallowed or eclipsed in an urban environment, such as imagination, heightened emotion, religion and spirituality, hedonism, anarchy, and exoticism. While such concerns, however, appear to oppose the Enlightenment emphasis on the systematic, Romantics in actuality retain rationalist strictures and rules as their reference point, their call-to-rebellion, the reality they seek to continually transcend. This center/periphery duality of Romantic thought is a crucial

component of world music's discourses, one that finds its fruition in the "genius" construct that eventually replaced the notion of "divine right."

Modern notions of self-invention and self-definition are the product of the Romantic celebration of the individual, which defied both traditional social hierarchy and the growing mass culture produced by industrialization. The acceleration of capitalism at this time contradicted the idea of being born into a particular social position; it was now possible to attain the wealth and stature of royalty through entrepreneurial initiative and opportunism and to leave a personal stamp on social trends like never before.

While the Romantics broke with precedent in several ways, they were still prone to seeking authority in something or someone larger than themselves: while in the past, monarchs, nature, and the scientific method fit the bill, public personalities soon eclipsed these in stature. Before the American and French Revolutions of the late eighteenth century, the political authority of monarchs was legitimated through the Doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings birthed in the Renaissance era, which deems that monarchs are divinely chosen and, thus, should be obeyed in all matters (Hooker 1996). The Cult of the Genius, set in motion by late eighteenth-century German and English writers and philosophers, similarly presumed that original artworks have a sacred aura through which the God-given "genius" of the creator shines through (Benjamin 1936). This mode of thinking shifted divine status from the ruler to the artist, regarding him as one of only a handful of individuals with enough "talent" to produce "real" art. The Cult of the Genius subscribes to the Romantic elevation of the individual but retains a basis in circumstances beyond human control. This idea helped to elevate the social status of artists, who became identified and embraced for their originality. Artists' social trangressions were also

often depicted as pioneering rather than merely odd or disturbing; they were popularly understood as a continual and solitary struggle to assert unique visions against prevailing norms.[31] The fan frenzy following such boundary-crossing twentieth-century rock and pop idols as Elvis and the Beatles can be traced back in part to Hungarian pianist Franz Liszt's sensational performances that attracted women of royalty as both patrons and lovers.

Tia DeNora discusses Beethoven's lasting solidification of and identification with the genius concept in her pivotal 1995 book *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius*. She moves past the well-covered territory of his compositional talent to consider the intersection of social phenomena in Vienna at the turn of nineteenth-century with events in Beethoven's career to set the stage for his ascendency to western cultural authority. For instance, Beethoven was embraced largely by aristocratic patrons; the appearance of "serious music ideology" within this group at the turn of nineteenth century Vienna—found in their "concern with and receptivity to the notion of musical greatness"—pre-figured the category of "high art" that emerged later in the century throughout Western Europe and the U.S. and can be linked to their concern about the "social broadening" of music audiences (DeNora 1995: 9, 56, 59). DeNora also cites the special position of Vienna,

> the first European city where a contemporary and youthful composer could be viewed as an heir to a canonic tradition that included not only Haydn and Mozart, but also J.S. Bach and Handel. The manner in which Beethoven was celebrated by his contemporaries thus helped to formulate an understanding of the musical canon that was, during the early years of the nineteenth century, unique to Vienna (ibid.: 3-4).

[31] Women exhibiting similar characteristics usually suffered the unequivocal categorization of "madwoman" (McClary 1991).

To provide one more of many examples, Beethoven used entrepreneurial savvy to complete the move of a publication (the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, or *AMZ*) toward favorable reviews of his work that conferred "higher" value upon his idiosyncracies (ibid.:185). This move started in the face of regular aristocratic prostelytizaton of "serious music," which was eventually accepted as a way to make sense of what reviewers previously perceived as strange and overly complicated (ibid.: 180-185).

As for the content of Romantic art, particularly opera, exoticism was a common theme. I invoke Josiah Raiche's definition of exoticism as "evoking distance…be it social, ideological, geographic, temporal, or any combination of these," thus creating a sense of mystery or "otherness" (Raiche 2013: 5-6). In my view, this concept best explains the detached fascination of Romantics with nature, experientially remote cultures, and certain eras of their recent past. Romantics turned to each of these for affective resonance, which provided relief from fast-paced and increasingly mechanized urban life; however, I will concern myself here with cultural exoticism for the sake of its importance to world music. Fascination with minority and geographically distant cultures unfolded as a love/hate enterprise. On one hand, bourgeois and upper classes embraced village peasant life and indigenous cultures as a utopia for their seemingly simple lifestyle and intimate connection with the natural world relative to urban living. These ideas are encapsulated in French writer and philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau's (1712-1778) Romantic notion of the "noble savage." On the other hand, the Euro-American bourgeoisie comprehended cultures both "near" (indigenous America, Africa) and "far" (India, China) according to social evolutionary logic: using the criterion of technological sophistication, members of these cultures were deemed less advanced, which justified colonization as a way to

"uplift" them from a more "primitive" state (Langness 1997 [1974]). It is here where we can discern how exoticism connotes a blurring between constructions of the "primordial" and the "modern," where an imagined distant past and future meet in a sea of unfixed possibilities. This idea bears heavily upon cultural representations and sound relationships that have characterized the world music industry.

A Genealogy of Genius

In addition to understanding the shared experiences that allowed the genius construct to take hold, it is also important to examine the history of the term and how previous meanings were brought to bear on later meanings. Furthermore, its resonance in world music's discourses is best appreciated once we see where it has landed post nineteenth-century. Discussions of genius by Immanuel Kant, Hans-Georg Gadamer, and Martin Fredriksson heavily inform this section.

In an article connecting the genius construct to the birth of copyright, Martin Fredriksson details a pre-Romantic history of the term "genius," including its birth in ancient Rome and the medieval concept of "geniality" (Fredriksson 2007: 278-79). The Roman "genius" originally referred to a protective spirit that assured families prosperity and fertility, manifest in the birth of sons. It eventually evoked male virility and came to mean "an internal creative power that was supposed to reside in every free man" (ibid.: 278). This definition of genius remained until the eighteenth century, when it merged with the concept of geniality that referred to superior skills in craftsmanship. While geniality adopted some of genius's "metaphysical dimensions," genius expanded in meaning from "universal male [inner] power" to a social identity applied to an unusually gifted creative person, albeit one still regarded as exclusively male (ibid.: 278-79).

Gadamer's treatment of genius, found in his 1960 book *Truth and Method*, begins with a discussion of Kant's notion of aesthetic judgment. He argues that Kant's search for the condition for the possibility of making aesthetic judgments effectively inaugurated the radical "subjectivization of aesthetics." Kant's transcendental critique consequently divorced judgments of taste from the knowledge of reality (Gadamer 1960[1998]; Savage 2005).

Kant's German contemporaries in philosophy and literature—such as Goethe, Fichte, Schiller, and Schelling—then proceeded to give the standpoint of art pride of place. Beginning with Goethe, symbol assumes what Gadamer calls a "metaphysical coincidence" of form and meaning that allows the latter to be completely derived from the former, whereas their relationship in allegory is based on variable social commonalities and is, therefore, less determinate (Gadamer 1960[1998]: 84). The perfect accordance between form and meaning in symbol cemented the place of genius in the romantic philosophy of art. The Romantic cult of *Bildung* effected a substitution of "the enjoyment of culture for its genuine achievement" (ibid.: 88). As a result, creations and critiques enter an aesthetic canon preserved in "sites of simultaneity" such as the museum and the concert hall, where art, artists, and audiences lose their respective worlds within an infinite aesthetic culture (ibid.: 75-76).

In 1960, Gadamer emphasized that "the idea of the somnambulatory unconsciousness with which genius creates…appears to be a false romanticism" and that "the self-knowledge of the artist remains far more down to earth" (ibid.: 80-81). At the same time, he asserted that

> Popular consciousness…is still affected by the eighteenth century cult of genius and the sacralization of art that we have found to be characteristic of bourgeois society in the nineteenth century. This is confirmed by the fact that the concept of genius is now [1960] fundamentally conceived from the point of view of the observer. […] The fact that to the

> observer the work seems to be a miracle, something inconceivable for anyone to make, is reflected as a miraculousness of creation by inspired genius. Those who create then use these same categories in regard to themselves, and thus the genius cult of the eighteenth century was certainly nourished by artists too (idem.).

The historical effects of aesthetic differentiation (that is, the conscious differentiation of art works as aesthetically autonomous) and the concomitant celebration of autonomy artistic and otherwise were felt in the latter half twentieth century. The positivist science of interpreting form *as content*, which was based on Romantic concepts of form, had a significant impact upon linguistics, literary criticism, and critical theory; [32] in the twenty-first century, it informs the commodity fetishism that has led to the success of "branding" as a marketing strategy (Taylor 2007: 99-102). Genius justified the positioning of an author as the sole proprietor of his work, helping to spread copyright law beyond England[33] to France, Germany, and Sweden by the early nineteenth century and well beyond Europe by the late twentieth century (Fredriksson 2007: 281). As discussed earlier, music producers emerged as creative superstars during the 1960s, a notion that continues today in pop, rock, dance, and hip hop despite Roland Barthes's 1967 dual assertion of the "death of the author" and of the importance of readers' interpretations in literature (Barthes 1967[1977]). While the twenty-first century has experienced unprecedented challenges to the genius concept in the arts—as Mina Yang discusses with regard to music and with the introduction of democratizing technologies and applications such as mp3 file sharing, free video and audio recording software, and popular social networking Web sites such as

[32]For instance, traditional positivist musicology was preoccupied with scores and recordings of musical "pieces" as self-sustaining units of meaning, thus upholding the idea of art as a language beyond language. The arrival of New Musicology during the 1980s undermined this project by considering music's social meanings.

[33] John Locke, in his essay *Two Treatises on Government* (1690), was the first to articulate in print the idea that the fruits of one's labor was unquestionably his property as well (Fredriksson 2007: 280-81).

Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube—this chapter has delved into a musical example of where and how it continues to live.

To summarize, the direct line between the sublime and genius fashioned by the Romantics tended to bypass cultural realities via a transcendentalist discourse of aesthetic differentiation, relegating them to the realm of the exotic where they could serve the needs of artists. In this way, the genius construct has long been inextricable from the "othering" of culturally distant lifestyles and understandings, setting the stage for the appearance of world music as a particularly western response to an increasingly multicultural commercial musical landscape during the 1980s.

The "Classicalization" of Twenty-First-Century World Music

World music's growing alliance with classical music since the turn of the millennium demonstrates the diversification of classical music that Mina Yang has observed (Yang 2014). As Jacob Edgar noted in 2008, "You'll find world music artists at classical music venues…an 'art' form that needs to be revered and respected" (Edgar 2008a). Examples of what Taylor calls "the classicalization of world music" abound in recent product placement, concert programming, and recordings (Taylor 2012: 183-184; 2007: 244). In American urban centers today, one can readily find concert subscriptions devoted to world music alongside classical and jazz offerings, as at the Hollywood Bowl and the Chicago Symphony Center; this is also the case with musicals, soul, and funk. BBC's Radio 3, which began airing world music in the mid 2000s, formerly aired only classical music (Taylor 2007: 243). Tower Records outlets, such as those in Los Angeles, had begun adding world music to their cordoned-off classical music section not long before the chain's closure in 2006 (Taylor 2012: 183). Finally, non-Euro-Anglo musical influences can be

heard on several recordings for the German label ECM Records, known primarily for its jazz and classical releases, as well on Jonathan Elias's 1999 recording *The Prayer Circle*, featuring classical, rock, and world music singers in a multi-movement work released on the Sony Classical label (Feld 2000a: 8; Taylor 2012: 183-184; Taylor 2007: 244).

This shift was promulgated in large part by the international popularity of the *Buena Vista Social Club* album released in 1997: it sold over five million copies (an extraordinary number for a world music release), won the Grammy Award for "Best Traditional Tropical Latin Album" in 1998, and was designated #260 of *Rolling Stone* magazine's "The 500 Greatest Albums of All-Time" (Gonzalez 2004).[34] Nick Gold, founder and head of the record company World Circuit and one of the attendants of the 1987 meeting to devise the "world music" marketing category, enlisted U.S. rock/blues guitarist and producer Ry Cooder to oversee a collaboration between guitarist Djelimady Tounkara and *ngoni* player Bassekou Kouyaté from Mali and a group of Cuban musicians featuring singer-guitarist Eliades Ochoa and *laúd* player Barbarito Torres who performed in the *oriente* (eastern) "country" Cuban style that influenced music in Mali and Senegal (Durán 2014: 10).[35] The Malian musicians' passports necessary for visiting Havana to record got lost in the mail en route to the Cuban embassy in Burkina Faso where their visas were to be stamped. However, Gold and Cooder decided to forge ahead, merging the Eastern Cuban musicians with veteran Havana performers of Arsenio Rodríguez compositions during the 1940s and 50s that bandleader and folk revivalist Juan de Marcos

[34] It is one of only two albums on the list to be produced in a non-English-speaking country.

[35] Gold also engineered the return of the Senegalese supergroup Orchestra Baobab in 2001, which disbanded during the 1980s (Whitmore 2016: 349-350).

Gonzáles had proposed Gold record for a separate project (ibid.: 13).[36] The club of the album's title refers to an actual *sociedad de color* –an ethnically determined social club—descended from the Spanish colonial *cabildo*, that operated in Havana from the 1930s until shortly after the Cuban Revolution of 1959 and at which album participants and their contemporaries performed. A documentary in 1999 directed by Wim Wenders—featuring concert footage in Amsterdam and NYC as well as interviews—augmented the international recognition these performers received upon rediscovery. The *Buena Vista Social Club* album and documentary not only kindled a global interest in both traditional Cuban music and Latin American music and reinforced world music's long-standing orientation to African heritage and mediating/"discovering" producers from the Global North (this time in the form of Cooder and Gold): it provided a new template for success in the millennial world music industry, one based upon nostalgia for a "golden age," respect for tradition and elders ("living legends"), individual personalities within a collective, acoustic and organic-sounding instruments, live-and-up-close recording techniques, an anti-market/anti-trend sensibility, and the ability to stand the test of time. In a sense, the industry has returned full circle to the category founders' emphasis on "roots"; moreover, the majority of these attributes synthesizes well with the Euro-American classical music world and promotes the canonization of long-standing practices, moving world music more fully into the realm of "serious music," even as this music makes incursions into U.S. popular culture.

A "high art" orientation has already been latent within world music collaborations via the reliable inclusion of avant-garde, experimental, and electronica elements. As Susan McClary

[36] Juan de Marcos Gonzáles served as musical director for the *Buena Vista Social Club* sessions. Singer Ibrahim Ferrer and guitarist, singer, and composer Compay Segundo from Eastern Cuba were brought in. The Havana performers included pianist Rubén Gonzáles and bassist Orlando "Cachaito" López.

and Robert Fink have noted, avant-garde works have long shared "cultural authority" with popular nineteenth-century "masterworks" (such as Beethoven's Fifth Symphony) as part and parcel of the Euro-American classical music canon, despite the fringe status accrued from being composed during the twentieth century or later (like early music in its relative antiquity) (McClary 1989; Fink 1998: 141). Furthermore, the reception of rock music, from which the world music marketing category arose, as "art" is bound up with production techniques imported in the 1960s from the work of avant-garde composers, as mentioned in the previous section. Finally, and most importantly, the reliance upon advanced sound technologies is common to Euro-Anglo styles deemed "modern" or "cutting-edge,"[37] and the presence and importance of these styles in the world music genre coincides with the Romantic/Modern bourgeois notion that technological sophistication is what makes Euro-Anglo cultures "civilized," closest to the divine atop the evolutionary ladder, compared to other cultures.[38] The "modern," therefore, serves as a pre-existing area of overlap between classical music and world music worlds that has nurtured the genius construct into a twenty-first-century musical existence. In fact, this area was explored by artists prior to the appearance of the world music category: minimalist composers Steve Reich and Terry Riley found stylistic and philosophical kindred in West African musicians such as Gideon Alorwoyie, and the Kronos Quartet has collaborated for decades with non-Euro-Anglo musicians from all over the world as part of their dedication to post-twentieth-century experimental works.

[37] The overlap between these styles is evident in the fact that many of today's top ambient and techno producers cite avant-garde and minimalist composers such as Karlheinz Stockhausen, Phillip Glass, and Steve Reich as profound influences on their work (Fink 1998: 153-56).

[38] As McClary points out, mid-twentieth-century avant-garde composers like Milton Babbit believed their music to be the only music that could prompt world-wide musical "evolution" (McClary1989: 62-64).

Conclusion

With the producer pool rapidly expanding and with rock genres now more boutique and alternative compared to the dance-oriented mainstream pop of Rihanna, Sia, and Justin Bieber, the world music industry in the 2010s has perhaps become a location where remnants of the genius construct can flourish in the face of its globalization-driven disintegration elsewhere. Although rock is no longer at the center of mainstream popular music, I argue that world music continues to revolve around it, as it had in the 1980s; in other words, world music serves a center convinced of its perennial alterity. Genius's long-standing musical residence in the classical music world has been rightfully and refreshingly challenged from multiple directions for the past quarter century, but maybe world music is being re-defined to accommodate and revitalize a "high" cultural expression at twilight, in addition to reinforcing hipness in the Euro-Anglo critical darling of a rock genre known as "indie" (Fink 1998, Moore 2016; Yang 2014). However we may choose to explain the world music genre's recent association of "authenticity" with the time-tested, it is probably best comprehended through the transcendence/rebellion orientation descended from Romanticism that it upholds than any "worlds" which lie outside of it, those very worlds it is marketed to represent. The mediation of intercultural musical projects by this orientation is what, I believe, defines world music as an industry most precisely.

Garifuna World Music, to be discussed in chapter 6, exemplifies the millennial world music priorities discussed here, having attracted recognition and criticism comparable to the *Buena Vista Social Club* phenomenon. In order to understand how this genre invokes long-standing cultural and music practices, we must turn to in-depth discussion of Garifuna cultural history and traditional musics, provided in chapters 3 and 4.

Chapter 3:
Garifuna Cultural History

Introduction

This chapter discusses the Garifuna as a culture group, focusing on their emergence on and migration from St. Vincent Island, diasporic consolidation vis-à-vis Central American and U.S. national contexts, defining practices and beliefs, language, and identity affiliations. I also consider lessons from the Garifuna case regarding the role of disequilibrium in identity formation.

Historicizing The Garifuna

The people today called Garifuna have a history in the New World that can be traced to St. Vincent Island[39] in the Eastern Caribbean. They emerged there as a distinct group with a distinct language by the mid-seventeenth century, an intermixture of escaped slaves and maroons originally from Africa's Gulf of Guinea and migrant Carib and Arawak groups native to the Orinoco region of what is now Venezuela.[40] It was on St. Vincent that labor migration was established as part of the social make-up of Garifuna, supplementing to this day a farming-and-fishing subsistence economy with Euro-American manufactured goods.[41] Among the Kallinago[42] (Carib-Arawaks) of the Lesser Antilles, called "Caribs" by Europeans, men

[39] St. Vincent is known as *Yurumein* in the Garifuna language.

[40] By the seventeenth century, the Arawaks had been largely absorbed into the dominant Carib population that arrived to the Lesser Antilles from the northern South American coast circa 1200; however, Arawak women had disseminated their language to subsequent Carib generations, which forms the basis of the Garifuna language (Gargallo 2005: 13-39).

[41] Manioc root, beans, and plantains predominate among cultivated crops, and wild coconuts are regularly gathered (Rodriguez 2008).

[42] French missionary Raymond Breton, who learned the Antillean Carib language between 1635 and 1653 while living in Guadeloupe and Dominica, claimed that the Caribs used this term, meaning "manioc (bitter cassava)

undertook extended absences to fish, trade, and conduct warfare while matrifocal networks devoted to child-rearing and primary food production undergirded villages; this was the case even before the integration of Africans on the island (England 2006: 34; Izard 2005: 178). Once Europeans began settling St. Vincent in the early 1600s, among other Antillean islands, Kallinago began raiding their settlements in an effort to curb further colonization, often capturing African slaves and harboring runaway or escaped slaves (most notably from the wreck of one or two Spanish ships carrying West African slaves circa 1635) (Greene 2002: 191; Taylor 1951: 18). This continued even after the Kallinago achieved a peace treaty with the French in 1660 that secured them independence from colonial rule (England 2006: 34-35; Gargallo 2005: 141-142; Beaucage 1970: 41). By 1700, British and French colonists had begun writing of a distinction between "Black Caribs" and "Red Caribs" on the island, with the former phenotype self-designated as "Garinagu," a derivation of "Kallinago" (Gargallo 2005: 140-42; Greene 2002: 189; Izard 2005: 178).[43] The Garinagu established communities on the eastern side opposite colonial settlements, yet followed the basic communal practices of their Kallinago brethren (England 2006: 35-36; Hulme 2005: 34; Palacio 2005b: 44; Kirby and Martin 1972[2009]: 40). According to ethnomusicologist Oliver Greene, their cultural identities revolved around "(1)

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eaters," to refer to themselves (Gargallo 2005: 142; Izard 2005: 178). This original population made bread from the starchy, tuberous root known as *cassava* or *yuca* throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. This bread, called *ereba* in the Garifuna language, remains the staple food of the Garifuna people today.

[43] As Oliver Greene has noted, the term "Garinagu" is a term referring "to the people as a whole, whereas the term Garifuna refers to the language, the culture, and a person in the singular form" (2002: 189). Today, Garinagu are commonly referred to as Garifuna in publications by outsiders. As for name origins, Byron Foster stated that "*Garifuna* and *Garinagu* are simply Africanizations of the pronunciation of the [Antillean] Island Carib words *Karifuna* and *Kalinago*," the names that the Carib and Arawak peoples inhabiting the Lesser Antilles island at the time of Columbus's arrival used to refer to themselves (Foster 1994: 11; Greene 2002: 189; Honychurch[Ávila] 2009: 197, 199). "Kalinago" referred to the inhabitants as a people, while "Karifuna" was the word for female inhabitants (Honychurch[Ávila] 2009: 199).

ancestor veneration, (2) songs of social commentary and communal ideals, and (3) a relationship of reciprocity and respect between the people and the environment in which they live" (Greene 2002: 191). However, the Garinagu entered a money economy with the British and French via wage labor (transporting sugar between the shore and British cargo ships) and cash cropping in order to obtain European manufactures such as metal tools and cutlery. In the process, they encountered Catholicism from the French—syncretized with their spiritual practices soon after—and the French and English languages that eventually contributed vocabulary to their own Arawak-based language (discussed later in the chapter).

In 1763, the French ceded control of St. Vincent to the British via the Treaty of Paris, which cemented plans already underway by the latter to obtain Kallinago settlements for the mass production of sugarcane.[44] This led to over twenty years of conflict and warfare beginning in 1772 and culminating in 1796 with the British defeat of a joint Kallingo-French army led by Garinagu chief and folk hero Satuyé, also known by his French name Joseph Chatoyer. The British subsequently deported approximately 4,338 Garinagu while allowing "Red Caribs" to remain on the island, albeit on reserves; they justified their racial segregation and deportation of Garinagu with a narrative depicting Garinagu as "dangerous" free blacks stealing land from the "gentle," "passive" Caribs. Likely meant as a form of genocide, the first stop was the nearby yet inhospitable island of Balliceaux, where between October 1796 and March 1797 half of the Garinagu aboard "died of a mysterious 'malignant fever,' presumably yellow fever, aggravated by malnutrition" (Cayetano 1990: 30-34; Greene 2002: 191). The remainder were deported from Balliceaux on March 3, and approximately 2,026 Garinagu—twenty-five percent of the original

[44] The French briefly regained control of the island from 1779 to 1783.

Garinagu population on St. Vincent—arrived to the island of Roatán in the Gulf of Honduras on April 12, in the hopes that the group "would become a thorn in the side of England's colonial rival, Spain" (Stone 2006: 6; Cortés 2005: 65; Gargallo 2005: 143; Cayetano and Cayetano 1997: 19; González 1986: 337; M. Palacio 1993: 4-5). Due to the small size and infertility of the island, the majority of Garinagu migrated to the mainland at the Spanish fort of Trujillo (England 2006:37, 39). From Trujillo, they further migrated along the coastlines of the countries now known as Honduras, Belize, Guatemala, and Nicaragua during the early nineteenth century; the communities they established have remained the home base of Garifuna culture since the 1830s (Palacio 2005b: 45).

These coasts were largely isolated, dotted by Spanish forts—meant to protect against British and Dutch pirates—and British mahogany logging camps to the north. This isolation allowed facile settlement by the Garifuna and the nearly exact reproduction of their lives on St. Vincent (England 2006: 37). While fishing and carpentering in their new villages, men continued part-time wage labor migration via avenues created by the end of the slave trade in the Americas in the early nineteenth century: transporting goods between Belize and Honduras, and working in British logging camps and on sugar plantations. Women maintained a continuity of language and lifestyle in the villages, remaining in charge of subsistence cultivation and joining men for seasonal cash cropping in addition to their own domestic work for Europeans. Much of the nineteenth century saw Garifuna re-grouping and expanding in relative and highly guarded autonomy following the trauma of deportation, taking advantage of money-based economic opportunities on their own terms. During this time, they gained favor with European travelers for having:

> a "civilized manner" of wage labor and consumption of European manufactured goods. […] The conclusion most of these writers drew was that the Garifuna showed promise for "progress toward civilization" as a good population of "industrious and ingenious" laborers and consumers (ibid.: 41; Anderson 1997; Gonzalez 1988).

This reputation for being "good workers," cemented by their familiarity with the English language, became a form of cultural capital for gaining employment with fruit companies, such as the United Fruit Company, which established themselves along the Central American Caribbean coast beginning in 1899 and flourished until the global recession of the 1930s and a banana plague during the 1940s. Nonetheless, extant migration patterns continued unabated as the majority of Garifuna men worked on plantations, railroads, and in port towns approximately seventy-five percent of the year, returning home for seasonal agricultural activity and holidays (England 2006: 44). Thus, while the entrepreneurial opportunities of Garifuna remained limited due to racism, men remained able to fulfill the needs established by their historical practice of temporary migration, thus maintaining long-standing "cultural orientations and social structures" (ibid.: 66).

In the 1940s, the opportunity to work as merchant marines emerged for Central Americans and West Indians due to the conscription of U.S. men during World War II. While this meant longer periods away from home for Garifuna men, it paid better than plantation labor—scarce anyway from the banana plague—and shipping companies provided the service of sending a portion of employees' checks to family members in the villages (ibid.: 44). Several Garifuna seamen also joined the National Maritime Union based in New York City, which spawned the first Garifuna community in the United States. Other Garifuna men began expanding their migration from port towns to major cities within the Central American interior as

service and factory workers, thus strengthening ties with their home nations of residence. As Sarah England notes,

> The 1950s marks the beginning of greater integration into and identification with the national societies of residence as more Garifuna sought jobs outside of the [banana] plantation enclave, moved to the capital [sp] cities, attended urban schools, and even began to attend national universities to be trained as teachers, doctors, and nurses (ibid.: 47; Beaucage 1989).

By the 1970s, Garifuna women were joining men in cities to work and to receive training and education; this was particularly the case in the United States, where more women entering into full-time and career employment created the need for domestic labor and where Garifuna women could earn higher wages than in Central America. The 1960s and 70s also saw massive immigration to the U.S. from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia following the 1965 repeal of national origins quotas established by the McCarren-Walter Act in 1952 (England 2006: 50). These factors led to sustainable Garifuna communities in major U.S. cities such as New York, Los Angeles, Houston, and Chicago, where families could be reunited abroad. While many women have chosen to remain in the villages, since they have less earning power than men (especially in Central America), the majority of Central American Garifuna communities since the 1980s have been continuously comprised of elderly women and men and their grandchildren, with the working-age population employed elsewhere at least half of the year and sending remittances back home (ibid.: 47-48, 74-75, 101).

Despite the labor-driven mobility of both male and female Garifuna young adults in the last thirty years, they have maintained the practice of regularly returning to their home communities and, in most cases, retire there (England 2006: 49; Gargallo 2005: 150). As I will discuss later in the chapter, the performance of ceremonies, dictated by ancestral spirits (*gubida*),

ensures the continued vitality of community life (Palacio 2005: 109-110).[45] Since 2000, Garifuna have been returning permanently at younger ages than in the past, due in part to more stringent U.S. immigration law enforcement following 9/11.[46] For instance, Kevin Martinez, a man in his 40s who I interviewed during the summer of 2007, moved to Los Angeles with his parents from Dangriga, Belize, when he was six years old. He joined the U.S. Army shortly after high school, during which time he was stationed in Iraq during the Gulf War, followed by Germany, Ft. Stewart (GA), Korea, and Ft. Hood (TX). He returned to Dangriga on holiday in 2004, but ended up settling there. At the time we spoke, he ran a debt collecting business, a modest gym in his home, and managed Belizean punta rock star Supa G.

The Central American Home Communities

Within the Central American countries where Garifuna established communities in the early nineteenth century following exile, they have shared minority status to the present day. In number, they total less than ten percent of the populations of Honduras, Belize, Guatemala, and Nicaragua, and have experienced bouts of contention with national majorities in the process of asserting cultural autonomy.

[45] According to Joseph Palacio, these ceremonies have been instrumental in keeping the Belizean Garifuna community of Barranco alive, for example, despite its social and physical exclusion from the rest of the country. As he describes, "At these events scores of their [gubidas'] descendants will come, more than doubling the population for up to a week at a time. Besides, some of the ceremonies need a few persons to remain and do preparations in the village for months beforehand. The expenses incurred in preparing for the ceremonies together with staying there have become probably the greatest injection into the village cash economy during the year" (Palacio 2005: 109-110).

[46] Immigration had already become more dangerous and costly since the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act passed in 1996, which resulted in increased enforcement along the U.S.-Mexico border and diminished access to public services even for legal immigrants in order to curb further immigration (England 2006: 57). While Honduran Garifuna have experienced the greatest number of deportation threats of all Garifuna immigrants to the U.S., due to their Hispanic classification, they have also been more eligible to immigrate legally through family reunification than ladino Hondurans, thanks to their well-established migration network with New York and also to their ability to pass for African Americans (ibid.: 58-59).

The prioritization of privatization over community welfare that is endemic to Central America has rendered migration a crucial strategy of livelihood for the post-war generations of Garifuna, creating not only a local economy heavily dependent upon remittances sent from abroad but a cultural activism linked to minority rights. This section will detail Garifuna histories of settlement, dwelling, and political organization in each of these four countries.

Background

After being deported to the island of Roatán in 1797, Garinagu migrated to the mainland of present-day Honduras, arriving at the coastal fort of Trujillo. Although the Spanish claimed this territory, centralized power was absent: their sparse presence was limited to forts and outposts meant for defense against invaders and buccaneers. In fact, many coastal residents were black refugees from Santo Domingo, the oldest European city in the Western Hemisphere (Cortés 2005: 65). Garinagu joined the Dominicans in assisting in the Spanish defense against invasions.

Under the control of former male Vincentian "hereditary chiefs," Garinagu moved along the coast in search of optimal fishing and logging sites and away from areas of conflict (ibid.: 65-66). Accustomed to leading skirmishes against British forces on Yurumein, the chiefs became valued soldiers on behalf of the Spanish crown. Based on a study by Nancie González (1995), Guatemalan anthropologist Alfonso Arrivillaga Cortés asserts that they led roughly four hereditary groups from Trujillo beginning in 1802 and lasting throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: 1) Costa Abajo (the "lower coast" of Honduras); 2) Costa Arriba (the "upper coast"); 3) Livingston-Dangriga (Guatemala-Belize); and 4) Pearl Lagoon (Nicaragua) (ibid.: 66-67). Droves of Garinagu, who sided with Spanish loyalists during the 1830 Honduran

fight for independence due to governmental persecution, left Honduras after the war (Gargallo 2005: 151). Today, Honduran, Belizean, Guatemalan Garifuna celebrate their subsequent settlement with a re-enactment of their ancestors arriving in canoes, followed by a drumming processional through town (ibid.: 76).

The initial migrants to the Central American mainland had brought French first names and surnames, but quickly adopted Spanish surnames upon their arrival, with the exception of Sambula, Guiti, Lambey, and Satuyé (Palacio 2005: 59; Cortés 2005: 81). As summarized by Cortés,

> There are, for example, the Martínez or the Honduran Álvarez with their branches in Livingston [Guatemala] and Dangriga [Belize]. The Flores and Rodriguez of Guatemala, who have also moved to Dangriga. The Sambula of Sangrelaya [Honduras], who became the most important family in the migration to Nicaragua. The Aviléz and Palacio, originally from Trujillo [Honduras], are associated with Barranco [Belize]; Cayetano with Dangriga; Sánchez with Livingston [Guatemala]; Satuyé with Puerto Barrios [Guatemala]; and Guiti with Sambo Creek [Honduras], among other examples (ibid.: 80-81).

These surnames have been passed down to today's Garifuna, indicating their families' histories of settlement and migration. For example, the lineage of punta rock and Garifuna World Music star Andy Palacio can be traced to the Palacio family that settled his home community of Barranco in Belize. Their bearers are believed to watch over the living as *áhari*, defined by Cortés as "the generalized spirits of all ancestors" (ibid.: 80).[47]

Honduras

The Caribbean coastline of Honduras—the third economically poorest country of the Western Hemisphere—contains the oldest, most numerous, and most traditional Garifuna

[47] In contrast, *gubida* refers to individual ancestor spirits.

communities in Central America (Anderson 2009: 26). Deported from St. Vincent to the island of Roatán just off the Honduran North Coast in 1797, most Garifuna formed communities along that coast and celebrate their settlement day on April 14 (Cortés 2005: 76). The communities total approximately forty-six, with Triúnfo de la Cruz, Sambo Creek, and Limón among the most prominent (Greene 2002: 192). Many of these communities today contain a significant number of *mestizos* or *ladinos*[48]; in turn, Garifuna comprise a sizable minority within the coastal port cities of La Ceiba, San Pedro Sula, and Trujillo (Anderson 2009: 22). A recent census estimates approximately 50,000 Garifuna in the country, who share "ethnic" status with eight other groups which together comprise 7.2 percent of the Honduran population (ibid.: 22, 24). Within this "Other" category, Garifuna and Creoles (English-speaking Afro-Caribbeans) are approached racially as "black" (*negro* or *moreno*), while the other groups (like the Tolupan and the Pech) are designated as indigenous (ibid.: 24). Garifuna were not recognized by the Honduran government as a distinct ethnic group until the 1990s, foreshadowing the state definition of Honduras as a "multiethnic nation" by the end of the twentieth century (ibid.: 24). This recognition was bolstered in October 2011, when U.S. Latino singer-celebrity Marc Anthony invited the Africanist-oriented Ballet Nacional Garífuna de Honduras to appear on his Los Angeles-based television show *Q'Viva!*, dedicated to showcasing Latin American talent (England 206: 203-204).

Given its isolation from the rest of the country and its occupation by "blacks," the North Coast had long been deemed inhospitable by the majority of Hondurans. This allowed Garifuna to flourish in relative peace since the early nineteenth century, attending to their communally

[48] These terms refer to the majority population in Honduras, retaining their historical reference to people of mixed Spanish and indigenous descent (Anderson 2009: 255-256).

held autonomous zone. Ironically, at the same time that Garifuna cultural practices were embraced as "Honduran" (as with the tacit adoption of the Garifuna *punta* as "the national dance and music"), Garifuna communities began facing unprecedented pressures on land and resources thanks to the neoliberal reforms initiated by President Rafael Callejas in the early 1990s (Anderson 2009: 26-27). As early as the 1970s, ladinos took an interest in the North Coast municipalities for family farming and agribusiness, forcing Garifuna to start legalizing their land plots as individual owners lest these be expropriated by the Instituto Nacional Agrario (INA) (England 2006: 48). However, the situation became a state of emergency in the 1990s, when the government decided that the best way to generate new revenue would be to develop the North Coast for tourism. As former Honduran Tourism Secretary Ana Abarca later declared in 2001, "We have hundreds of kilometers of beaches that aren't developed, and it's a waste. We want strong tourism. We are going after the sun and the beach" (Ryan 2008). Foreseeing the enclosure of their commons, Garifuna sought and won legally recognized land titles in 1992. Two years later, however, developers like the Marbella Tourist Corporation began constructing beachfront luxury villas in Triúnfo de la Cruz, for whom legislators passed a new privatization bill nullifying Garifuna land titles. After Triúnfo residents organized to file a lawsuit against the Tela municipality in 1997, three of their leaders were brutally murdered, and their cases remain unresolved; police imprisoned another leader for seven years on false drug trafficking charges.

In response, Garifuna women have taken the lead in direct actions such as: 1) building community-based eco-tourist cabins next to a stalled construction site; 2) performing drumming, singing, and dance in front of police stations to demand the release of a fellow activist; and 3) filing petitions with national and international courts. While these efforts proved successful in

the short run, divide-and-conquer strategies targeting individual owners of land titles have taken their toll. Numbers of Garifuna in villages west of Triúnfo along the Tela Bay—like Miami, Barra Vieja, Tornabe, and San Juan—have succumbed to pressures from government officials, foreign investors, private contractors, and even Garifuna NGOs "payrolled by big business" to sell their grants (Ryan 2008). Probably the worst case of Garifuna land privatization is in Miami village, where the majority of residents sold their grants to the Tela Bay Touristic Development Society (DTBT) under the assumption that they would eventually be stolen. In a 2008 interview with Ramor Ryan, Alfredo López—the Triúnfo activist wrongly imprisoned for seven years—discusses the plight of Miami:

> "Look what has happened in Miami" he says, referring to the only community so far to sell out to *el turismo.* "The community hardly exists now. It's a tragedy, they tricked the people into signing over their deeds, and now the community is destroyed. It serves as a warning for what will happen to the rest. People look at Miami and see the future. That's why the struggle here in Triunfo is so important. We are at the top of the list for *el turismo*, they want this land. If we hold out, so will the other communities" (Ryan 2008).

Illegally outsourcing Garifuna lands laid the groundwork for an even more ambitious project of neo-colonialism via neoliberal policy: the establishment of "charter cities" along the North Coast. As conceived by NYU economics professor Paul Romer, these cities would operate as autonomous cosmopolitan units within countries, both bringing the economic and cultural capital of a global city to economically poor regions and also sidestepping the abuse of power common to these regions by elected officials in order "to entrench their rule and enrich themselves" (The Guardian 2011). Inhabitants of these cities would be governed non-democratically by a "transparency commission," the decisions of which would go unchecked by citizens since they chose to live there in the first place (what Romer calls "vot[ing] with their

feet") (Bird 2012; The Guardian 2011). As described by Annie Bird, "The Charter Cities initiative cedes city-sized sections of Honduras to corporations or foreign governments to govern autonomously, indefinitely. Investors can make their own laws, build their own police force, administer services and regulate their economy" (Bird 2012). At the end of 2008, Romer had convinced Madagascar President Marc Ravalomanana to create such a city, but a citizen-backed military coup in late January 2009 ousted him as well as the proposal (idem.). The following year, Romer turned to the administration of Porfirio Lobo Sosa in Honduras (installed via military coup in 2009, without a majority vote), who expedited the legislation process and selected a coastal zone containing twenty-four Garifuna communities. For instance, Lobo green-lit the takeover of the Rio Negro Garifuna community in 2011 for the construction of a cruise ship dock, airport, and port for the proposed charter city (idem.). Not only was no effort made on the part of the government toward intercultural collaboration, but intimidation tactics—such as paramilitaries surrounding communities and firing off weapons, and threats to oppositional journalists on Garifuna community radio stations—were well underway by 2012 (www.avaaz.org, Accessed 15 March 2013; Bird 2012).

Ultimately, a contract was signed within the Honduran Congress on September 4, 2012, by entrepreneur and libertarian activist Michael Strong, head of the mysterious MKG Group, to establish the first charter city (Bird 2012). However, the Attorney General's office submitted their opinion to the Supreme Court that the contract's statutes defining the creation and administration of charter cities (named "Special Development Regions" [RED] in Honduras) "violate the constitution and should be overruled," on the grounds that they violate the sovereignty of the nation and the "fundamental rights" of its citizens (idem.). Moreover, Romer

and other members of the transparency commission claimed to be unaware that the contract had been signed, in an apparent concern over the constitutional challenge, and informed President Lobo on September 7 that they were "relieving him of the obligation" to legally establish the commission (idem.). What the future holds remains to be seen. For their part, Rio Negro Garifuna families approached the Honduran justice system with a complaint against Life Vision Properties, the Canadian investment firm funding the cruise ship dock construction, in December 2011 (idem.).

While the funding of land administration programs by international financial organizations contributes to the trend of individual land ownership eclipsing Garifuna communal land ownership in Honduras, so does the increased reliance of young adults upon remittances sent from Honduran and U.S. cities at the expense of traditional land-based production. Transmigrants from the village of Limón, in the North Coast municipality of Colón, complain that the redistribution of money from the mothers who receive it to their children and grandchildren has created a Garifuna "welfare" system where young adults depend on remittances for their income rather than creating it themselves. As one transmigrant explains,

> The fault is with we who are out of the country. We are used to sending anything our family members want – clothes, tennis shoes, and so on. They see the brand on TV and that is what they want. We have created a *cultura de mándame* [culture of "send me money/goods"]. Before everyone went to the bush to cultivate cassava [an important symbol of Garifuna identity], they raised chickens, and so forth. Now there are few who raise cassava; they buy it from the ladinos who come in their trucks (England 2006: 168).

Hence, the growing culture of consumption eroding at land management among Honduran Garifuna has been both imposed from without by the entrepreneurial theft of communal lands and from within by the importation of U.S. values by transmigrants. However, it should be noted

that individual class mobility provides temporary relief from systemic racism and poverty, even while failing to nurture traditional Garifuna community life (a viewpoint known as *disintegración*), and is viewed by many Garifuna as *superación* (progress, getting ahead), "the key to overcoming economic, political, and cultural marginality" as Hondurans (ibid.: 151, 169). Economic opportunities within Honduran Garifuna communities have dwindled in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, first in the late 1960s after the Standard Fruit Company minimized operations from La Ceiba and next in the 1990s with the implementation of neoliberal government policies (Anderson 2009: 42). But the inflow of cash from elsewhere also provides a way for home communities to remain solvent, particularly in the funding of the family-gathering *dügü* ceremonies to be discussed shortly (ibid.: 45).

British Honduras/Belize

Following an expedition of approximately one hundred Garinagu from Honduras in 1802, Garifuna settlement of British Honduras to the north began in earnest on November 19, 1832 under the leadership of Alejo Beni, said to be one of Satuyé's commanders (Cortés 2005: 69). Fleeing Roatán in canoes following a massacre of Garifuna during the Honduran war for independence, this second wave of settlers established a village on the southern coast of British Honduras that they called *duna chirrit*, meaning "potable water"; the official name recognized by British colonial administrators was Stann Creek, short for "standing creek," but it was changed to Dangriga in the late twentieth century (M. Williams 2001, Greene 1996: 2; Izard 2005: 183-184; Palacio 2005: 58). Dangriga is the first permanent Garifuna community in British Honduras—known as Belize since independence from the British in 1981—and has long been the largest Belizean Garifuna community. South of Dangriga are the Garifuna communities of Hopkins,

Seine Bight, Georgetown, Punta Gorda, and Barranco. Belize's capital, Belize City, "the largest and most densely populated city in the country," also contains a large number of Garifuna (Greene 2002: 192).

Belizean Garifuna are currently the most integrated and nationalized of all Central American Garifuna, although they are still low on the socioeconomic ladder. Their communities are located in southern Belize, which has been economically depressed relative to the north for the past three decades, although the influx of tourist dollars into towns and villages has improved matters (Palacio 2005: 112-113). This is the case in both villages like Barranco and Hopkins and urban areas like Dangriga and Belize City. According to Belizean Garifuna anthropologist Joseph Palacio,

> If social exclusion in Barranco was the denial of regular and good quality access to basic infrastructure in health, education, police protection, telephone, and economic livelihood, in the towns it is denial of access to good quality health, education, to live in a crime free neighbourhood, and to limit the possibility of contracting HIV/AIDS, among other deadly diseases. Providing appropriate safety nets to the Garifuna people in both their urban and rural environments is an opportunity that has yet to be articulated in public policy and put into action (Palacio 2005: 116-117).

For most of Belize's history, the majority of inhabitants have been Kriols. Kriols are descended primarily from English and Scottish woodcutters and the African slaves they brought to the territory in the seventeenth century; they speak and write a creolized form of English, also known as Kriol, which is the dominant form of oral communication and informal written communication in the country. Since the influx of immigrants and political refugees from Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador during the 1980s, mestizos have overtaken Kriols as the majority group, comprising roughly 49% of the population at present. Garifuna make up

approximately 6% of the Belizean population, although regular migration to the U.S. makes this difficult to discern (Izard 2005: 179).

Until recently, Belizean Garifuna suffered prejudice and persecution from Kriols. British magistrates felt threatened by the arrival of Garifuna in 1832, fearing they would instigate insurrection among their slaves. This resulted in segregationist policies, such as requiring Garifuna to have a permit when trading in Kriol towns, which mediated Kriol contact with Garifuna (Gargallo 2005: 152). As a result, Kriols absorbed British denunciations of the Garifuna dügü ceremony as "devil worship," and could be counted on to perform the colonial stance of socially marginalizing Garifuna (Berger and Leland 2000). While relations greatly improved in the twentieth century, undercurrents of Kriol resentment remain; for instance, in 1993, historian Francesca Gargallo "heard jokes in the Belize City market from Creoles about the Garifuna being cannibals, as the English wanted them to believe" (ibid.: 151).

In the meantime, several Garifuna took advantage of the educational system under British rule, quickly prevailing within the country's pool of teachers and civil servants. Ultimately, the independence movement of the late 1970s unified Belize's many ethnic groups—including Kriols, Garifuna, the indigenous Maya, mestizos, East Indians, Chinese, Lebanese, and German Mennonites—behind a common cause. Among these groups, Garifuna took the lead in visibly and forcefully advocating a national platform of multiculturalism.[49] It was during this time that November 19, Garifuna Settlement Day, became recognized as a *national* holiday (in 1977) and

[49] As Francesca Gargallo states, "During popular debates held before independence was achieved in 1981, Garifuna women and men were popular theorists and social spokespersons in favour of the idea that independence politics was going to be the backbone of a new multiethnic and multicultural political entity. Women expressed their views on several occasions, that independence was not only good news for the rights of the Garifuna but also for other ethnic groups established in Belize" (Gargallo 2005: 145).

that the new Garifuna popular music genre punta rock began to be accepted and promoted as uniquely *Belizean* music (Greene 2002: 192). National recognition of Garifuna in Belize came almost twenty years earlier than in Honduras and continues to elude communities in Guatemala and Nicaragua. As Alfonso Arrivillaga Cortés notes,

> Among all the celebratory events associated with the first establishment of [Garifuna] settlements, those that take place in Belize are most worth emphasizing. Here the hero-establishment profile has been so well articulated that it is part of the Belizean identity, and within it there is Garifuna recognition. Garifuna Settlement Day, therefore, is not only a day of celebration for the Garinagu, it is a day for the whole country to pay tribute to them as co-citizens. It may take more than two decades in Guatemala for the Garinagu to be similarly acknowledged with a national day. The genesis of such a movement would be subjected to partisan political interest and the impact could not reach the advances so far arrived at in Belize (Cortés 2005: 81).

Since independence, Belizean Garifuna have comprised a highly influential minority, counted among the country's most popular musicians and most notable teachers, lawyers, entrepreneurs, and government officials. Garifuna music especially flourished in Belize in the 2000s thanks to strong support from the cosmopolitan-oriented administration of former Prime Minister Said Musa, whose son, Yasser, was a government representative for the arts under his administration as well as a visual artist. The land privatization suffered by Honduran Garifuna communities mostly has been avoided, in part, due to the Belizean government's promotion of national cultural diversity since its inception and its reliance upon cultural tourism for almost as long (and ecotourism since the mid-to-late 1990s).[50]

Kriol-mestizo George Price, a populist driven by Jesuit values, had begun the decolonization process in British Honduras by helping found the People's United Party (PUP) in the 1940s. Leading the independence effort, he became Belize's first Prime Minister in 1981.

[50] For instance, the visitation of Mayan ruins by foreigners has long provided a source of tourist revenue.

Since that time, the PUP has remained the dominant political party, thanks largely to Price's status as party leader until retiring in 1996. Said Musa, representing the country's Lebanese minority, took on the mantle in 1998, serving as Prime Minister for ten years. The PUP fell out of favor during the 2000s due to its prioritizing of foreign and professional interests over those of the country-at-large. For instance, riots ensued in 2005 following a tax hike to pay off foreign debt rather than to assist social welfare programs, and protests followed Musa's decision in 2007 to covertly funnel Venezuelan aid toward a private hospital in Belize City beyond the income range of most Belizean residents (Stone 2007). Dean Barrow, a Kriol representing the United Democratic Party (UDP), succeeded Musa in February 2008, promising to end government corruption and crime; he won a second term by a narrow margin in March 2012. During his time as Prime Minister, however, Barrow has been criticized for tacitly condoning undemocratic processes such as police intimidation and public election corruption and for encouraging international chain hotels to develop resorts along the beachfront (unlike Price, who feared that unsustainable tourism development would transform Belize into "a nation of waiters") (Augustine 2011).

Some Garifuna musicians with whom I spoke feel that Barrow's administration has turned their back both on the arts and on the Garifuna as a people. Lloyd Augustine, a punta rock and paranda musician, used to be a driver for Silvia Flores, Minister of Development in Musa's administration. A supporter of Garifuna music, Flores contributed BZ$1,500.00 to the Dangriga-based Punta Rock Music Association (PRMA) in 2007. In a 2011 interview, Augustine told me that, while Garifuna artists felt free to approach Musa and his Cabinet directly for requests (a fact made apparent in chapter 7), they had ceased approaching Barrow's ministers (Augustine 2011).

Corroborating Augustine's statement is the fact that, since Barrow's appointment of his son—a rapper known as Shyne—as the country's cultural and musical ambassador upon taking office, Shyne has eschewed his duties and, in fact, currently resides in Israel. Augustine also believes that Barrow's failure to advocate for Garifuna cultural expressions manifests old Kriol antagonisms toward Garifuna: "Yes, I will say that out loud, that I think the government is trying to revive that tension. […] It isn't necessary. It's behind us, let's move on. If a Kriol go wherever, to U.S., Europe, they will call him "black" just like me. We are all here in very little Belize, we all should be united and fight for one common cause to uplift what we're fighting for" (ibid.).

As I have noted, Garifuna activism leading up to and leading the independence movement proved vital to the nation's embrace of Garifuna as a valued minority. In addition, it culminated in the formation of the National Garifuna Council (NGC) in 1981, the year of independence. The NGC is currently the largest Garifuna organization in Belize, with over one thousand members representing a wide variety of vocations and income brackets. In 1999, the Belizean government recognized the NGC as the primary representative for Belizean Garifuna and "agreed to consult the organization on all matters concerning the Garifuna community, as well as adopting a policy of inclusion for them in national development"; in return, the NGC counts among its objectives the promotion of respect for cultural diversity and harmony within Belize (Izard 2005: 182). The organization was instrumental in securing UNESCO's recognition of Garifuna language, music, and dance as a ""Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity" in 2001, discussed in depth in chapter 7. Moreover, it has been the most active of all Central American Garifuna organizations in transnationally promoting Garifuna language

acquisition and cultural retrieval/preservation.[51] Interestingly, the NGC stresses the combined Amerindian and African heritage of Garifuna, while other Garifuna organizations in Belize, among them the World Garifuna Organization (WGO), exhibit an Africanist orientation similar to that of the Ballet Nacional Garífuna de Honduras (ibid.: 188-90).

Guatemala

The Garifuna minority of present-day Guatemala reside primarily in the coastal town of Livingston: "Labuga" in the Garifuna language, meaning the "mouth" of the Rio Dulce. The settlement was founded on February 2, 1802, according to oral tradition, by Marcos Sánchez Díaz as part of the initial outmigration from Trujillo, Honduras. It is locally celebrated today, in a ceremony appropriately titled "Yurumein," on May 15; the date coincides with the feast day of San Isidro Labrador, the Roman Catholic patron saint of farmers and day laborers (Cortés 2005: 72, 64, 76). As in Honduras, the late twentieth century has seen the rise of ladino[52]-owned businesses in Garifuna territory, in this case along Livingston's main thoroughfare that extends from the arrival dock[53] to the ocean. This was prompted by the thirty-six-year Guatemalan Civil War (1960-1996), forcing many to seek safe haven in remote areas of the country. Side streets and shorelines now house most Garifuna families and businesses in town; Garifuna Collective singer Sofia Blanco Arzu, for instance, lives in a quiet area west of the main street with her husband, Gregorio Baltazar Rochez, behind her family convenience store. Livingston shares with

[51] I describe their efforts in Nicaragua later shortly.

[52] According to Global Security.org, Guatemalan ladinos are largely comprised of acculturated Mayans (Central American indigenes) and mestizos.

[53] The town is only accessible by boats arriving from the ocean to the south or via the heavily forested Rio Dulce to the north.

Honduran Garifuna communities a culture of consumption among youth that, according to local elders, has contributed to ladino dominance (Noll and Scott 2009). Moreover, *Labugana* (the Garifuna of Labuga) suffer not only from external racial discrimination but from internal division caused by individual egotism at the expense of a traditional emphasis on community and mutual dependency (*machularadi*), as evidenced by a decrease in the appearance of new songs within the town (Blanco 2007; Gargallo 2005: 155). In Blanco's words,

> Porque no queremos unirnos. Todos nosotros somos débiles. Demasiado debilidad. Entonces yo creo que va hacer difícil. […] Para mi que va hacer muy difícil porque ahorita estoy en un grupo que ha estado tratando la manera de que unirnos aquí todos los que son garífuna aquí en Livingston. Pero no han querido responder (Blanco 2007).
>
> [Because we don't want to join together. All of us are weak. Too much weakness. Then I think that it's going to be difficult. […] For me, it's going to be very difficult because right now I am in a group that has been handling ways of uniting all of the Garifuna here in Livingston. But they have not wanted to respond.]

However, Garifuna culture, music, and dance constitute the main draw for tourism in Livingston, contributing to its image as the lone pocket of "laidback" Caribbean lifestyle in all of Guatemala and an exotic locale of cultural intermixture (Alfa Travel Guide 2009; Anon. 2010; Noll and Scott 2009). Thus, despite the relative economic poverty and apparent lack of unity of Labugana, they are vital to the town's livelihood (Shavelson 2010).

Garifuna have recently benefited from an audiovisual training center and course at the University of San Carlos, funded by UNESCO's International Fund for Cultural Diversity and the Guatemalan non-profit organization IRIPAZ. Garifuna attendee Carlos Arana, who produces music and videos, said of his experience,

> My community is benefiting a lot from the audiovisual sector. For now, we are focusing on music, as this is the medium our ancestors used to promote our culture. But in the

> future, we also want to make documentaries to help our children and youth learn where they come from, where they are, and where they are going (http://en.unesco.org/creativity/creative-economy-report-2013#content, Accessed 31 July 2016).

Nicaragua

The ancestors of today's Nicaraguan Garifuna arrived in the Pearl Lagoon basin from Sangrelaya, Honduras, in 1832, fleeing persecution by the new Honduran government following independence from Spain, like the settlers of Dangriga, Belize. The first settlements were formed by Juan Sambula and the Velasquez family, offspring of the first generation that arrived from St. Vincent Island/Yurumein (Cortés 2005: 67). They were provided refuge by the Miskito Kingdom, "a centralized political entity that had earlier emerged from the nonstratified Indian [indigenous] communities of the Caribbean littoral" and an ally of the British (Moberg 2005: 86; Olien 1987: 262-263; Gargallo 2005: 151). At present, approximately 3,500 Garifuna reside in Nicaragua, and their communities are still located in the Pearl Lagoon basin, which forms part of the Región Autónoma del Atlántica Sur (RAAS) established in 1987 as an autonomous reserve for the nation's indigenous and black peoples (Towns 2006: 1). Nicaraguan Garifuna communities include Orinoco—the most prominent—as well as La Fé, Brown Bank, Marshall Point, and San Vincente.[54] The capital of RAAS is the city of Bluefields (population ~45,000), where many Garifuna from the communities reside in order to attend secondary school and university (ibid.: 5).

Soon after the creation of the RAAS, two universities—the first on Nicaragua's Atlantic coast—were constructed in Bluefields: Bluefields Indiana and Caribbean University (BICU) and

[54] San Vicente was founded by Joseph Sambula circa 1870 to commemorate St. Vincent (Towns 2006: 1, 4; Cortes 2005: 69).

Universidad de Regiones Autonomas de la Costa Caribe (URACCAN). Although scholarships are available, most Garifuna do not make it to university, instead dropping out of secondary school due to lack of funds, the desire of young men to start making money, and young women becoming pregnant (Towns 2006: 1 ,10-11, 13-15). Kenzy Sambola, president of the Organización Afro-Garífuna Nicaraguense (OAGANIC), is perhaps the only Nicaraguan Garifuna to attend graduate school (to study social anthropology) and able to make a living as a community activist (ibid.: 8).

As policy worker Zoë Towns notes, although a strong notion of "home" resides among Nicaraguan Garifuna, cultural memory is short relative to communities in Honduras, Belize, and Guatemala, and language loss among youth was complete by the end of the 1970s (ibid.: 4). In fact, most mestizo Nicaraguans had long thought that the inhabitants of Pearl Lagoon were Jamaican immigrants or Miskitos (who, like the Garifuna, experienced African intermixture). When musician Andy Palacio worked on a literacy campaign in Nicaragua in 1980 during the Sandinista revolution, prior to his involvement in punta rock, he sought out Garifuna communities but "found no official awareness of Garifuna people" (Steward 2007: 43). As he describes,

> I couldn't find anyone under the age of 50 who could hold a conversation with me in our own language. The Somoza government had never acknowledged the existence of the Garifuna community, and the Sandinistas didn't know they were there. I told one of their commanders about it, and he asked the press corps to interview me. I said, "These black people you see here are not the same as the black people you see over in that village," and the newspaper the next day had the headline that a new race had been discovered on the Atlantic coast (Denselow 2007).

Formed in 1998, OAGANIC launched a "cultural rescue" movement, which included asking the Belizean National Garifuna Council (NGC) for instruction in language and spiritual practices.

Marion and Roy Cayetano, leaders within the NGC, note that the first workshop "…culminated in a chugú, a ritual that had not taken place there for as long as the older folks could remember" (Cayetano and Cayetano 2005: 241). Workshops have proceeded for several consecutive years since, including one in 2001 in Orinoco conducted by Anglican priest Jerry Valentine, *buyei* healer John Mariano, and former NGC president Augustine Flores (Izard 2005: 182-183). In 2006, Zoe Towns encountered young musicians teaching punta music and dance in their own ensembles who had been initially taught in these workshops. That same year, OAGANIC president Kenzy Sambola spoke of the organization's plans to bring the educated back to Orinoco by developing produce farms and a tourist industry in preparation for a market forming along a planned highway linking the RAAA to central Nicaragua, which stands to accelerate the growing migration of mestizos to the coast (Towns 2006: 7-8). These are also ways to reinforce Garifuna ownership of community land, since they have yet to attain a physical land title even though Nicaraguan Law 445 recognizes their right to territory as a distinct group (ibid.: 8).

Since 2010, the Nicaraguan government has worked with the United Nations, through the Millennium Development Goals fund, to develop the ProCulture Fund "to provide micro-credit and business administration training for cultural and tourism related small businesses" in Bluefields in an effort to preserve "the arts and traditions of indigenous people and people of African descent in Nicaragua". ProCulture Fund "targets women and men looking to launch start-ups in handicrafts, visual arts, embroidery, dance and music". They attend funding workshops and seminars in order to receive coaching and technical training, after which they are invited to submit business plans and proposals for microcredit financing consideration based on an institutional committee's evalution of their sustainability. Julio Lopez, a Garifuna rosewood

sculptor originally from Orinoco who runs a stand at the *El Payo de Mayo Celebrations* market in Bluefields, received training and microcredit from the ProCulture Fund, allowing him to "expand his workshop and increase production" (http://en.unesco.org/creativity/creative-economy-report-2013#content, Accessed 31 July 2016).

Summary

At the outset of Garinagu arrival to the American mainland, the British were the unifying enemy thanks to their act of genocide via deportation that is commemorated in oral history and performing arts to this day. Once arrived to Honduras, Garinagu helped the Spanish defend the land against marauders and continued to side with Spain during Hondurans' fight for independence thanks to local mistreatment that has continued in some form or fashion since; today, it manifests as an endemic racism that overlooks the Garifuna's centuries-long coastal land dependence in federal determinations of property rights. Ironically, Garinagu migrants fleeing Honduras to British Honduras after the war were returning to colonial rule by their original oppressor, and their possible retaliatory insurrection was contained via government-imposed segregation until Belize's independence from Britain in 1981. In contrast to the Honduran case, however, this independence movement, in which Garifuna played a substantial role, likely benefitted from the intimate knowledge Garinagu have had of British social "moves" since their solidification as a culture on St. Vincent, internally communicated through the common Garifuna language to be discussed later in the chapter.

Cultural Attributes

As we have read, transnational employment and education are primary attributes of a distinctly Garifuna way of life. However, other distinguishing factors that have persisted into the

twenty-first century arose from long-term village residence. For instance, *ereba* bread made from manioc flour and *hudut* comprised of fish, mashed plantain, and coconut milk are staples of the Central American Garifuna diet that originated on Yurumein, reflecting their Caribbean coastal environment. Thatched palm roofs still predominate among village dwellings, and fishing, farming, and handicraft-making retain their place as avenues of subsistence amidst jobs in the public sector, education, and service industries (Bates-Wurst 2009). Matrilocality and matrifocality remain the primary kinship systems, despite greater instances of nuclear family structure and monogamy among the financially wealthy (England 2006: 67-70):

> Mothers and grandmothers are the head of the family and they are in charge of educating the children (Stanford 2000). The young male is raised permissively until manhood, when he is expected to leave his mother's house, work and support his own family. Girls are expected to work at an early age and to learn from their mother, grandmother, and aunts (Bates-Wurst 2009).

Moreover, it is women who wear traditional clothing, consisting of brightly colored blouses and long skirts with matching kerchiefs over their hair (ibid.); formerly worn on a daily basis, it is now relegated to ceremonies, communal events, and performances. Finally, Garifuna spirituality pervades such activities, synthesizing elements of sub-Saharan African ancestor worship and spirit possession, Amerindian shamanism, and Catholic rituals such as mass, baptism, and saint supplication imported from the French to St.Vincent.[55]

[55] In Belize, Protestant Evangelical churches have been gaining Garifuna followers since the 1980s. For more on this topic and for a deeper exploration of Garifuna Catholicism, see Lauren Poluha's 2015 Ph.D. dissertation, "'Let's Worship Our Lord as Garinagu': Sacred Music and the Negotiation of Garifuna Ethnicity" (Poluha 2015).

Figure 3.1 Sofia Blanco outside her home. Livingston, Guatemala. July 30, 2007. Photo by the author.

A central component of Garifuna world view is *machularadi*, which conveys a sense of "mutual dependency" between members of the culture (England 2006: 48; Gargallo 2005: 155). According to this concept, what belongs to one in some sense belongs to all, and "…personal effort is worthwhile only up to a given point," after which destiny is assumed to take over (R. Cayetano 1974[2009]: 226; Cayetano et al. 2001[2009]: 337). Musician Aurelio Martinez captures the essence of machulardi in the following statement from our 2011 interview:

> The social structure of the Garifuna culture has been respect for elders; that is to say, all the uncles are everybody's uncles, the grandfathers are everyone's grandfathers, the older brothers, you have to call them older brother before saying their name. This is Garifuna culture, a culture that the entire world could learn a lot from. When I was in New York, on the subway, all the people walk around like, with headphones on their heads, and you're like, "Good afternoon" and no one will respond to you. "Good Afternoon," "I don't care." That is to say, we are, these countries are like robots but here we're like, when we go out on the street we say, "Good Afternoon," "Goodbye," "Hello." This is

> how you find the spirit. It's wonderful, to share with one another, to be able to say that, if you have something that I don't have, I can say "Hey, let me borrow that." And if you're in need and you come to my house and you say "I need salt," I say, "Here is salt. Cook." This is Garifuna life (Martinez and Muguerza 2011).

As indicated in Martinez's words, elders and the ancestors (gubida) are the primary beneficiaries of community respect and reverence; in fact, gubida expect regular offerings as evidence of remembrance through the course of their kin's lifetimes, and it is around these offerings that Garifuna ritual life revolves (Anderson 2007: 226). However, one's obligations also extend in a horizontal direction that is intra-generational, not simply in a vertical direction to preceding and succeeding generations. For example, when Belizean record producer Ivan Duran spoke with me about Garifuna values, he relayed a story told to him by musician Andy Palacio—discussed at length later in this study— about a hypothetical restaurant owner who was reluctant to charge fellow Garifuna eating in his establishment because he regarded them as extended family:

> […] Community spirit is…reflected in many…aspects of Garifuna life. […] It happens with communal land, it happens with collaborating when it comes to work; people help each other to build their houses. I think it was Andy the other day was telling me [laughs] a funny thing that I never, the first time I hear it but he was saying that it's like very very common: he said, "Why are there few Garifuna people that open a Garifuna restaurant in a Garifuna community?"—usually they're all Chinese or Kriols that come and set up restaurants—it's because a Garifuna person finds it very hard to charge for food for another Garifuna person. [laughs hard] That was so...great. And he was saying, "It's *true*, man. If your brother comes in and he's sitting, you have a hard time putting a bill on his table" (Duran 2007c).

Horizontal obligations traverse not only Garifuna communities but also the diaspora across national boundaries, as evidenced by the large number of hometown organizations in U.S. communities and the establishment in 1998 of a transnational organization called "The Garifuna Nation" (England 2006). These serve as tethers to the Central American home communities and assist Garifuna-Americans in maintaining a machularadi orientation (and aptitude in the Garifuna

language itself) while immersed in societies characterized by a relative premium placed upon "individual effort and competitive independence" (R. Cayetano 1974[2009]: 225).

Many Garifuna scholars of their own culture have emphasized the importance of machularadi to having survived minority status within the Americas as a free Afro-Caribbean group for centuries (R. Cayetano 1974[2009]: 229; Gargallo 2005: 155). Roy Cayetano notes that this obligatory relationship emerges in the common rendering of individual hardship *as a community experience*. First, Garifuna usually appeal to living kin and ancestors for guidance, not expecting to resolve problems completely by themselves. Second, they air interpersonal grievances and personal woes publicly via oral arts, often through song, as a way of holding one another accountable for poor behavior and as a form of catharsis. In a sense, the centuries-long independence of Garifuna as a free Afro-Caribbean people is rooted in their individual *inter*dependence upon one another—women in particular as the culture bearers—to provide the tight "weave" that makes their "fabric" strong and resilient against the prevailing winds of national and postcolonial policies within the Americas.

Andy Palacio's story about the dearth of Garifuna-owned restaurants in Belizean Garifuna communities, as relayed by Ivan Duran, points to complications within home communities introduced by the urban experiences of emigrants, many of whom have learned to value a model of capitalist commercial enterprise antithetical to machularadi's "community experience of wealth" (Martinez and Muguerza 2011: 5-6; R. Cayetano 1974[2009]: 225). Sarah England describes a compromise reached in many Honduran communities through "customary pricing," whereby community members agree upon a fixed "normal price" for goods and services, irrespective of supply and demand, in order to prevent individual profiteering (England

2006: 48; Gargallo 2005: 155). In addition, Francesca Gargallo and England note the importance of cooperatives (among fishermen, women in agriculture, and artisans, for instance) and political organizations to the economic and social welfare of the home communities (Martinez and Muguerza 2011: 5-6; England 2006: 218-19; Gargallo 2005: 155). However, the recent growth and diversification of Garifuna commercial music under the aegis of music industries pose new challenges. As I will discuss in chapter 6, traditional songs remain part of a public commons, yet they also feed the copyright-governed *punta rock* and *Garifuna World Music* genres, blurring the distinction between traditional and commercial domains (Cayetano et al. 2001[2009]: 332).

The cultural attributes I have briefly detailed here are bound not only by their shared enactment, but also by an internalized ethos of participation and commemoration that Garifuna call *Garifunaduáü*, "the Garifuna Way" (Poluha 2015; Greene 2002: 202-203). This term refers to deliberately Garifuna action in everyday life, undertaking a conscious effort to maintain one's culture. Ethnomusicologist Lauren Poluha describes it as "a multi-directional flow of cultural expressions, beliefs, and values rooted in Garifuna history and tradition" (Poluha 2015). By this token, anyone exhibiting Garifunaduáü could be considered Garifuna, whether or not they have kinship ties to the Garinagu of St. Vincent. For instance, Oliver Greene describes an example provided by Belizean Garifuna scholar Roy Cayetano of a Mopan Maya girl raised as Garifuna by elders in Punta Gorda, Belize. Cayetano makes the point that cultural identity "is directly linked to an individual's interpretation of his or her life experiences, upbringing, and how he or

she fits into a community of people who share a common way of life" (R. Cayetano 1996; Greene 2002: 201-202).[56]

The Transnational "Garifuna Nation"

Garifuna today typically describe their diaspora to outsiders as the "Garifuna Nation."[57] The Garifuna Nation encompasses communities along the Central American Caribbean coast and in U.S. urban centers, totaling approximately 400,000 (Greene 2009: 2). Of the communities that grew from the initial Central American Caribbean coastal settlements of the Garinagu exiles, Honduras contains the majority of communities, totaling around forty-six, as well as the most traditional communities; these make up approximately two percent of Honduras's population (Greene 2002: 192). Belize contains six communities with a number of Garifuna living in other towns, totaling approximately six percent of the country's population: the largest percentage of any Central American country (ibid.). Guatemala and Nicaragua each contain substantially smaller populations. In the U.S., most Garifuna reside in the Bronx section of New York City (approximately 50,000 in 2001), with the next largest Garifuna enclave being Los Angeles (Greene 2009: 12; Medaglia 2001); Chicago, Houston, New Orleans, and Miami also contain substantial Garifuna populations. Moreover, transnational circuits have been established between particular cities and home countries; for instance, the majority of New York Garifuna hail from Honduras and Guatemala, while Belizean Garifuna dominate Los Angeles and Chicago.

[56] Alex Rodriguez reiterates this point, maintaining that today's Garifuna culture "is primarily identified by its lifestyle, cosmovision and use of language, rather than strictly from physical traits." He notes that some people of mixed indigenous and European ancestry have been incorporated into Honduran Garifuna communities (Rodriguez 2008).

[57] In the Garifuna language, Garifuna refer to themselves as "Niduhenyu," which translates as "our relatives," or as "children of Chatoyer" (J. Palacio 2010).

The term "Garifuna Nation"—used since the twentieth century and adopted from indigenous and postcolonial movements— is compelling for its demonstration of the similarities in meaning at the root of both the "nation" and "diaspora" constructs (England 2006: 218). While "nation" lays claim to a particular locale as often as it lays claim to a type of political ambition and organization, and "diaspora" refers to dispersal across locales, both terms nonetheless represent "imagined communities" identifiable by shared beliefs, behaviors, and goals (Anderson 1980). From their beginnings, Garifuna have perceived their collective diasporic strength as a force to be reckoned with by any nation-state in which they find themselves, which makes their appropriation of the term "nation," like that of Native Americans, particularly powerful. While Garifuna memorialize their originary homeland of Yurumein (St. Vincent) and forced removal as a way to hold the line with ancestors, it is the Central American communities established in exile that they perform as "home" through regular, usually ritual, returns. As Sarah England notes regarding Honduran Garifuna,

> Most important, agricultural land, the coastal area, and villages are all ideologically constructed as a safe space of cultural and familial reproduction. Even as Garifuna integrate into Honduran society and migrate to the United States, the village continues to be important as a place to call home, especially given the racialized division of labor and power they find outside it (England 2006: 49).

Within Garifuna earthly cosmology, the strong gravitational pull of the culturally-designated "village" grounds transnational movements within a sense of place, thus differentiating Garifuna movements from the mobility concomitant with globalization. In a sense, the Garifuna Nation has come to connote the Central American home communities even as it simultaneously refers to the diaspora as a whole. In the twenty-first century, however, this meaning is losing ground as the home communities face the fruition of state neoliberal policies begun in the 1990s via

vigorous encroachment by foreign investors developing beachfront resorts and autonomous cities largely on behalf of the Euro-Anglo tourist industry.

The concept of "diaspora" entered the social sciences in the 1970s following global movements asserting displaced minority identities within nation-states, beginning with the U.S. civil rights movement. Its focus on migrant collectivity *en masse* during the 1980s prompted scholars like Alain Médam (1993) and James Clifford (1994) to call for further theorization so that the concept could be applied more precisely to a specific class of migrancy (Anteby-Yemini and Berthomière 2005). From the 1990s up to the millennium, myriad lists of criteria have marked diaspora studies, with the introduction of the overlapping field of transnational studies in the 1990s only deepening the confusion (Bruneau 1995; Cohen 1997; Safran 1991, 1999). Despite the shifting particulars, the recurring theme differentiating diasporas from other transnational communities remains sustained exile and the idealization of the way of life left behind. Lisa Anteby-Yemini and William Berthomière conclude their 2005 overview of diaspora studies with a helpful guiding question for those engaging diasporas:

> It could be useful for those who want to explore the notion of diaspora to pay attention to one question: how can we explain and characterize the passage from migration to diaspora? This prospect is all the more stimulating as it makes emerge fundamental questions in the field of…diaspora studies…and makes it possible to highlight specificities of the social forms observed (Anteby-Yemini and Berthomière 2005).

The characteristic migrancy of the Garinagu as a people—beginning on St. Vincent and extending to travel "across national borders in search of work, to sustain family connections, and to fulfill ritual obligations"—has helped them cope with the colonial and neo-colonial acts of domination characterizing the Black Atlantic (England 2006: 27). In turn, the Garinagu experience of exile marks their "passage from migration to diaspora," transforming their

cosmology to fortify the sense of a stable homeland. The regular return of migrants to their birth communities in Honduras, Belize, Guatemala, and Nicaragua enacts a *symbolic* return to the Yurumein of their ancestors.[58] Moreover, ceremonies *confined* to the villages effect a reunion of Garifuna not only with their living kin dwelling abroad but also with ancestor spirits arriving from Yurumein to visit their descendents, further establishing the villages as "home." I now turn to a discussion of Garifuna ancestor veneration rites, focusing on the most sacred, *dügü*.

Dügü

Of central importance to the continued life of the home communities, dügü are requested specifically by a gubida (ancestor) who feels neglected by a living family member and causes her misfortune as a result. This neglect usually takes the form of repeated failure to conduct the smaller ceremonies for the recently deceased that punctuate everyday life both at home and in diaspora (Izard 2005: 180).

Following a death, the first of these ceremonies to be conducted is a wake called *beluria*, or "nine-night," performed on the ninth evening following the death. Percussion, singing, and offerings of food and rum commemorate the deceased. Next is the *lemesi* mass held on the one-year anniversary of a death, both to celebrate that person's life and to signal her spirit departing from her village and the end of her family's mourning period. Lemesi usually include drumming in a slow, stately rhythm with a triple feel called *hünguhüngu* that eventually transitions into a

[58] When I asked Joseph Palacio why Garifuna never tried to re-establish communities on St. Vincent, he replied via e-mail, "…re-establishing communities is practically an impossible task if you don't have the resources. (Internationally, Israel is one of the few countries that can afford to [do] that.) Failing that, wide ranging exchanges is what can be done from our end in Central America." Sustained contact between Garifuna in Central America and on St. Vincent began in the 1980s, leading to the designation of Joseph Chatoyer as a Vincentian national hero and the use of the Garinagu struggle on the island as a symbol for indigenous land claims throughout the Caribbean (Twinn 2006).

fast-paced rhythm and couples' dance called *punta*; they also include *a cappella* women's and men's songs in free meter, known as *uyanu* collectively and *abeimahani* /*arúmahani* respectively.[59] Finally, the *amuyadahani* ("Bathing the Spirit of the Dead") honors gubida who have died between six months and several years ago with an early morning ritual bath, a mass, and a breakfast where food and memories are shared among close relatives. The requirement of beluria, lemesi, and amuyadahani after every death ensures that essential elements of Garifuna culture are preserved and taught on a regular basis, anchoring a group identity that has contended with the constant flux of movement and change since its inception (Anderson 2007: 93-97).

More elaborate rites are only performed when requested by gubida. Generally a week long, dügü—short for *adugurahani*, or "mashing down the earth"—is the longest-lasting and most sacred of Garifuna rituals, performed only within the home communities in order to redress a crisis experienced by one of their kin: usually nightmares, accidents, bad luck, or unexplained illnesses unresponsive to traditional remedies or western medicine (Anderson 2007: 96). This occurrence is usually interpreted as a sign that the afflicted has neglected one of his or her gubida, usually by failing to perform one or more of the expected commemoration ceremonies typically considered part of Garifunaduáü. A community shaman-priest, known as a *buyei*, confers with the gubida using helping spirits (*hiuruha*) in order to determine how to rectify the situation.[60] Sometimes only a lesser rite (like lemesi), or a shortened version of dügü called

[59] See chapter 4 for a discussion of the hünguhüngu, punta, and uyanu song-dance genres.

[60] This diagnostic ritual is called *Arairaguni*, the "Calling Down of the Spirits," where— in an evocation of Amerindian shamanic traditions—the buyei becomes a vessel for her hiuruha in order for them to speak with the afflicting gubida to learn what it wishes from the patient (Pratt 2007: 200-201).

chugú, is required[61]; however, if the offended gubida decides that a dügü is necessary (in which case she is highly offended), the majority of her descendents must attend (and make offerings), no matter how far they have to travel, lest they experience misfortune themselves.[62] The greater a gubida's feeling of being neglected by his or her kin, the greater the amount of time and number of resources and participants required to absolve the relative. In sum, dügü exemplifies the ethos of machularadi in that individual circumstances are addressed collectively; as Paul Christopher Anderson notes, cures "minimize[e] the individual malady by 'absorbing' it into the network of relations between family members living and dead" (Anderson 2007: 150).

Starting a year in advance, dügü preparation corrals the money and resources provided by kin throughout the diaspora, usually for a summer ceremony since that time-of-year is when participation is easiest for most invitees (Jenkins 1983: 433). A vital part of preparations is the construction of the palm-thatched *dabuyaba* temple in which the dügü will take place. During the ceremony, as well as in the chugú, roosters are sacrificed as an offering to the gubida. The climax of both ceremonies is the *mali* section; mali is shorthand for *Ámalihani*, or "placating the dead." During the mali, the buyei circumambulates the dabuyaba several times with her rattle (*hiruiha*) and three drummers (playing *segunda* drums) in order to "draw down" the gubida into

[61] Chugú ("Feeding of the Dead") shares the features of a dügü and typically occurs over the course of one night (Anderson 2007: 95-96). I attended one on June 7, 2007, in Dangriga, Belize; the officiating buyei was Helen Atherly.

[62] Like the patient for whom the dügü is being held, invitees face the possibility of unpleasant experiences—like lost items, bad dreams, or stubborn physical ailments—if they fail to fulfill their obligations to the gubida. As Marcello Williams from the Garifuna village of Seine Bight in southern Belize put it, "If you're invited and don't go, something may happen to you. Ninety percent of the time, it *does*. The spirit wants *you* to be there" (M. Williams 2001). Marcello, who has owned and managed various hotels in Seine Bight, was my primary collaborator during fieldwork undertaken in the village in August 2001.

the proceedings.[63] This counter-clockwise motion from east to west around the dabuyaba re-enacts the mythic journey of Garinagu in 1797 from Yurumein to Roatán. It is believed that Garifuna return to the spirit correlate of Yurumein after death, called *seiri*; therefore, gubida travel to the ceremony along the same route as the Garinagu exiles. The reconstruction of this route in the mali rotations paves the way for the arrival of gubida to the dügü. Furthermore, the repeat performance of the ancestral journey in the mali coincides with the movement of living relatives and friends to the dügü from throughout the diaspora. In this sense, migrant journeys homeward are constructed as distinctly Garifuna journeys, rendering movement and travel the great equalizing forces between generations. As Garifuna anthropologist Joseph Palacio notes, chugú and dügü "are moments when Garifuna culture converges across space and time" (England 2006: 93-97; Palacio 2005a: 109-112).

Miracles of healing and prophecy assure the constancy of successful dügü over time. Having attained their desired audience by inflicting a relative, gubida arrive to dügü—often bringing other gubida with him or her— to commiserate with kin via possession trance triggered by music and dance, prevalent within sub-Saharan African spiritual practices (Grillo 2012: 119). Strong, prolonged, and precise playing and singing incites dancing, which typically incites possession. According to Dangriga buyei John Mariano and Seine Bight elder and dügü expert Sylvinia Lopez, possession commences only when participants surrender themselves fully to sound and movement in the mali; as Lopez claimed, "The spirit knows if you are giving 100% or not" (Lopez 2001, translated from Garifuna by M. Williams). Dora Williams of Seine Bight, a

[63] According to acclaimed buyei John Mariano, the mali song repertoire, comprised of the most sacred songs of the culture, includes the only Garifuna songs in an African language: the Yoruba language spoken throughout Nigeria. This language is unknown to most Garifuna (Mariano 2007).

former buyei's assistant who converses with gubida on a regular basis, describes the experience of possession as "pulling your heart into your head," whereby feeling and thought become indistinguishable (D. Williams 2001). In turn, possession is outwardly discerned by observers through the appearance of "rough," "strong" dance movements, swaying to the song rhythm, closed eyes, and eventual fainting (O. Williams 2001). Communicating and moving through the living, gubida observe life choices made by dügü participants and predict consequences of those choices. As for the patient, his or her symptoms usually begin to subside once dügü preparations have commenced.

It can be said, then, that dügü as a social construct unfolds as the command performance of Garifuna identity and solidarity, evoking both Amerindian and sub-Saharan African diagnostic and curative rituals (Grillo 2012: 119, 121; Pratt 2007: 200-201). In an effective dügü performance, the Garifunaduáü, or Garifuna Way, sanctioned by community elders simply *is*: social and physical tensions created by the patient's manifestation of doubts about this "way"—in his neglect of his ancestors—become eased when the work of the dügü is undertaken wholeheartedly. These quotidian tensions are deeply rooted in the Garifuna experience of mediating the familiarity of migration as a centuries-old cultural process and the distance from cultural tradition that this same process engenders (attested to by the dearth of younger generations speaking Garifuna).

Believed to have been directly imported from Garinagu cultural practices on Yurumein,[64] Central American Garifuna have since staged a conscious collective effort to protect the ceremony from extra-cultural influences. Seine Bight hotel owner Marcello Williams articulates the conventional wisdom of the dügü's cultural purity, asserting that it has been affected by neither the multitude of ethnic groups in his home country of Belize nor by the Garifuna's own minority status within the country (M. Williams 2001). The success with which this "purity" has been maintained is due in part to dügü's and chugú's exclusivity to Central American home communities (Palacio 2005: 111-112; Martinez 2001; Jenkins 1983: 434). As I write this, only rarely is any portion of these ceremonies performed outside of the communities, with a few exceptions; one is the performance of a mali to open the 1999 Garifuna Nation Convention, overseen by buyei John Mariano only after he had sought and received the approval of gubida beforehand. As a result, home communities are established as the collective homeland around and through which diasporic movements circulate. Each performance temporarily but affectively realizes an ideal social order, maintained by Garifuna across the dimensions of history.

As a crucial performance of identity for Garifuna, dügü serves as an important gauge for social relations within national contexts. Approaching Belize as a window into this phenomenon, anthropologist Marilyn McKillop Wells observed that dügü within the country were no longer performed in secrecy beginning in the late 1960s, at which time it became a way to assert cultural pride in the face of continued social stigmatism; by the late 1970s, the frequency of dügü held in the Garifuna villages of Stann Creek District in southern Belize (Dangriga, Hopkins,

[64] Take, for example, Mariano's statement about dügü songs: "Dugu songs that identify specific locations or tribes of Garinagu on St. Vincent exist in the repertory today because these songs originated in St. Vincent and have been passed down through generations of Garinagu over the past two hundred years" (Greene 1998: 5).

Seine Bight, and Georgetown) were the highest ever (Wells 1982: 81-85). In contrast, performances of dügü in Seine Bight dropped dramatically during the 1990s, just as nearby Placencia Village (five miles south) saw an unprecedented leap in Euro-American tourism: only two dügü were performed in Seine Bight from 1993 to 2001, while annual performances persisted in Hopkins and Dangriga to the north (Ramos 2001; D. Williams 2001). Finally, buyei John Mariano voiced concern in 2007 about the then-new phenomenon in Dangriga of buyei with English-speaking hiuruha, indicating a marked decrease in Garifuna language literacy among thirty-somethings and younger (Mariano 2007). These variances in performance frequency and nature mediate a traditional concern with keeping dügü a non-hybridized, Garifuna-only affair—as the most concentrated and sacred performance of Garifuna cultural identity—and the extent to which nearby "outsider" phenomena are perceived as a threat (and by whom).

As the following chapters detail, the realm of Garifuna popular music generally has been excluded from traditional ceremonial proceedings, as a result of the desire to maintain continuity with the practices of Garinagu ancestors. The neo-traditionalist slant of Garifuna World Music, however, tentatively infuses musical and lyrical aspects of dügü into songs as a way to perform cultural "authenticity" and a "return to roots."

The Garifuna Language

While most Garifuna speak their national languages, Spanish and English, the Garifuna language continues to unify them as a people and remains the primary language of the Central American home communities. The Garifuna language stems from that of the Arawaks, whose arrival in St. Vincent from South America predated that of the Caribs who subjugated them.

Among the Garinagu of Yurumein, women spoke a derivative of Arawak, while men continued to speak Carib in certain contexts; in addition, loan words from French, English, and Spanish, as well as "phonetics of African influence," contributed to the language (Izard 2005: 180). This gender division in utterance has been passed down to Garifuna of today, among whom Carib-derived words and sayings used solely by men still exist (Maclay 2012; Cayetano et al. 2001[2009]: 326). These words have been transmitted orally from one generation to the next and permeate art forms such as *oremu* (songs) and *úraga* (folk tales).

Belizean Garifuna linguist Roy Cayetano has overseen the development of a standard orthography combining Spanish and English (Gargallo 2005: 158). This effort was launched by his 1981 study synthesizing and improving upon previous studies of Garifuna phonology; it was also "the first…study…of the language by a native speaker" (Cayetano et al. 2001[2009]: 324; Cayetano 1992[2009]: 278-307). Cayetano was motivated by preservation concerns. Garifuna youth in the Central American home communities have experienced significant language loss, a product of both parental migration out of home communities for higher education and wage labor purposes and also the bypass of Garifuna language acquisition and reinforcement in public schools (Greene 2002: 199). Ironically, Garifuna men played an important role in the expansion of public education in Belize; however, they served as representatives of the English colonial presence, prohibited from teaching their own language and culture (Cayetano 1992[2009]: 281). Similarly, anthropologist Mark Anderson has observed in Honduras that ladino teachers generally do not support bilingual education, perceiving the Garifuna language as a "primitive" mode of communication having "little practical utility" in the labor market (Anderson 2009: 47, 66-67). As a result, only middle-aged Garifuna and older remain fluent, by and large. In Belize,

Hopkins is the only Garifuna community in which children learn it as their primary language (ibid: 325-326). Moreover, only Douglas Taylor (1951) undertook an analysis of the language, of the many non-Garifuna ethnographers of Garifuna culture, and none have exhibited anything approaching fluency in the language, rendering them unable to promote its acquisition and value to outsiders.

Beginning in the early 1990s, Cayetano led the National Garifuna Council (NGC) in providing language acquisition programs. One is the Garifuna Language Program, a collaboration with the Ministry of Education, which contracts instructors to teach Garifuna in community schools throughout Belize (Izard 2005: 182). Others include the publication of the *People's Garifuna Dictionary* and the opening of the trilingual (English-Garifuna-Spanish) Gulisi Community Primary School in Dangriga in 2007 (Savrock 2009). As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the NGC also spearheaded a language and spirituality workshop in 2001 for Garifuna in Orinoco, Nicaragua, as a way for them to re-acculturate (Izard: 182-183; Greene 2002). Within the U.S. diaspora, Los Angeles and New York boast language instruction as well, including the Clifford J. Palacio Garifuna Language and Culture Academy in Los Angeles, which began offering permanent language classes in 2008 (including free online classes via YouTube), and the Garifuna Language Course at Casa Yurumein in the Bronx, begun in 2012. Finally, the NGC produced a Garifuna grammar book in 2012 based on the research of nine UC Berkeley graduate students in linguistics, under the guidance of California-based native Garifuna speaker Philip Tim Palacio and UC Berkeley linguistics professor Lev Michael (Maclay 2012).

Although I discuss punta rock at length in chapter 5, I should mention here that it emerged in part as a response to language loss among youth. Pen Cayetano, who created punta

rock in Dangriga with his Turtle Shell Band in 1979, composed music mostly in the Garifuna language as a way for a younger generation heavily influenced by U.S. and Caribbean popular cultures to remain tethered to cultural traditions.[65] Andy Palacio, who brought the genre to international acclaim, turned to punta rock after witnessing the disappearance of the language among Nicaraguan Garifuna in 1980 during his time in the country as a literacy teacher. As he described, "I worked with small groups of Garifuna and was struck by their almost complete loss of identity. People were embarrassed that they couldn't speak the language. I resolved then to prevent that loss from happening in Belize; my plan to be a soul/reggae star went on the back burner!" (Steward 2007: 43).

Implications of Garifuna Origins and Equivalence-Building for Understanding Identity Formation

Garifuna cultural identity grew out of the process of contending with unexpected encounters. By most accounts, the Carib-Arawaks of St. Vincent commandeered West African slaves of French and British settlers and harbored West African slaves of the Spanish who shipwrecked off the island's coast. Eventually, St. Vincent's minority and indigenous groups banded together in the face of colonial aggression, merging culturally and physically. A lesson of the Garifuna case for the formation of a group or individual identity concerns the way the disequilibrium sparked by sudden, often forced, encounters motivates a response where defense against the overwhelming of consciousness by another-way-of life also leads to a proud codification (in custom) and reaffirmation or re-assertion of one's own experiences. Anthropologist James Clifford posits the possibility that:

[65] For instance, their first hit was "Uwala Uwala Busiganu" (Don't Be Ashamed of Your Culture) (Greene 2002: 199).

> Dwelling was understood to be the local ground of collective life, travel a supplement; roots always precede routes. But what could happen, I began to ask, if travel were untethered, seen as a complex and pervasive spectrum of human experiences? Practices of displacement might emerge as *constitutive* of cultural meanings rather than as their simple transfer or extension" (Clifford 1997: 3).

Ethnomusicologist Gerhard Kubik makes a similar observation, with more attention to the factor of social hierarchy:

> The fact that "ethnicity" and "cultural identity" are emotionally charged concepts points to an origin in individuals within a social stratum where "cultural identity" had become a problem. These individuals must have passed through the painful experience of hetero-cultural deprival and rejection giving rise to basic existential questions such as "Who am I? Where do I belong?" (Kubik 1994: 29-30; Arendt 1958; Greene 2002: 202; Ricoeur 1992).

Identity formation intersects with the authority of tradition, realized in habits and their transmission, since innovations that keep traditions relevant, enacted by subsequent generations, contribute to the ways that individuals' and groups' identities take shape. It is at this point that something akin to "culture" emerges.

Class competes with culture as a primary group identity marker in the current late capitalist global economy. In response, Third World groups appear to be merging together into larger units, with varying degrees of qualification. For example, Sarah England mentions how Honduran Garifuna who have migrated from Limón to Brooklyn have acquired the practice of referring to themselves as "Afro-Latino" and "Afro-Hispanic" in response to New Yorkers' categorization of blacks by language spoken (England 2006: 209-211). The cultural histories of minority groups living within First World countries meld together as a result of overly general dominant precepts but also as a way to band together to cope with and protest against social marginalization and economic inequity.

The co-habitation of West-Central Africans and Carib-Arawaks birthed the Garifuna people, and, while their specific cultural lineages remain a subject of heartfelt debate in terms of how much of one predominates in relation to the other, it is the specifically Garifuna way of life that matters most to the majority of Garifuna I spoke with, particularly women and the elderly. This is the case in Garifuna communities within U.S. metropoles as well within the home countries, where Garifuna identity tethers the lines thrown to other culture groups that could be categorized as "Afro-Latino" or "Afro-Caribbean"; for example, the aforementioned Limoneño Garifuna living in Brooklyn belong to both local Afro-Hispanic organizations and Limón hometown associations (England 2006: 219). For the time being, it could be said that Garifuna, especially those living in the U.S., walk a middle path between regional/national exigencies and strict cultural autonomy.

Conclusion

In his 1997 book, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, James Clifford notes how the division between Ashkenazic and Sephardic/Mizrahi populations in the current state of Israel "reflects distinct diaspora experiences" (Clifford 1997: 274). Similarly, the Garifuna occupy different "area" spheres of cultural and linguistic influence within their own diaspora. Belizean Garifuna communities occupy the Anglophone "Caribbean," where peoples of African descent predominate, while Garifuna communities in Honduras, Guatemala, and Nicaragua occupy Spanish-speaking "Latin America," where such peoples are less visible in the mass-mediated public sphere (England 2006: 211). As a result, the Garifuna minority experience in Belize, while painful in its own right, is unique among the Central American home communities for being based more in the experience of cultural autonomy than in the

construction of race.[66] Intra-diasporic differences have been transposed to migrant communities in the U.S., where the two largest communities are located on opposite coasts: as mentioned before, Los Angeles is the primary home of Belizean Garifuna and New York that of Hispanic Garifuna.

Nonetheless, organizations devoted to indigenous land rights and Afrodiasporic consciousness, as well as diaspora-wide organizations and globally accessed websites (like Teofilo Colon Jr.'s *Being Garifuna* blog), assist in maintaining a discrete Garifuna cultural identity across national and regional borders, as does the sharing of a common language (Garifuna) (England 2006: 202-204, 218-219). Moreover, communities across the diaspora face similar challenges: the formidability of maintaining traditional livelihoods in the face of encroachment by dominant populations and the ever-increasing difficulty of bypassing First World notions of development. The reliance of Garifuna since the mid-twentieth century upon immigration to the U.S. and remittance economy as a way to keep home communities viable is "a continuation of practices that had…already been long established," beginning on St. Vincent and rooted in male mobility for purposes of fishing, warfare, trade, and employment (England 2006: 27). Finally, dügü performance provides another, centuries-long, form of home community support, ensuring the regular return of family members from the farthest reaches of the diaspora.

As touched upon in my discussion of dügü, musical practice plays a pivotal role in cultural cohesion. In ceremonial contexts, it enables ancestors to interact with the living, the young to interact with their elders, and migrants to interact with their natal kin. It also provides a

[66] It is also unique compared to U.S. Garifuna communities, since "All Garifuna have the experience of being racialized in the United States as black, thereby placing them in the same racial category as other members of the African diaspora" (England 2006: 214).

cultural touchstone for youth and foreigners in non-traditional and secular contexts. The remaining chapters of the dissertation delve into the musical component of Garifuna identity, moving from traditional to commercial styles.

Chapter 4:
Garifuna Traditional Music-Making

Introduction

This chapter provides a brief overview of traditional Garifuna music-making. By the term "traditional," I mean culturally specific musical practices that arose and continue to be performed primarily for community and personal purposes. Moreover, these practices have endured to the present day since before the twentieth century. Garifuna traditional music stands in contrast to Garifuna "popular" music, born in the late twentieth century, which is also culturally specific but more oriented toward youth, urban experiences, the African diaspora, and includes electronic elements; it also routinely earns monetary compensation for the musicians making it.[67] As a result, popular musical genres are solely secular, while traditional genres encompass both secular and sacred contexts.

As mentioned in the introduction, Liam McGranahan is the first to provide a detailed survey of the extant literature on Garifuna song-dance genres (as of 2009), while Oliver Greene has examined secular traditional Garifuna music in-depth (McGranahan 2005[2009]; Greene 1998, 2002, 2009). Drawing from their work, I devote a significant portion of this chapter to the explication of *punta* and *paranda*, since these secular genres have provided the architecture for Garifuna popular music.

Traditional Music and Dance: An Overview

Sound and Form

[67] "Popular" music clearly falls within the larger category of "commercial" music, as does the "traditional" music performed for tourists at beachfront resorts located near or within the Central American Garifuna communities.

Traditional music consists of songs—*oremu* in the Garifuna language—sung over one of almost a dozen distinct rhythms. These rhythms are performed on the *primero* and *segunda* single-headed hand drums and at least one pair of gourd rattles called *shakas* or *maracas*, known as *sisira* in sacred contexts when used by a *buyei* healer (Poluha 2015: 60). Garifuna refer to this core group of instruments as the *garaón* (drum) ensemble (Browning, Stone, Duran 2011; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 250). In performances of secular styles, turtle shells are often added, played on their underside with drum sticks to produce different pitches as well as rhythms, and conch shells are sometimes used as wind instruments (McGranahan 2005[2009]: 250; Greene 2002: 194). In addition, several instruments imported from the Latin American Caribbean, such as *clave* and acoustic guitars, appear in secular styles that emerged during and since the nineteenth century (McGranahan 2005[2009]: 251).

In secular styles, the *primero* serves as the lead improvisatory drum, while the *segunda* drum provides support with an ostinato rhythmic pattern. In sacred styles, the primero is absent, and one of three segundas known as the *lanigi garaón*, or "heart drum," signals changes in rhythm instead (Greene 1999: xxix; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 259; Cayetano and Cayetano 2000[2009]: 327). The primero is small and high-pitched, enabling the sound to ring out among the drums of the *garaón* ensemble. Segundas are taller and wider—usually three feet across—and lower in pitch. For centuries, fishing line was strung across the heads of both drums to produce a favored buzzing sound; however, guitar strings have also been used for this purpose since the late twentieth century (Greene 2002: 194). A hardwood log (typically mahogany or rosewood) hollowed out into a symmetrical cylinder comprises the body of the drum, and drumheads are typically made of deer or antelope skin (Cayetano and Cayetano 2000[2009]:

329; Vincensini, Romay, and Kane 2001: 21). Generally speaking, each of the two shakas sounds out the basic rhythmic pulse in alternation.

Figure 4.1 Primero (left), segunda (right), and shakas. Seine Bight, Belize. August 2001. Photo by the author.

Figure 4.2 Musician playing turtle shells. Southern Dangriga, Belize. June 9, 2007. Photo by the author.

Figure 4.3 Traditional garaón ensemble (primero on the left, segunda on the right), Seine Bight Village, Belize, early June 1994. Photo by Karl Berger.

While rhythmic elaboration differs from song to song, a single rhythmic pattern, played on segunda, invariably provides the basis for genre. Each rhythmic pattern has a characteristic set of both songs and dance, together comprising a genre that is passed down through generations and revitalized with innovations and new compositions. Influenced by sub-Saharan African rhythmic conceptions, polyrhythmic tension between duple and triple feels is manifest in the interplay between the improvisations of lead drumming on primero and the foundational patterns of support drumming on segunda (Whipple 1971: 41; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 250).

Traditional Core Segunda Patterns

For the following patterns, the drummer plays the bass beats in the center of the drum head with one hand, while playing the treble beats on the rim of the head with the other hand.

1) *Hugulendu* (sacred)*/Hünguhüngu* (secular)

This pattern proceeds in triple meter in a slow, stately tempo, with the strongest accent on the 1:

Beats:	**1**	**&**	**2**	**&**	**3**	**&**
Center (bass):	**X**					**X**
Rim (treble):			**X**		**X**	

2) *Wanáragua* (secular)

This pattern is comprised of eight beats as follows, repeating indefinitely at a fast tempo:

Beats:	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**
Center (bass):	**X**				**X**			
Rim (treble):				**X**			**X**	

3) *Chumba* (secular)

This pattern is comprised of eight beats as follows, repeating indefinitely at a moderately fast tempo:

Beats:	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**
Center (bass):	**X**				**X**			
Rim (treble):		**X**		**X**				

4) *Sambai* (secular)

This pattern is repeats indefinitely at a moderately fast tempo:

Beats:	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
Center (bass):	**X**			**X**		
Rim (treble):					**X**	**X**

5) *Gunchei* or *Gunjai* (secular)

The segunda pattern is comprised of eight beats as follows, repeating indefinitely at a moderate tempo:

Beats:	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**
Center (bass):	**X**				**X**			
Rim (treble):			**X**	**X**		**X**	**X**	**X**

Beats 1, 3, 5, and 7 are played with one hand, while the alternating beats (4, 6, and 8) are played with the other.[68]

6) *Punta* (secular)

This pattern is comprised of eight beats as follows, repeating indefinitely at a fast tempo:

Beats:	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**
Center (bass):	**X**				**X**			
Rim (treble):							**X**	**X**

7) *Paranda* (secular)

This pattern is repeats indefinitely at a moderate tempo:

Beats:	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**
Center (bass):	**X**				**X**			
Rim (treble):							**X**	

Men predominate among instrumentalists, with drummers being almost exclusively male (McGranahan 2005[2009]: 251). As is apparent in the histories of male Garifuna musicians,

[68] Interestingly, this same pattern provides the basis of the *gota* dance-drumming genre of the Ewe people of the Volta region of Ghana, Togo, and Benin.

many young boys begin their musical journeys on traditional drums (Augustine 2011; Barlow 2006). In contrast, women are generally responsible for traditional song composition and vocal performance, as in the past. Since at least the eighteenth century, Garifuna women have generated lament-style songs rich in metaphor and proverb. Songs commemorating the Garinagu exile to Roatán and deceased family members have pride-of-place in the repertoire, but spontaneous responses to quotidian trials and tribulations are also important. In turn, singers and songwriters in the more recent Garifuna popular music are mostly men; however, three male genres exist within traditional music, one of them (*paranda*) providing an important basis for today's popular music genres. Men's songs often depict typically male Garifuna experiences and concerns, such as travel, labor, and women.

Songs indigenous to the Garifuna are monophonic, consisting of a single melody line (Greene n.d.). Oremu sung in a group typically proceed in a call-and-response that overlaps to varying degrees. As Richard Hadel describes, "…singers [a chorus of which is called *gayusa*]…listen to the leader to catch the first word or two of the line so that they may know what to sing, but they do not wait until the leader has completed a particular part before responding" (Hadel 1972: 105; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 252; S. Cayetano 1989[2009]: 237). Moreover, singers jump an octave higher or lower partway through a melodic line to accommodate their vocal range. Most genres are sung over the garaón percussion ensemble, but a few are exclusively *a cappella*—such as *uyanu* and *ahuruhani*. Studies of Garifuna musical genres strongly suggest that the treble and nasal sounding vocal timbre (relative to Euro-Anglo ears), descending contour, and pentatonic "melodic minor" scale (excluding second and sixth scale degrees) of most traditional Garifuna melodies are retentions of Amerindian musical

vocality, and my aural observations corroborate this argument (Greene 1998: 3; O. Williams 2001; Nettl 1954: 351); for instance, the numerous studies made of the Garifuna genre *uyanu* note similarities with several features of indigenous song of the Orinoco valley, north of the Amazon Basin in South America. Traditional song form is open-ended, with verses repeated any number of times depending on the occasion (McGranahan 2005[2009]: 260; Foley 1984: 72).

In short, traditional Garifuna music can be best described as a creolization of Amerindian and sub-Saharan African musical practices, reminiscent of both but reducible to neither, that also includes Latin American, North American, and Afro-Caribbean contributions (S. Cayetano [2009]: 236; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 240, 271-272). To underscore this point, several features of Garifuna genres can be found in *both* sub-Saharan African and South American indigenous music-making, such as the presence of rattles, extra "noise" provided by a drum snare, and circle dancing, enabling what Liam McGranahan calls a "subtle and harmonious…syncretism" between aspects of the expressive cultures of these groups (McGranahan 2005[2009]: 268-272; Vincensini, Romay, and Kane 2001: 22).

Song Subject Matter, Creation, and Proprietorship

The experience of dislocation from Yurumein is not only the primary subject of oremu: the melancholy accompanying it provides this repertoire's structure of feeling (Martinez and Muguerza 2011). *Lamíselu* is the Garifuna word for "grief, misfortune and trouble of any sort," and its constant presence as a lyrical theme—manifest in such topics as death, helplessness, illness, and *méteñu* (grieving the loss of kinfolk)—renders oremu a unique lament tradition that constructively manages quotidian conflict and misfortune in a number of ways (Cayetano 1974[2009]: 220-224).

First, it operates as a technology that prevents the escalation of interpersonal conflict: *batchutada*, or *batchu*, song lyrics are regularly called upon for indirectly confronting a perceived troublemaker or poorly behaved individual, sometimes in order to avoid physical fighting (Martinez and Bishop 2006: 5). Belizean Garifuna musician Lloyd Augustine describes batchu as follows:

> Instead of you and I quarrel[ing], if you do anything to me that I don't like, I will write a song about you. And I will describe you well so that you *know* that it's about you. And if you have writing skills, then you would write about me too […] then we go back and forth with songs (Augustine 2011).

To provide an example, Augustine included a batchu on his 2007 album *Ligiya Le* (This Is It) regarding a musician who claimed credit for one of his songs after hearing him perform it; in the song, Augustine addresses him directly, asking him to give proper credit, but also takes the high road, thanking God for giving him the "brain and wisdom" to write songs and to bless him with the ability to write more (idem.).

Second, oremu has a strong commemorative aspect that serves as a protective buffer, depicting ancestors and their trials as a way to preserve them in the collective memory, which, in turn, ensures ancestors' benevolent guidance of living kin. This idea is conveyed in the common analogy of song to *iyawaü*, meaning "image" or "picture." Garifuna scholar Roy Cayetano states that songs function "like [snapshots] which become public property" and that exposure to the repertoire allows one to "piece together a history of the post Saint Vincent Garifuna" (Cayetano 1974[2009]: 224).

Third, the act of singing itself provides relief from the very lamíselu sensibility of the lyrics (Augustine 2011). For example, Desere Arana Diego, a temple singer from the Belizean

Garifuna town of Dangriga, told me that most of her songs come to her in dreams, which she then sings during the day while doing chores as a way not only to receive feedback from her neighbors but also to ward off loneliness and negative thoughts (Diego 2007).[69] The catharsis that accompanies traditional singing is such that one cannot achieve tranquility "until the song comes into being," creating a sense of obligation (Cayetano et al. 2001[2009]: 335). As Diego notes, this often means receiving a "call" to sing that one does not always feel up to receiving; for example, she told me that she always asks herself, "Why am I doing this [singing at the dabuyaba temple]?," but can't stay home, even if she wants to, because *gubida* (ancestors) will ask her, "Dez, are you forgetting us?" if she is running late to the temple (Diego 2007).

Finally, song lyrics not only express but also instruct on how to avoid the *re*-appearance of lamíselu. As Oliver Greene has examined at length, the paranda song "Malate Isien" (Worthless Love) narrates a man telling his frustrated cousin that there is nothing he can do to make people love him; people are going to think what they want, so he should just be himself (Greene 2002: 208-209; Diego 2007). In another example, one of Diego's favorite songs, "Malamuse," appeared to a woman, her neighbor, in response to provocation from a man "who doesn't go to church." The woman's realization that everyone is headed toward the same destination (death) allowed her to make peace with his criticism (Diego 2007).

The public, historically oriented nature of song creation that these examples present can also be located in the fluidity of song attribution. Performers and originators are more often

[69] She not only performs but originates oremu on a regular basis. Most of the time, ancestors show her songs in dreams, and she debuts them in public the following morning while doing the wash. Then there are songs that she "composes." Desere told me about walking along the beach early one morning and listening to the waves when a song appeared to her out of the blue (Diego 2007).

women than men, having remained more village-bound through the centuries, taking on the role of culture bearers; they have long taught songs to others in the course of daily life, creating a general knowledge that allows for easy access, adoption, and adaptation. Thus, "authorship" is a gray area of constant negotiation indicative of song's community orientation and more generally of the Garifuna ethos of machularadi. One can "own" a song by realizing it anew, but also by receiving it from an ancestor in a dream (a common occurrence), performing it often, adapting it to create a new version, being the person whose experience is depicted in the lyrics, intimately knowing the story behind it, and feeling a special affinity for it. In other words, a song can belong to a composer, performer, and listener simultaneously, depending on associations and levels of investment (Cayetano and Cayetano 2001[2009]: 332).[70] Even personal compositions are usually thought to be "gifts," with little-to-no sense of their being *devised* in any way. The Garifuna term for this experience is *Ichahówarügüti,* meaning "just given" (ibid.: 332).

Attribution aside, all oremu arise from personal experience. Belizean Garifuna linguist Roy Cayetano observed in 1974 that only the rare Garifuna song addresses events fictionally or in the abstract:

> All tell something about the 'composer' or about some experiences he or she is having or has just had. Indeed, one can safely claim that one of the purposes of Garifuna song...is to give expression to feelings genuinely felt by the 'composer' and shared by the people among whom the songs gain popularity because they have similar experiences or because the songs deal with themes that are among their main concerns or preoccupations (R. Cayetano 1974[2009]: 220).

[70] For instance, if a song is about a woman's miscarriage, it is likely to be viewed as that woman's song even if she did not debut it due to the intensely personal and unfortunate experience it describes. To provide another example, if a boy always heard his aunt singing certain songs while growing up, he will likely associate them with her, regarding them as "her" songs whether she originated them or not. (Cayetano et al. 2001[2009]: 332).

Songs that reach beyond specifically Garifuna lamíselu to connect with tragedy in near and far areas of the world have begun appearing in Garifuna popular music genres only in the past five years. Adrian Martinez, former member of the 1990s punta rock group Sound City Band, had turned to paranda-inspired songwriting in the mid-2000s thanks to the influence of his friend Andy Palacio, and debuted a song ("Natural Mystic," named after a Bob Marley song) in 2007 about coping with natural disasters like tsunamis and hurricanes. Supa G, Belize's top punta rocker for the past decade, expanded his scope from Latino-Caribbean party music to a concern with social ills suffered by his fellow Belizeans in his 2008 album *Di Scandal*. In the twenty-first century, traditional group autonomization has begun ceding to tentative overtures to groups sharing similar plights.

Sacred Genres

Sacred genres contain fewer instruments than secular genres, when instruments are present. These include three segunda drums (the lead being the lanigi garaón "heart drum") and shakas (the one used by a buyei is called *sisira*). Sacred genres are only performed in ritual contexts, while secular genres can be performed for any occasion (McGranahan 2005[2009]: 259).

Uyanu

Uyanu songs are sung *a cappella* using free meter with a basic pulse (McGranahan 2005[2009]: 260; Whipple 1971: 58; Foley 1984: 72). Kenan Foley, who focused on uyanu for his 1984 master's thesis, notes that uyanu songs contain longer phrases than those found in other Garifuna song styles (McGranahan 2005[2009]: 260; Foley 1984: 72).

Uyanu consists of a women's version, *abeimahani*, and a men's version, *arúmahani*. Both involve singing together while standing in lines or semi-circles of five or six, linking hands (women by the little fingers) and swinging arms forward in unison (Anon. 2005[2009]:208; Barlow 2006: 3-4; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 259; Pillich 2000: 43; Greene 1998: 171; S. Cayetano 1989[2009]: 237).[71] This choreography is described as a gesture of "shared labor" and being "in solidarity with each other's lives," as well as having a "sedative and therapeutic effect" (Anon. 2005[2009]: 208; Steward 2007: 43; Vincensini, Romay, and Kane 2001: 24). According to Honduran *parandero* Aurelio Martinez, it acts as a form of conversation and "sharing for the elders" (Barlow 2006: 3-4). It is also a traditional component of *lemesi*, held on the one-year anniversary of a death.[72] Within a lemesi, uyanu are performed subsequent to the mass portion and the consumption of refreshments (Anon. 2005[2009]: 208; Barlow 2006: 4).

Lamíselu manifests differently in abeimahani and arúmahani lyrics, in accordance with the specialized roles of women and men. Abeimahani songs take up topics of family life and loyalty, with several songs voicing ancestors' pleas not to be forgotten (Anon. 2005[2009]: 208; Vincensini, Romay, and Kane 2001: 24). Arúmahani songs typically depict the travails of traveling far from home for work, for long periods of time, and a longing to return (Johnson 2007: 95; Anon. 2005[2009]: 208; Vincensini, Romay, and Kane 2001: 23); daily events and women are also common topics (Barlow 2006: 4). Due to the very fact of regular male migration from villages, men have performed arúmahani with decreasing regularity in the twentieth century and rarely perform it today (idem.). In 1972, Richard Hadel wrote that he was only able to find

[71] Aurelio Martinez, a Garifuna musician from Honduras, calls the men's version *oumajani* (Barlow 2006: 3-4).

[72] See chapter 3 for a detailed description of *lemesi*.

one man who knew arúmahani songs, and the late Andy Palacio noted in 2007, "I don't know how it survived. Even the vocal style isn't still used in daily speech" (Hadel 1972: 122; Steward 2007: 43). The songs appear to have persisted thanks to women adding them to their repertoire, in fulfillment of their role as culture bearers. As Kenan Foley observed circa 1984, "Nowadays women often sing arúmahani and the tradition appears to be maintained for the most part by the women"; this is corroborated by a 2000 recording of arúmahani in Honduras, performed by female elders who were the last in their village to remember the songs (Foley 1984: 48; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 261; Vincensini, Romay, and Kane 2001: 23).

Probably the most studied of the Garifuna song-dance genres, uyanu exhibits predominately Amerindian musical traits. This suggests that it pre-dates the emergence of the Garinagu as a distinct group and is likely one of the oldest Garifuna musical practices (S. Cayetano 1989[2009]: 237). In his survey of the extant literature on Garifuna musical genres, Liam McGranahan notes the close attention paid to abeimahani by scholars and compares their descriptions to those of songs by the Guiana indigenous people of Surinam, located in the Orinoco valley region where the Caribs and Arawaks of St. Vincent likely originated (McGranahan 2005[2009]: 269). While Richard Hadel, for one, describes abeimahani melodies as having a descending contour, Terry Agerkop has written that Guiana melodies "nearly always have a descending final cadence to the lowest basic tone" (Hadel 1976; Foley 1984; Agerkop 2001: 33; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 269; Nettl 1954: 351). Hadel and Simeon Pillich have also observed the common appearance of vocables and of glissandi, glottal shakes, and moaning as ornamentation in abeimahani, which are prominent features of Amerindian vocality in general (Hadel 1972: 93; Pillich 2000: 42-43; Nettl 1954: 351; Olson 1974). The choreography of uyanu

precisely matches the description of the *sambura* dance style of the Guiana provided by Agerkop; moreover, the performances of both uyanu and sambura usually involve the consumption of a beverage made from fermented manioc root (Agerkop 2001:34-35; Pillich 2000:43; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 269-270). Finally, the name of one of the Guiana groups is *Wayana*, bearing a strong resemblance to *uyanu* (just as the name of another Guiana group, *Kalinha*, sounds like the purported root of the *Garinagu* name, *Kallinago*) (Agerkop 2001: 31; Cayetano and Cayetano 1997: 13; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 270).

Hugulendu

This genre is specific to the most sacred of Garifuna ceremonies, the *dügü* ancestor propriation rite, and its shorter version, *chugú*.[73] It also provides the basis for the secular *hünguhüngu* genre. Like uyanu, it likely appeared among the Garinagu very early in their cultural history. Carol Jenkins reports that French missionary Raymond Breton observed hugulendu-style dancing among Garinagu on St. Vincent as early as 1640 (Jenkins 1982: 20). Oliver Greene has witnessed "the paucity of male participation in dugu"—except as drummers—and the female gender of most singers and dancers (Greene 1998: 3). I also observed this when I attended a chugú in Hopkins Village, Belize, on June 8, 2007. In dügü, gayusa singers form a line in front of the drummers, and behind them dance the *afunahountiuya*. Identified by red clothing and a red strip of cloth, the afunahountiuya flutter the cloth while dancing in order to cool down the angered gubida (Wells 1982b: 12-15).

[73] See chapter 3 for a detailed account of these ceremonies. By way of a brief recap, chugú and dügü are requested specifically by a gubida (ancestor) who feels neglected by a living family member and causes her misfortune as a result, usually after she has failed repeatedly to honor the gubida with rituals commemorating her death. The *buyei* healer acts as intermediary between the patient (and her family) and the gubida.

The context for hugulendu performance is the climax of dügü or chugú, the *mali* section.[74] During this time, the *buyei* healer circumambulates the *dabuyaba* temple in counter-clockwise motion two or three times with her sisira rattle and three drummers in order to 'draw down' gubida into the proceedings. At each corner of the temple, the buyei and her drummers bow in supplication (Jenkins and Jenkins 1982: 3; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 260). This circular movement is performed as the moderate tempo "shuffle step" that Raymond Breton described in his writings (Jenkins and Jenkins 1982: 17; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 261-262). The processions are followed by a rapid reversal in the opposite direction, as if suddenly reverting back to the present moment from mythic time (Wells 1980: 7; Greene 1998: 6; O. Williams 2001). This entire sequence, also called *mali*, is repeated a set number of times for each gubida being honored, with the largest number performed for the gubida who has caused illness within the patient.

The distinctive use of segunda drums and sisira rattles to play hugulendu in the mali portion of dügü and chugú ensures the presence of gubida. As corroborated by Hopkins hotel owner Marcello Williams in an interview from 2001, "drumming calls the spirits," while the rattles "move them" (M. Williams 2001).[75] Drumming demarcates the beginning of a particular section or sub-section of the ceremony; furthermore, the continuation of the steady, repetitive hugulendu rhythm builds up the energy required for possession trance to occur, "calling" gubida into the bodies of dancing and singing participants (Diego 2007; Lopez 2001; Whipple 1971: 45;

[74] *Mali* is short for *ámalihani*, which translates as "placating the dead" (see chapter 3).

[75] Anthropologist Byron Foster claims that buyei use sisira to draw gubida from the ground, moving her from mortality to spirituality (Foster 1981: 4); this is reminiscent of the use of a rattle by Warao shamans in Venezuela to move helping spirits from the healer into the patient (Briggs 1996: 196-97; Olsen 1974). While not an aspect of mali that any of my collaborators described, Foster's description supports Williams's statement.

McGranahan 2005[2009]: 252). The sisira acts in concert with the segundas to provide a metronomic pulse, but also functions as the chief instrument of the buyei, who uses it to direct the movement of spirits (D. Williams 2001).

Possession usually commences once the malis have ended; at this point, the gubida have been successfully calmed and "drawn into" the circle and are now ready to communicate with (and through) their descendents (Greene 1998: 6-7; Wells 1982: 5; O. Williams 2001). This notion of calming or "coolness" as the proper condition for ancestral visitation can also be found in different parts of sub-Saharan Africa; for example, entranced Tumbuka prophet-healers of Malawi dance to cool the "hot" unruly foreign spirits associated with illness, allowing ancestor spirits to be pushed "on top" to restore cultural order (Friedson 1996: 98-99).

According to the respected late buyei John Mariano, the mali song repertoire of the hugulendu genre—the most sacred songs of the culture—includes the only oremu in an African language: the Yoruba language spoken throughout Nigeria, which is unknown to Garifuna except the scant few who may have taken it upon themselves to learn it. As Mariano described to me in an interview from 2007,

> A-ha, the way how I look at it…we calling them. Like [sings], 'Ee gaweh yayaaa…eeyoo oo ee gaweh gabusangeh damusangeh'. I don't know what that mean [starts chuckling], but I know I'm calling my ancestors and speaking to them (Mariano 2007).

Within the mali, gubida are invoked not only via unknown Yoruba and but also known Arawak lyrics. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Arawak language spoken by the indigenous Arawaks thought to have arrived to St. Vincent from South America prior to 1200 A.D. is the

primary parent language of the Garifuna language.[76] It is understood by many of the village elders and buyei and is unintelligible to the majority of Garifuna. As a result, it plays an important role in healing the disunity between cosmological and phenomenological orders that has materialized in the body of the afflicted. More generally, vocality mysterious and mythical to a community is often used by Amerindian shamanic healers as a way to provide the patient and his or her relatives with an experience of the divine in the curing of illnesses caused by ancestral spirits—part of what Charles Briggs, in his work on the Warao, describes as "the nature of nonsense in a poetics of the body" (Briggs 1996: 190, 211, 218). As he describes the *nahanamu* ritual cycle conducted by a *wisidatu* healer to prevent death caused by angry *hebu* (ancestral spirits),

> The nature and power of *wisidatu* curing is based on maintaining the distinctiveness of these two ways of constructing the performance [genotextually and phenotextually] rather than on their fusion. It is this gap—and the exclusion of non-specialists from production and reception of the phenotext—that enables *wisimo* [healers] to generate social power through curing (ibid.: 218).[77]

Briggs also addresses the power produced by unintelligible lexicon directly:

> The resulting exclusion of the patient and his father is inscribed into the song at an even more fundamental level by the unfolding of the phenotext in a lexicon that is unintelligible to noninitiates. […] Power and agency are thus encoded in the phenotext both at the level of particular syntactic and semantic features as well in the fact that the noninitiates are denied access to this domain (ibid.: 215).

[76] Three examples of archaic Garifuna words likely to be Arawak are *tigama* ("'loin cloth' worn by women during the wars [on Yurumein against the British]), *guruguru* ("the name for a tree whose bark was used to make cloth"), and *chungua* ("the silver coins used in St. Vincent") (Palacio 2005a: 59).

[77] "Genotext" and "phenotext" are Julia Kristeva's terms for semiotic and symbolic processes, respectively. The former involves signs with no referential content where the focus is on the interpreting subject "using them as tools to realize particular effects" (as in response cries: "Ouch!, "Whoops!"). The latter is denotative and involves "shared and relatively context-free pairings of signifiers and signifieds" (as in the curers' lexicon) (Briggs 1996: 212-215; Kristeva 1974[1984]).

Tying Garifuna to the ancient past through its mother tongues, buyei have similarly long charged hugulendu songs with the task of reuniting gubida with their living kin.

Secular Genres

Wanáragua (Jonkonnu)

Wanáragua is the Garifuna version of the "John Canoe" Christmas masquerade processional formerly performed by African slaves and their descendents throughout former British colonies of the Caribbean such as Jamaica (*Jonkonnu*), the U.S. Carolinas (*John Kuner*), and Bermuda (*Gombey*). The Garifuna adopted this practice from enslaved and free Africans and Africa-descendents –many from Jamaica—with whom they worked alongside in banana plantations and mahogany woodcutting camps during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Greene n.d.; 2005: 199). [78] Engaging in an empowering ritual-of-reversal that performs pan-diasporic "victory over the authoritative oppressors," John Canoe performers mock British militia men and their wives by wearing whiteface masks made of wire-mesh or basket, crowns made of crêpe paper and macaw feathers, cowrie shell knee rattles, and European-style dress (Jenkins and Jenkins 1982: 19; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 258; Greene 2005: 226). According to Oliver Greene, Garifuna men performed it in the plantation and mahogany camps as a form of entertainment in order to mock its owners without their knowledge (Greene 2005: 224-225).

Garifuna men compose *wanáragua* songs (sung by both men and women) and undertake the dancing (Hadel 1972: 109; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 258); moreover, the fast-tempo rhythms and movements have a strong West African influence (Cayetano and Cayetano 1997).

[78] It appears that this genre spread from Belizean Garifuna communities to those in Honduras and Guatemala (Greene 2013).

The genre is performed between December 24 and January 6, the time of year when slavemasters throughout the Americas had relaxed their usual restrictions, allowing slaves to engage in Christmastime merrymaking with song and dance. Performers travel from home to home within their village—just as slaves had with their masters' residences—to perform in exchange for food and drink, much in the vein of the Anglo-European mummer tradition (Whipple 1976; Cayetano and Cayetano 1997: 128; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 258). Oliver Greene, who has researched wanáragua extensively, notes the striking similarities between the Belizean and Jamaican versions of the ritual, suggesting "the probability of intercultural exchange" with the migration of laborers and slaves from Jamaica to the Central American Atlantic coast for plantation, canal building, and construction work from the nineteenth to twentieth centuries (Greene 2006, 2005: 200; Bettleheim 1988: 42, 69-70). This circumstance is also supported by the existence of wanáragua songs in creolized English or a mixture of Creole and Garifuna (Greene 2005: 220).

Wanáragua (meaning "mask") is comprised of four masked processional dances: *wárini*, *wanáragua*, *charikanari*, and *pia manadi*. These are danced by men, some of whom dress as women (*hianro*). "Three drummers [two segunda players and one primero player], a chorus [gayusa] composed mostly of women, and a song leader provide the musical accompaniment" (ibid.: 199). Wárini is performed on December 24 and January 6, marking the start and end to the season. It likely originated on St. Vincent, derived from West Africans on the island, and is thought to predate Jonkonnu in Jamaica and to have been already in place once Europeans arrived to St. Vincent in the seventeenth century (Greene 2005: 211). In contrast, wanáragua, charikanari, and pia manadi contain British (mummer's plays) and Amerindian elements (ibid.: 211-212). Wanáragua, the second in the sequence, is performed on Christmas Day, overseen by

several *ábuti* (bossmen, masters-of-ceremonies) who collect money as the entourage of drummers, gayusa, and dancers moves from house to house. Once it stops in front of a house, spectators form a circle around the gayusa, drummers, and dancers while individual dancers take turns entering the circle, baiting the primero drummer to mimic his or her movements (Greene 2005: 214-215). Charikanari, the third genre in the sequence, typically is introduced on December 26, known as "Boxing Day" in Britain and former British colonies; this is the day that gifts are given to lower classes, servants, and slaves, while gifts between equals in social position are exchanged on or before Christmas Day. Stock characters such as "Two-Foot Cow" and "Devil" –in addition to a few hianro—dance for onlookers to the accompaniment of a segunda, primero, shaka pair, and harmonica melody, but no singing. Similar to wanáragua, a collection is taken before the performers proceed to the next house (ibid.: 215-216). The final genre, pia manadi, is now extinct but used to be performed between Christmas and New Year's Day, accompanied by fifes and drums and relaying a death-and-resurrection story "involving the Devil and a doctor" (McGranahan 2005[2009]: 257; Whipple 1976; Greene 2005: 199).

Songs accompanying wanáragua dances take up typical lamíselu-informed themes, such as "unrequited love, infidelity,…bereavement at the death of a child or sibling, community gossip," often take the form of batchu, and are usually performed responsorially between the song leader and gayusa (Greene 2005: 225). Having observed performances at two houses in Dangriga, Belize, on December 25, 2000, Oliver Greene describes song lyrics as expressing desires and interpreting experiences

> that challenge the listener and reader to empathize with the man. The often over-looked fragility of the male emotional identity is the unifying ideal that becomes apparent when observing these songs collectively (Greene 2005: 218).

This use of figurative language to criticize in song dovetails with the theatrical "signifying" via costume and gesture in John Canoe rituals as a way to poke fun at British military culture (idem.; Gates 1988).

Chumba

Sebastian Cayetano and Oliver Greene note the existence of a similar genre of the same name in other Caribbean islands. Greene asserts that some present-day islanders from Grenada and Carriacou claim to be descended from the Chumba group of Eastern Nigeria; the slave ancestors of these inhabitants may have also been imported to St. Vincent and Belize (Cayetano and Cayetano 1997; McGranahan 2005[2009]:238; Greene n.d.). Amy Serrano, a documentary filmmaker, mentions that many Garifuna women living in New Orleans dance *chumba* today to commemorate the rape and enslavement of Garinagu women by British colonizers on St. Vincent, displaying a fascinating transference of meaning in a diasporic environment (Serrano 2009).

The few existing accounts of chumba accentuate its similarity to West African drumming and dance, as with the wanáragua and *sambai* genres. Roy and Marion Cayetano note how these three genres differ from other Garifuna traditional genres in that drummers take their cue from dancers, rather than the other way around (Cayetano and Cayetano 2005: 238-239; Cayetano et al. 2001[2009]: 332). Indeed, chumba prioritizes personal style. Dancers arranged in a circle take individual turns at improvised dance in the middle of the circle, with primero players following suit rhythmically. Both dancers and drummers exploit duple-triple polyrhythmic tension to the hilt.

Sambai

Sambai is an African-derived genre performed among the Kriols of Belize, who are descended primarily from English and Scottish woodcutters and the African slaves they brought to the territory in the seventeenth century.[79] It is thought to have survived from at least the eighteenth century, when slaves would celebrate the Christmas holiday by meeting up in different areas of Belize Town (now Belize City) according to their culture group. Taking place under a full moon, dancers would enter a circle of drummers, dancers, and singers to perform individual styles based on gender, celebrating the sexual maturity of girls and boys (NKC website, http://www.nationalkriolcouncil.org/the_kriols/dance, Accessed 1 August 2016). As the nineteenth century progressed, Kriols spread from Belize Town and logwood encampments along the Belize River to all districts within the colony of British Honduras (as Belize was known at the time). This brought them into contact with Garifuna communities along the southern coast, which led to Garifuna incorporating sambai into their constellation of song-dance genres. Among Kriols, sambai is rarely performed except within the coastal Gales Point Manatee community (Cayetano and Cayetano 2000[2009]: 329). Although Garifuna recognize sambai as a distinct genre, most Garifuna drumming schools in Belize, at least, do not teach it, and it is minimally represented in extant recordings of traditional genres.

Writings on sambai provide descriptions similar to those of chumba. In a lecture-demonstration by the Ballet Nacional Garífuna de Honduras at UCLA on November 19, 2010, veteran leader Armando Crisanto Meléndez presented sambai with male dancers and chumba with female dancers, indicating a possible gender distinction between the genres. This might

[79] See chapter 3 for more information on Belizean Kriols.

explain why Garifuna women dance chumba in New Orleans, as observed by Amy Serrano (2009).

Regarding sambai dance style, Travis and Carol Jenkins write of a "stomping step," while Oliver Greene describes each dancer executing "unique, energetic, and sometimes acrobatic movements with fancy footwork" within a circle of participants after an initial salute to the primero player (Cayetano and Cayetano 1997: 129; Jenkins and Jenkins 1982: 4; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 258; Greene 1998: 676). As for the rhythmic pattern, the only description I have been able to locate is from Oliver Greene, who observed that it proceeds in "compound duple meter (6/8)" at a fast tempo (Greene 1998: 676). What I have heard on recordings such as *Traditional Music of the Garifuna (Black Carib) of Belize* released by Folkways Records (1982) corroborates his statement. In fact, it can be difficult to distinguish aurally between sambai and *punta* rhythms.

<u>*Ahuruhani*</u> (work song)

*Oremu Egi (*also *Eremuna Egi* and *Eremwu Eu)*

Like most traditional genres, *oremu egi* songs are sung and premiered by women. However, the accompanying "dance" is the repetitive motion of grating *yuca* (manioc) root for use in the *ereba* cassava bread that is a staple of the Garifuna diet. This motion provides a steady rhythmic accompaniment to singing. This subset of *ahuruhani* (work song) allievates the physical strain of this laborious step in bread preparation. It is traditionally passed on to young women as they assist their elders, an activity which has diminished in the past fifteen years (Vincensini, Romay, and Kane 2001: 24). The Garifuna word "oremu" means "song," which points to women's work as the context for much Garifuna song creation.

Laremuna Wadaguman

This now-dormant work song genre captures a time in Garifuna history soon after their exile from St. Vincent, when men worked on the coasts of Honduras, Belize, and Nicaragua as woodcutters alongside African slaves of the British and Spanish. According to Belizean Garifuna scholar Sebastian Cayetano, these men sung songs in unison in the midst of the hard labor of chopping trees and hauling the logs downriver to the beach to fashion into canoes (Foley 1984: 23; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 253; Cayetano and Cayetano 1997). Liam McGranahan opines that the scarcity of information about *laremuna wadaguman* compared to other Garifuna musical genres is due to the decline of communal work patterns among men since the twentieth century. As he observed in his trips to Belizean Garifuna communities from 2002 to 2005, "…most men are engaged in some type of wage labor and fishing appears to be more an individual activity" (McGranahan 2005[2009]: 253).

Gunchei (Gunjai)

Gunchei (or *gunjai*) is a product of Garinagu co-existence with French and British colonials on St. Vincent during the eighteenth century. The Belizean Garifuna authors of the candidature form for the UNESCO Declaration of Garifuna culture as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity assert that gunjai is "a sort of square dance" accompanied by songs containing vocabulary derived from Revolutionary-era French (Cayetano et al. 2001[2009]: 340; Vincensini, Romay, and Kane 2001: 23). In fact, most accounts describe gunchei dance as a couples' dance of formal stature (Hadel 1972: 114; Jenkins and Jenkins 1982: 4; Cayetano and Cayetano 1997: 129; Pillich 2000: 41; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 252; Greene n.d.). For example, Belizean Garifuna scholars Fabian and Sebastian Cayetano define it as "a

graceful and dignified social dance, in which each man dances with each woman in turn" (Cayetano and Cayetano 1997:129). Moreover, ethnomusicologist Oliver Greene describes gunchei lyrics as typically "limited and…involv[ing] a repeated phrase suggestive of a chant," which could indicate the greater importance of social dancing—and, hence, rhythm—than song message in this genre (Greene n.d.). Given these attributes, it should come as no surprise that gunchei has roots in the French *quadrille* courtly dance, a precursor to U.S. traditional square dance. The quadrille is performed in 6/8 or 2/4 meter in square formation and became fashionable among the British as well as the French by the early nineteenth century (Colon Jr. 2010; Vincensini, Romay, and Kane 2001: 23). The appearance of a Garinagu version of the quadrille on St. Vincent is highly probable, given the proliferation of local translations throughout the Lesser Antilles (Guilbault 1999).

Emory Whipple describes gunchei rhythm as a duple meter, comprised of "running sixteenth notes," and Oliver Greene notes the "steady down-beat pulses on the segunda" (Whipple 1971:45, 83; McGranahan 2005[2009]:252; Greene n.d.). As stated earlier in the chapter, the segunda pattern is comprised of eight beats as follows, repeating indefinitely at a moderate tempo:

Beats:	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**
Center (bass):	**X**				**X**			
Rim (treble):			**X**	**X**		**X**	**X**	**X**

Beats 1, 3, 5, and 7 are played with one hand, while the alternating beats (4, 6, and 8) are played with the other.[80]

A folkloric performance of gunchei at the 2011 Garifuna American Fashion Show in New York City on April 2, choreographed by Honduran Garifuna-American Mariano Martinez, features four male-female couples rotating partners in square formation, in accordance with the accounts provided above. Women donned traditional dress with long and wide skirts for twirling, while men wore formal attire (with bow tie and cumberbund) and danced with canes; however, both were clothed in the Garifuna Nation colors of yellow, black, and white, as customary for non-village or international performances. At approximately three minutes into the performance, the rhythm sped up significantly for audience benefit.

Video URL: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ApB6FPfRNFs&feature=relmfu (Accessed 12 February, 2010)

Hünguhüngu

Hünguhüngu is the secular version of the sacred hugulendu genre central to the dügü ancestor veneration ritual. It can be performed alone, but is often combined with *punta* music and dance; this hybrid performance is called *combination*. In the combination, the performance begins with the slower, triple-meter hünguhüngu, transitioning into punta's faster duple-meter rhythm, and alternating back and forth between genres as the occasion dictates (Greene n.d.). Like hugulendu, hünguhüngu is usually performed by adult and elder women. Unlike its sacred counterpart, however, it is often found in the lemesi one-year death anniversary celebrations and

[80] Interestingly, this same pattern provides the basis of the *gota* dance-drumming genre of the Ewe people of the Volta region of Ghana, Togo, and Benin.

Garifuna Settlement Day processionals and can be used to attract male romantic partners (Vincensini, Romay, and Kane 2001: 22-23; Cortés 2005: 76). Moreover, since the instruments and songs performed in sacred contexts are relegated to those contexts, hugulendu and hünguhüngu songs comprise different repertoires and instrument sets (Greene 1998: 174; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 253).[81]

Punta

Punta remains the most popular and prevalent of traditional Garifuna song-dance genres. It is performed for long periods of time at most "communal gatherings and rites of passage," such as the final night of the *beluria* ("nine-night" wake, related to the Spanish *velorio*) and holiday *fedu* (a Garifuna word for "celebration") like the settlement day festivities of Garifuna home countries (Hadel 1972: 97; Greene 2002: 190; England 2006: 95, 97; Vincensini, Romay, and Kane 2001: 22). Its infectious rhythm, fast tempo, and light-hearted dance style have impelled its crossover into Latin American and Caribbean popular culture, and the genre remains a favorite of foreigners experiencing Garifuna music for the first time (hence its extensive documentation by scholars). It also forms the primary basis for the inaugural and most enduring popular music genre of the Garifuna, *punta rock*.

Women originate and perform punta songs, which usually provide commentary on quotidian concerns, such as fighting a bad reputation within one's community or navigating the aftermath of a hurricane. Along with paranda, this song repertoire is well-known throughout the Garifuna diaspora, allowing widespread participation in the singing. There seems to be a

[81] See chapter 6 for my analysis of the hünguhüngu "Águyuha Nidúheñu (My People Have Moved On)."

distinction between verses and refrain, differentiating punta from other traditional genres (Whipple 1971: 49; Hadel 1972: 100; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 254-255). In performance, the song leader(s) may introduce a new song over an ongoing punta rhythm at any time. Punta is often performed in combination with the slower, statelier hünguhüngu in order to provide an exciting contrast.

Equally well-known among Garifuna is the playful and energetic punta dance, which depicts a man pursuing a woman for mating purposes. Women of all ages are invited to dance in front of the drums in the middle of a circle of spectators. A man may eventually dance up to a child-bearing-aged woman from behind as she proceeds disinterestedly. After a spell, she knocks him away with a hip or buttock, a movement usually mimicked by the primero player. The upper torso of dancers remains motionless relative to the quick circular movements executed by the lower torso and the shuffling of the feet (Greene 2002: 193; Vincensini, Romay, and Kane 2001: 22). Oliver Greene describes the dance as "a symbolic replication of the cock-and-hen mating ritual, feature[ing] rapid movement of the buttocks and hips that symbolizes sexual dialogue and procreation" (Greene 2009: 5-6). Moreover, a similarity of "movement and spirit" exists between punta and the *vacunao* couple dance performed during the *montuno* section of Afro-Cuban *rumba* (Manuel 2006: 29).

2009 Brooklyn, NY punta performance:

Video URL: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2fKVYiXpq9w&feature=related (Accessed 12 February 2010).

As stated earlier in the chapter, the segunda pattern of punta is comprised of eight beats as follows, repeating indefinitely at a fast tempo:

Beats:	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**
Center (bass):	**X**				**X**			
Rim (treble):							**X**	**X**

As in the other traditional genres, the drummer plays the bass beats in the center of the drum head with one hand, while playing the treble beats on the rim of the head with the other hand. Played straight, punta has a duple feel; however, drummers render the pattern in such a way that it veers into triple feel, creating a polyrhythmic tension. As a result, it hovers between the pattern notated above (duple) and the following pattern (triple), while remaining slightly closer to duple feel:

Beats:	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
Center (bass):	**X**			**X**		
Rim (treble):					**X**	**X**

One theory is that punta was brought to Garifuna from African slaves of the British living in what is known today as Belize City (formerly called Belize Town), who are ancestors to today's Belizean Kriols. According to late buyei John Mariano, Garifuna folklore maintains that a Garifuna man brought punta to Dangriga, Belize's first permanent Garifuna settlement, after seeing it performed in what was known as a disreputable area of Belize City. This man purportedly witnessed a couples' dance considered risqué by Garifuna of the time; for this reason, it did not begin to be performed regularly, nor did it spread to various Garifuna villages, until long after it was introduced in Dangriga. Mariano concluded, "So, indeed, I agree with it one-hundred percent that it is from Africa. Because they tell *us* that it was in Belize [City], they

saw it first, and it was in Belize [City] the slaves were kept, so that's the way it is" (Mariano 2007).

Based on Mariano's account, a strong possibility exists that it was a performance of sambai that Garifuna witnessed in nineteenth-century Belize Town, transformed into punta by Garifuna cultural practice. For instance, Aurelio Martinez's description of punta matches those of sambai I have come across:

> Only the women dance it. They dance it around a bonfire. It's a song to fertility, a fertility dance. […] The original punta, you dance around the bonfire. The woman does a sensual dance around the flames. I believe that the world doesn't know this (Martinez and Bishop 2006: 3).

In turn, Belize's National Kriol Council's (NKC) website contains an account of sambai as originally "a fertility dance" performed in a circle "around a pine wood fire" (NKC website, http://www.nationalkriolcouncil.org/the_culture/dance, accessed 13 February 2010). While the writings on sambai describe dancers performing individually within the circle, punta, an arena for man-woman flirtation, is just as often danced by individual women taking turns. Moreover, the NKC website describes sambai performance as a venue for courtships:

> …individuals frequently choose the candidate of their pursuit for the evening. If the person was interested they would return the gesture by choosing back the potential partner (idem.).

Finally, performing the punta rhythm with more of a triple feel than a duple feel produces the sambai rhythm transcribed earlier in the chapter.

Paranda

Paranda is a Spanish-derived[82] Latin American genre featuring solo vocals and acoustic guitar that was adapted by Garifuna in the nineteenth century following their exile to Central America. The word "parranda" is said to mean "carousal," and its original guitar-and-voice format was originally brought to Latin America by the Spanish as a form of Christmas season house-to-house "caroling." Liam McGranahan, who devotes the majority of his 2005 master's thesis to the analysis of Garifuna paranda, notes that paranda can be found in Venezuela and Puerto Rico, for example (McGranahan 2005[2009]: 267).

At first, Garifuna men used it as a serenade for romantic purposes, resulting in a genre called *berusu* that is rarely performed today (Pillich 2000: 45; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 265). As exemplified in a 1982 recording by Belizean parandero Junior Aranda, berusu sounds more Latin American than Garifuna, save for the language, and is supposedly meant more for listening than for dancing (Jenkins and Jenkins 1982: 3; Pillich 2000: 45; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 264-265). As Emory Whipple writes, berusu, or "guitar-song,"

> …is the Carib [Garifuna] style most influenced by the music of Spanish-speaking Latin America, some tunes being merely translations or realizations in the Carib language of pre-existing Spanish songs, with the melodies more or less unaltered (Whipple 1971: 50; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 262-263).

Beresu eventually transformed into paranda—songs of social commentary, gossip, and news debuted by men, often with bawdy themes, that could be backed by traditional percussion. This song-dance genre was performed by Garifuna throughout most of the twentieth century into current times (Whipple 1971: 52; Pillich 2000: 45; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 265). Paranda

[82] I am grateful to Andrew Rosenfeld for informing me of this aspect of paranda.

continues to be performed at Christmastime but is also performed year-round as secular entertainment (McGranahan 2005[2009]: 267).

Paranda lyrics speak, in part, to the public revelry and alcohol consumption in which men often partake in Garifuna community life. The following parandas appeared on the 1999 album *Paranda*, released on Ivan Duran's Belizean record label Stonetree Records. "Tuagu Bigidaran" was composed by paranda legend Gabada Williams, who passed away during the making of the album. "Mingigili" was composed by Junior (Juni) Aranda from Dangriga, Belize, who passed away in 2012.

"Tuagu Bigidaran"

Tuagu bigidaran tia nesebeda
Luagu bumalali, ah ninarün bau
Gayeinbaru nanigi siruguabadina
Mama wayabiyan luni wadarihoun
Wayabirügüyan luni wasarianhan
Woudiba aguyu houni wamarigu

It is your guitar that keeps me happy here.
As well as your voice, I'm telling you the truth.
You have captured my heart. You have won me over.
We are not here to be courted.
We are only here to celebrate.
We will return home to our wives.

"Mingigili"

Lidan mingigili bamulugu tuma würi numadara waü le badüga tau
Lidan lingidun aü lira bamulugu ma figirügübei yebe babugua aü
Bereusu ma niwinrayali youn houni numadagunu
Lun hasaminarun lubügürü

When your woman doesn't think that your fart stinks,
You are free to do with her as you please.
But when it starts to stink, one little whiff and out you go.
This song I will sing for my friends,
For them to think about it.

Since reaching prominence in the early twentieth century, parandas have been composed and sung (although not played on guitar) by women as well (McGranahan 2005[2009]: 268). One recent example is "Yündüya Weyu" (The Sun Has Set), a song performed by Guatemalan Garifuna Sofia Blanco about the difficult birth of one of her four children. The lyrics depict three days and nights of suffering, as Sofia asks her baby, Goyito, why he is causing her so much pain (Duran 2008). The song was released by Stonetree Records on the album *Umalali: The Garifuna Women's Project* in 2008.

"Yündüya Weyu"

Ñüdüha weyu nau numadagunu
Ñüdüha ineweyu nau niduheñunu
Labu ah gariti ya munada

Ñüdüha weyu nau numadagunu
Ñüdüha ineweyu nau niduheñunu
Labu ah gariti ya wabien

Belunaru hospital
Belunaru luban haruruwadinati

Sylvia nigatu seremei nu tau fugiabu namuleluwa

Ürüwa weyu ürüwa ariebu nau ya labu gariti mama
Nau ya labu gariti da laramou familia nuguchuru

Kame badügei lira Goyito namulen
Kame badügei lira tuni buguchuru
Kame badügei lira Goyito namulen
Kame badügei lira wanwa tuni bagaña

The sun has set on me, my friends.
The sun has set on me, my people.
Stricken by pain here at home.

The sun has set on me, my friends.
The sun has set on me, my people.

Stricken by pain here at home.

I have been hospitalized.
I have entered the house of illness.

Thank God for my sister- in-law, Sylvia [Sofia's daughter], and my poor sister.

For three days and three nights, I lie here in pain.
I lie here in pain with the family standing by, mother.

Why did you do that, my dear Goyito?
Why did you do that to your mother?
Why did you do that, my dear Goyito?
Why did you do that, dear, to your darling mother?

In Garifuna paranda, European-derived major and minor scales are still used (rather than the pentatonic scale of most Garifuna traditional genres), as well as harmony in the form of tonic (i/I), subdominant (iv/IV), and dominant (v/V) chords. But the guitar functions more in the service of rhythmic propulsion than harmonic progression (Pillich 2000: 45; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 265). The genre contains a distinct rhythm, shown earlier, that can be fleshed out with a backing garaón ensemble or implied by the guitar itself. Due to their similarity, the basic paranda and punta rhythms form the backbone of punta rock, the subject of chapter 5. However, paranda genre songs have a more moderate tempo and lilting feel than punta songs.

An interesting aspect of paranda is that it can be performed by the garaón ensemble without guitar or even singing. Esteemed Belizean Garifuna paranderos Juni Aranda and Paul Nabor (Nabi) confirmed this in their interviews with McGranahan in 2004 and 2005, respectively (McGranahan 2005[2009]: 266). Examples of ensemble paranda can be found on the 2011 recording *The Black Caribs of Belize* on Soul Jazz Records. According to McGranahan, the rhythm associated with the genre is believed to have survived the exile from St. Vincent

(Rosenberg and Duran 1999). Given the similarity in punta and paranda rhythms, it is possible that, initially, the punta rhythm was slightly altered to accompany berusu guitar-playing and singing, as part of beresu's "Garifuna-ization" into paranda.

In the late twentieth century, paranda had become a folk music of the elders practiced by only a handful of musicians. However, the genre has experienced a revival in the twenty-first century, thanks to Belizean producer Ivan Duran's efforts in seeking out paranderos in Belize, Honduras, and Guatemala from 1997 to 1998 for the highest-quality recording of paranda songs to date (Barnat 2012; McGranahan 2005[2009]). This recording, titled *Paranda: Africa in Central America*, was released on his label, Stonetree Records, in 1999, introducing the world music industry to paranda. Five years later, one of the paranderos featured on *Paranda*, Aurelio Martinez, released a solo paranda album on Stonetree called *Garifuna Soul*; however, a couple of the song rhythms and some of the instrumentation break with paranda tradition, leading McGranahan to conclude that "All acoustic music (or predominately acoustic music) with guitar accompaniment [and a solo singer] is now called paranda [by Garifuna]" (McGranahan 2005[2009]: 266). Ons Barnat encountered the same interpretation by Paul Nabor and Sofia Blanco in interviews for his 2012 dissertation on the role of paranda in Stonetree releases (Barnat 2013: 104; 2012). As Barnat puts it,

> Cependant, la grande majorité des musiciens au Honduras, au Belize comme au Guatemala considèrent ces nouvelles compositions comme étant de la paranda bel et bien garifuna, au même titre que les autres productions musicales locales (Barnat 2013: 104).
>
> [However, the vast majority of musicians from Honduras, Belize, and Guatemala consider these new compositions [the songs heard on the 2007 album and Stonetree release *Wátina* by Andy Palacio and the Garifuna Collective] to be paranda, certainly Garifuna, along with other local musical productions.]

This is also attested to by the recent proliferation of paranda-identified musical acts in Belizean villages and towns: examples include the Paranda Blues Band from Hopkins and the 2016 designation of Hopkins musician and former punta rock star Lloyd Augustine as the "Prince of Paranda."

Conclusion

Of all the traditional genres discussed in this chapter, paranda contains the most recent incorporation of non-Garifuna elements. It may be no coincidence, then, that the moniker "paranda" serves as a multivalent symbol for Garifuna that brings the inherent hybridity of Garifuna musical practice to the fore. Since Stonetree Records's *Paranda* recording, acoustic guitar-driven Garifuna music has expanded to include *all* Garifuna secular rhythms, sacred lyrical themes, Afropop guitar stylings and effects, and even rock-influenced production choices. Just as punta rock had come to locally refer to Garifuna music dependent upon electronics (manifest in the ubiquitous presence of electric guitar, synthesizer, and drum machine) by the late 1980s, "paranda" writ large represents a move away from this emphasis, back to "tradition" at the turn of the millennium. We proceed in chapter 5 to the birth of punta rock out of punta, paranda, and radio hits reaching the Garifuna home communities in Central America, while chapter 6 examines the intersection between world music industry precepts and the "outgrowth from" paranda (thought of as an "expansion of" by Garifuna) that I have labeled "Garifuna World Music."

Chapter 5:
Garifuna Popular Music I: Punta Rock

"To avoid his own mid-lagoon shipwreck, [Andy] Palacio's boat captain decided to take a detour to a nearby village until the storm passed. He said to Palacio, 'There is a Garifuna man in this village. You should talk in your language and see how he reacts.' When the eighteen year-old Palacio greeted the old man, Mr. López, in the Garifuna tongue, the elder replied in complete disbelief, 'Are you telling the truth?' 'I told him, 'Yes, my uncle; I am Garifuna just like you,' explains Palacio. 'He embraced me and would not let go. He could not believe a man so young could speak Garifuna, having imagined the language would perish with him. From that day I realized that what was happening in Nicaragua, the disappearance of Garifuna culture, foreshadowed what was going to happen in Belize less than a generation down the road,' recalls Palacio. 'I decided to follow my passion and focus more on performing Garifuna music as a way to keep the traditions alive long into the future.'" - Dmitri Vietze and Jacob Edgar, "Shipwrecks, Storms, and Surprise Encounters: The Unique and Soulful Sound of Africa in Central America" (2007)

"Perhaps it may be inappropriate to expect dance music to do more than entertain, although the music of Ruben Blades and Juan Luis Guerra, and songs like Buju Banton's 'Untold Stories,' suggest ways of transcending the norms of commercial entertainment. And there is something to be said for dancing through adversity, in a way that combines both escapism and affirmation of life, community, and hope." - Peter Manuel, *Caribbean Currents* (2006)

Introduction

Chapters 5 and 6 detail the development of Garifuna popular music via the genres of *punta rock* and *Garifuna World Music*, respectively, and the position of Andy Palacio as a central figure within these domains. The present chapter provides an overview of Garifuna popular music and punta rock's trajectory as a genre, musical characteristics, and functioning as a music industry. At the turn of the 1980s, punta rock mediated Garifuna music to commercial music trends for the first time and continued to do so for almost thirty years. As a result, a thorough grounding in the genre is vital for understanding the context within which Garifuna World Music emerged during the 2000s and the continuities this recent genre reveals.

Garifuna Popular Music: General Characteristics

The primary difference between Garifuna traditional music and popular music is the greater influx of foreign influences into the latter throughout their history. While the aim of traditional song-dance genres such as *punta, paranda,* and *hünguhüngu* is to maintain continuity with the musical and spiritual practices among Garinagu of the originary *Yurumein* (St. Vincent Island), the popular music that appeared beginning in the late 1970s revealed the influences of international best-selling genres and artists being embraced by Garifuna youth. Combining these influences with traditional rhythms, movements, lyrical themes, and the Garifuna language was meant to remind youth of the value of continued investment in their cultural heritage. However, it also had the effect of finally inserting Garifuna music into a pan-Caribbean popular music framework (its ties to Afro-Caribbean spirituality aside) linked together by island dance musics embodying a synthesis of European, indigenous, and African-derived styles into various configurations.[83]

These configurations change continually due to several factors. The spread of mass media by the U.S. since the 1950s thanks to a seemingly never-ending parade of technological developments—television, multi-track recording, transistor radios, cassettes, CDs, digital instruments, and, most recently, Internet file sharing—greatly expanded the variety of music accessible to any one person. There is also the recurring stylistic cross-fertilization found in the interaction within ever-renewed migrant communities in U.S. cities with large Afro-Caribbean and Latin American populations, like New York, Los Angeles, Houston, and Miami. However,

[83] As Peter Manuel notes, "Many music genres remain identified with particular communities, with tastes and affiliations serving as boundary markers. […] However, what is perhaps more marked is the tendency for Afro-Caribbean popular musics—*son*, reggae, soca, and konpa—to become integrating symbols, uniting audiences of all communities" (Manuel 2006: 277).

certain generalities arising from accumulated experience anchor these changes. While U.S. development of new and vital sound technologies delivered more music to more listeners, U.S. control of these technologies enabled a mass media monopoly that established U.S. commercial genres—especially rock, hip hop, country, and R&B—as popular music templates all over the world. There is the additional fact that "Most Caribbean popular music is dance music," initiating bodily movement that often conveys sexual tensions. Due to patriarchal gender norms, performers are usually men, while women predominate on the dance floor (Manuel 2006: 280-281). Finally, pan-Caribbean musical *lingua francae*, mostly from Anglophone countries, have waxed and waned since the colonial independence of most Caribbean and Latin American countries beginning in the mid-twentieth century. By the late 1970s, for instance, reggae had proved a vital infusion to Caribbean island musics and continues to do so even after proliferating to culturally and geographically far-flung urban and island communities; beginning in the 1980s, Trinidadian soca and Jamaican dancehall took over this role.

The Garifuna experience as a traveling culture at odds with national agendas is a unique and specific journey, to be sure. Yet such journeys are also widespread within the Caribbean islands and coastlines, located at the crossroads of the centuries-long African slave trade, resulting in highly independent and flexible groups that learned to adapt their surroundings to their worldviews and their worldviews to their surroundings. Perhaps this is why Caribbean musics have had particular success internationally: their pronounced hybridity positions them as exemplary brokers between local and global. Let us now turn to the specifics of how punta rock has accomplished this.

Punta Rock: Evolution of a Genre

Beginnings and General Description

Punta rock is an electrified commercial dance music based on the traditional secular punta and paranda song-dance genres (similar in their duple-meter ostinato) and the punta "cock-and-hen" couple dance.[84] Sung responsorially, primarily in the Garifuna language, "contemporary adaptations of traditional Garifuna songs" comprise much of the punta rock repertoire (Greene 2002: 190). While punta songs are largely composed and sung by women to cathartically express cultural and personal hardships, men generally preside over punta rock performances.[85] In punta rock, we see and hear the addition of electronic instruments and amplification; vocal harmonies; "catchy hooks;" and lyrical themes of cultural, local, and regional pride, and of festive celebration involving dancing bodies (Eyre 2007). Punta rock emerged simultaneously in Belize and Honduras, but became a beloved national style in Belize as part of an urban Garifuna cultural renaissance during the late 1970s and early 1980s that involved cultural expression through visual art, literature, theater, and music. In the sections that follow, I divide punta rock into four different stylistic phases from its beginnings to today.

The genre first appeared *circa* 1979, with the work of Delvin "Pen" Cayetano and his Turtle Shell Band of Dangriga Town, southern Belize (Greene 2002: 197). A self-educated painter and musician, Cayetano brought electric guitar and homemade snare drum to the traditional Garifuna percussion ensemble of *shakas* (gourd rattles), *primero* and *segunda* drums,

[84] See chapter 4 for a discussion of traditional song-dance genres.

[85] Two exceptions to the rule are Paula Castillo from Guatemala, a fixture on the NYC punta rock scene and the first Garifuna woman to record commercially, and Las Chicas Rolands from Honduras, a group of six women who switch between singing and dancing duties while fronting an all-male band and who have toured the U.S. several times during their ten-year existence.

and struck turtle shells.[86] Moreover, he sped up punta and paranda rhythms, singled out solo personalities, and prompted "provocative adaptations" to the punta dance that reflected the shift in venue from outdoor "communal gatherings and rites of passage" overseen by village elders to street parties and nightclubs packed with teenagers and young adults (ibid.: 205).[87] Cayetano's mission was to infuse traditional punta and paranda songs with sensibilities of the regional popular musics favored by youths. Their connection to their Garifuna cultural heritage and language was made tenuous by parental absence due to work-and-education-related migrations to the U.S. and also by the dominance on Belizean radio of popular North American, European, Latin American, and Caribbean music (especially Jamaican reggae) at that time (ibid.: 196; England 2006: 47-48).[88] Through punta rock, Cayetano strove to render Garifuna traditions viable to that generation. Thus, while lyrics are peppered with the *lingua franca* of Belize, Kriol (Caribbean creolized English), as well as Spanish, punta rock keeps the Garifuna language at the forefront as one of its "deliberate gestures of cultural retention" (Greene 2002: 212). Shortly after punta rock arrived in Belize City from Dangriga in 1982, the successful Belizean independence movement co-opted the genre as its musical emblem, effectively integrating the

[86] According to Cayetano, income from selling paintings allowed him to purchase the band's instruments, a second-hand amplifier, and some microphones (Cayetano 2002).

[87] Honduran punta rock musician and *parrandero* Aurelio Martinez further claimed that the commercial and traditional punta rhythms are different, calling the commercial version *gulyo* (Barlow 2006).

[88] As Sarah England notes, "By the 1970s, ethnographers were already referring to Garifuna villages as 'nurseries and nursing homes,' implying that the majority of the male working-age population (and increasingly the female working-age population) was away from the village, either for many years or seasonally. They left behind a population of primarily elderly men and women and young children that engaged in some agriculture and fishing but primarily relied on money earned outside the village" (England 2006: 47-48; Beaucage 1970; Gonzalez 1988; Instituto de Investigaciones Económicos y Sociales 1965; Kerns 1983).

previously marginalized Garifuna culture into an emerging national sensibility (ibid.: 199).[89] Several accounts also suggest that punta rock emerged in Honduras, with the work of the group Góbana, at roughly the same time as in Belize (ibid.: 200; Greene n.d.).[90] By the 1990s, the genre had become one of Central America's prized popular music genres: punta rock songs topped the radio charts in Belize and ran a close second to *cumbia* in Guatemala and Honduras at the turn of the millennium (Greene 2002: 190).

It is important to additionally consider the role of place in the development of punta rock. Dangriga, the Belizean birthplace of punta rock, is the first substantial Garifuna settlement in Belize (and currently the largest), established in 1832. However, it is a town rather than a village, containing a variety of ethnic groups besides its Garifuna majority and fed by transmigrants to U.S. cities. Its position at the nexus between traditional village life and a city setting is reflected in the confluence of traditional and popular music styles found in punta rock. Moreover, there existed crucial differences between punta rock's development in Belize and Honduras, the two countries in which it is most prevalent. While popular musics from Anglophone Caribbean countries such as Trinidadian *calypso* and soca and Jamaican reggae have shaped Belizean punta rock, Latin American popular styles like *salsa* and *cumbia* have proved more influential on

[89] One of Peter Manuel's claims regarding Caribbean music is particularly apt here: "Musical genres are often associated with or claimed (plausibly or not) by specific ethnic groups; alternately, they may be celebrated as national patrimonies whose appeal transcends such boundaries" (Manuel 2006: 273). This celebration for Garifuna music in Belize follows centuries of discrimination by the formerly dominant Kriol population; it also sets Belizean Garifuna apart from Garifuna in other Central American countries, where racial discrimination remains prevalent (Stone 2002).

[90] Honduran Garifuna musicians Aurelio Martinez and Hector Vera assert this. Interestingly, "Goubana" is the name of an early song by Pen Cayetano and The Turtle Shell Band, which may be the origin of the Honduran band Góbana's name or which may be a song or rhythm copped from Góbana by The Turtle Shell Band (D. Cayetano 2002; Greene 2002: 198). Despite Belizean and Honduran musicians each claiming the origin of punta rock for their country, "deliberate efforts were made in Belize to mold a new amalgamated genre of music that would promote the maintenance of the indigenous language and appeal to youth" (Greene 2010).

Honduran punta rock, known simply as *punta* by Hondurans (ibid.: 201; Ryan 1995). There is also the factor of institutionalized racism in Honduras to consider. Belizean punta rock simultaneously relays pride in Belizean national identity and Garifuna cultural identity, while Honduran bands tend to not only exhibit greater assimilation into the *ladino* majority in some respects (such as heavy participation of ladino musicians and greater use of Spanish than Garifuna in the lyrics), but also reflect a quotidian Honduran perspective that exoticizes Garifuna as predominately rhythmic and hypersexual in their "blackness."[91] This is in contrast to the rich traditional music heritage found in Honduras, perhaps the most representative of Vincentian Garinagu musical practices within the Garifuna diaspora. However, national differences in punta rock style became more malleable at the turn of the millennium, when the dance club aspect of punta rock came to predominate and free mp3 file-sharing over the Internet prevailed. As a result, dance musics from throughout the U.S., Caribbean, Central America, and Mexico became more audible wherever punta rock was performed.

Second Phase: Mid-1980s to Late 1990s

Besides Pen Cayetano, the work of Belizean Garifuna musicians Horace "Mohobub" Flores (the first official turtle shell player of Cayetano's band), Hernán "Chico" Ramos,[92] and

[91] In fact, a description of punta rock on the Honduran Caribe Media website (http://www.caribemedia.com/Musicales7.html, Accessed 19 July 2009) claims it as a musical style sung and danced by the majority of Hondurans and by certain popular bands within the country (like Kazzabe and La Banda Blanca), which is *also* performed by Garifuna, albeit in their own language. This description both denies the Garifuna origin of punta rock and the punta rhythm, and denies the existence, much less the prevalence, of Garifuna members of these bands.

[92] Chico Ramos is the grandson of Thomas Vincent (T.V.) Ramos, who founded Garifuna Settlement Day in Belize in 1941 and is considered a cultural hero. T.V. Ramos also subscribed to the Africanist teachings of Marcus Garvey and was one of the first Garifuna to support Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) (Izard 2005: 191).

Peter "Poots" "Titiman" Flores characterize the initial phase of punta rock, with its primarily acoustic emphasis. These artists have continued to work in this variant well into the millennium, which eventually came to be known as "roots and culture" punta rock (A. Palacio n.d.).[93] Punta rock's second phase began in the mid-1980s, when acoustic instruments became eclipsed by digital hardware—synthesizers, samplers, and drum machines or electronic drum kits—and powerful PA systems (Greene 2002: 196; A. Palacio n.d.). Formed in the mid-1980s, the Dangriga group Sounds Incorporated (which included Chico Ramos, Mohobub, and Titiman Flores as vocalists) encapsulated this stylistic shift that cemented punta rock's status as Belize's definitive popular music genre. According to Dangriga native Charles Hogan, the group acquired a high-end sound system—including a drum machine, rack of synthesizers, and new amplifiers—in 1987 from a Belizean soca band based in the U.S. called Dell and the Sensations that was touring through Belize at that time. Sounds Incorporated's subsequent album took Belize by storm; according to Hogan, "Everyone in Belize had that cassette, from north to south, from east to west. Everyone had it" (Ramirez 2001). With the new equipment came the ability to compete in a live setting with other urban popular musics, as well as the absorption of influences from these musics, which helped garner punta rock notice within the Caribbean and popularity on a national scale.[94] As a result, certain musical conventions emerged, such as synthesized steel

[93] Cayetano moved to Germany in 1990 to pursue a career as a painter, giving the following statement as his reason: "Belizeans like most Caribbean people who have been devalued by centuries of colonial suppression, tend not to appreciate their own roots and culture" (D. Cayetano n.d.). He formed a punta rock band with his wife and three children, called The Cayetanos, in 1998 (ibid.). He and his wife Ingrid moved to his hometown of Dangriga, Belize, in July 2009 to retire.

[94] Jennifer Ryan (1995) notes that acts such as Lord Rhaburn (Belize), Calypso Rose (Tobago), and the Cross Culture Band (Belize) performed calypso songs about punta rock and that these songs proved integral to the acceptance of punta rock by the Belizean Kriol majority of the time. Moreover, the popularity of "Leh We Punta" by Trinidadian Calypso Rose in Britain in the late 1980s encouraged Caribbean artists to listen to punta rock (Greene 2002: 201).

drum and soca horn timbres and a tempo increase to at least 140 beats-per-minute. Sounds Incorporated disbanded in the early 1990s, and Mohobub, Ramos, and Titiman embarked on solo careers that embraced the "roots and culture" style once more alongside the newer styles they adopted. As a solo artist, Mohobub honed a more laid-back style of punta rock informed by his Rastafarian beliefs (Duran 1998). Honduran dance band Banda Blanca's 1990 cover of Ramos's song "Conch Soup" (called "Sopa de Caracol" in their version) shot to the top of the dance charts in 1991, selling three million copies and effectively inducting punta rock into the pantheon of regional Latin American dance genres (Greene 2002: 216).[95] Titiman Flores became known for his exuberant stage presence, "somewhat heavier percussive undertone," and strong adherence to traditional Garifuna values and modes of living (Duran 1997; Stone 2002b); moreover, his recordings caught on in Honduras and Guatemala, inspiring Garifuna musicians in those locales.[96] Another Dangriga band, the Ügüraü Band featuring keyboardist Allan "Baba" Castillo, arose on the heels of Sounds Incorporated as the backing band to Dangriga's punta rock singers, a role the group continues to play to this day (A. Palacio n.d.). Meanwhile, in Honduras, Los Gatos Bravos [The Ferocious Cats], fronted by Aurelio Martinez, heralded the 1990s as perhaps the largest punta rock outfit to date and the first such group to make a mark outside of the

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[95] Since Banda Blanca presented the song as its own, Chico Ramos sued the band for copyright infringement and subsequently won an out-of-court settlement (Greene 2002: 216; Scruggs 1998: 741). As Banda Blanca was a ladino group, their cover of Ramos's song is but another example of a majority group profiting from the cultural productions of an African-derived group thanks to that group's social minority status. The popularity of the song throughout Latin America was such that Argentinian ska/reggae band Los Fabulosos Cadillacs not only covered it but made "Sopa de Caracol" the name of their sixth studio album.

[96] Titiman's popularity was furthered by the success of a television jingle he wrote for a pediatrician in Belize City extolling nutritional benefits of breast milk, which is how he received his nickname (Greene 2010).

country, at Miami's Calle Ocho Festival in March that launches the Caribbean carnival season (Barlow 2006).[97]

The 1990s was a decade in which one man's assertive efforts dominated punta rock: Andy Palacio. A Belizean schoolteacher-turned-social activist from the southernmost Belizean coast, Palacio was notable among his colleagues for being the first punta rock artist to bring the genre to international attention outside of the Americas.[98] He was also the first Garifuna popular music artist to embrace international awareness of Garifuna and intervention on their behalf as forms of cultural preservation.

Palacio was born on December 2, 1960, in Barranco village, where the Garifuna language and traditional lifestyle of subsistence fishing and farming prevail. His father Reuben, a fisherman and sailboat captain, was also a musician who sang popular Belizean and church tunes—Garifuna music was not part of his repertoire—and played guitar, harmonica, and cornet. Palacio cut his teeth musically during puberty by learning songs aurally and playing them on his father's harmonica (Denselow 2007; Eyre 2007). Beginning at the age of fifteen, he played guitar and sang in church and also in "a high school band that played at variety shows and school fairs" (Efunyemi 2006). He was especially influenced by the international music he heard on Radio

[97] As an example of the prevalence of racism in Honduras, Martinez told ethnomusicologist Oliver Greene that he had left Los Gatos Bravos in 1996 due to "repeated disrespect of band members of African descent" by ladino band members (Greene 2009: 11).

[98] Pen Cayetano and The Turtle Shell Band did introduce punta rock outside of Belize, beginning with a performance at the New Orleans Jazz Festival in 1983 (Greene 2002: 199). However, their performances were largely regional, with international performances few and far between.

Belize[99] and mentioned the U.S. R&B acts Otis Redding, the Commodores, and Kool & the Gang, as well as Jamaican reggae acts Gregory Isaacs and Bob Marley, as musical role models (Efunyemi 2006; Eyre 2007; A. Palacio 2007). In late adolescence, however, he was called to Garifuna music by a life-changing experience. Trained at a teacher's college in Belize City, Palacio became galvanized by the status of Garifuna in Nicaragua in 1980, where at age nineteen he served in the national literacy campaign and encountered few left who were fluent in the language and traditions (Steward 2008). After that, he eschewed the R&B, pop, reggae, gospel, and soca compositions he wrote in high school for punta rock, leaving the teaching profession to become a full-time musician (Frishkey 2007a; Greene 2009: 7); according to Oliver Greene, his first punta rock outing was a Pen Cayetano cover band called The Conquerors, formed circa 1983 (Greene 2009: 7). Palacio described punta rock's appeal in a January 19, 2007 interview with Banning Eyre for *Afropop Worldwide*:

> I was able to identify the potential that this music had for appealing to a younger generation of the Garifuna people in Belize to make them more interested in the culture through music. The fact that it [punta rock] was causing this kind of hysteria I felt that was a tool that we could use. […] I was already writing songs, I was already playing music, but I was not focusing on Garifuna music. I was utilizing all the influences that I had taken on from my childhood and trying to emulate the people I admired—the artists from North America and the wider Caribbean that I was listening to. So I was trying to compose reggae songs, I was trying to compose pop songs, ballads, but the advent of punta rock allowed me to focus on making my mark using Garifuna music. So I decided to divert and compose songs in Garifuna [the language], patterned on what had been started by Pen Kayetano [sp] and the Turtle Shell Band (Eyre 2007).

[99] As Palacio explained to Christopher Cozier for *BOMB* Magazine in 2006, "As an English-speaking nation in Central America, our national radio station had a very diverse playlist. This included reggae, soca and calypso from the West Indies; funk, soul, country, pop and disco from North America as well as salsa, rancheras, boleros and meringue from Latin America" (Cozier 2006).

While establishing himself as a class-act performer, Palacio also promoted punta rock on a wide variety of fronts. He played punta rock on a Sunday afternoon radio show, briefly hosted a television show on TV 5 Belize in the early 1990s, and assembled groups for the 1987 compilation album *Punta Rockers*.[100] Also in 1987, Palacio accepted an invitation that Pen Cayetano declined to work for six months in London, England, with a community arts organization called Cultural Partnerships Limited (Greene 2009: 7). After learning professional audio and video production techniques and forging important music industry connections, he returned to Belize to head the community recording project, Sunrise: "the first effort to record, document, preserve and distribute Belizean roots music" and the seed of a bona fide Belizean music industry (Denselow 2007; Graham 2000; Steward 2008).[101]

Palacio's first release from the London sessions was the dance-floor hit "Bikini Panti," "an English-Garifuna…satire on Belize's burgeoning tourist business" (Graham 2000: 328). He recorded a full-length album as a cassette, *Come Mek We Dance*, via Sunrise[102] with the help of local musicians and Vincentian producer Lenny Hadaway, from whom he learned instrumental arranging in London (Eyre 2007). Upon its release in 1988, the cassette sold over 1,000 copies—a success by Belizean standards—and captured the attention of Belizean Kriol Patrick Barrow, producer and owner of Caye Records[103] in the Inglewood area of Los Angeles (Greene 2010).

[100] This CD release featured Pen Cayetano, Andy Palacio, Sounds Incorporated, and the L.A.-based traditional percussion group Chatuye (Graham 2000: 329).

[101] Artists who recorded at Sunrise include Alma Belicena (a Belizean marimba band), Florencio Mes (a Mayan instrumentalist), and Waribagabaga (a traditional Garifuna ensemble) (Graham 2000: 329).

[102] By the early 1990s, Sunrise had been incorporated into the Belize Broadcasting Corporation (Graham 2000: 329).

[103] "Caye" is pronounced like the English word "key" and refers to any one of the reef islands off the coast of Belize.

Barrow offered to record Palacio's music at the twenty-four-track recording studio Hit City West in Hollywood (Frishkey 2007a; Barrow 2009) and, later, at the label's own garage studio. From 1988 to 1994, Palacio released a two-sided cassette single per year on various labels, which made him a punta rock star in Belize. For example, "Watu" ("Fire"), Palacio's first single for Caye Records, was recorded at Hit City West in 1988 and released in September 1989, taking Belize by storm during that month of national independence celebrations (Barrow 2009). The singles "Nabi" (parandero Paul Nabor's nickname, written by Nabor) and "Ereba" ("Cassava") followed in 1990. By 1991, Palacio's music had gained regional appeal, attested to by his capture of the "Best New Artist" award at the Caribbean Music Awards. During these years, he also performed extensively at international festivals in the Caribbean, North America (especially Los Angeles), South America, Europe, Malaysia, and Japan, and released the first music video of a Belizean musician to be aired on international television stations (Graham 2000: 329). As a result, the electronic emphasis of punta rock's second phase became the international face of punta rock: the Youth Connection Band that frequently backed Palacio live consisted of two synthesizer players, a drummer playing an electronic drum kit, an electric bass player, an electric guitar player, and two male backing vocalists. From the start, then, Palacio proved a markedly different kind of solo personality in punta rock, working to garner cosmopolitan audiences beyond the Garifuna diaspora for Belizean and Garifuna popular music.

After independently promoting himself and recording from 1987 to 1994, including efforts to achieve U.S. popularity in the early 1990s, Palacio was approached by Stonetree Records founder Ivan Duran about recording and producing his songs. Their first effort,

Keimoun (Beat On), in 1995 was Stonetree's first release, Belize's first CD release, and Palacio's first full-length release since 1988. It brought Belizean music to the attention of the world music industry for the first time as the most professionally produced, recorded, and performed album to date by a Belizean artist.[104] It also included re-interpretations of Palacio's older hits (such as "Watu," "Nabi," and "Gi mi Punta Rock") and a general departure from his previous style, evoking punta rock but defying facile classification within the genre.[105] Acoustic instruments such as drum set, turtle shells, primero, and segunda returned to the fore, as in punta rock's initial phase, alongside a variety of saxophones. In addition to dispensing with drum machines and most synthesizer patches besides organ and strings, Duran as producer combined Caribbean influences with unprecedented elements of U.S. "smooth" jazz and rock; the latter could be found in the prominence of soprano sax, the appearance of virtuosic guitar solos, and a greater number of chord changes and key modulations within a given song. Shortly before meeting Duran, Palacio noticed that punta rock's popularity was beginning to foster in fans an interest in traditional Garifuna drumming and singing (Eyre 2007). To accommodate this new demand, he released the single "Punta Medley" on Caye Records in 1993, which became a hit in Belize. It is comprised of traditional songs performed in the traditional *garaón* ensemble format of primero, segunda, shakas, and vocals. Henceforth, Palacio incorporated "Punta Medley" as an interlude in his live shows, a practice he continued until his death in 2008. Accordingly, he delivered elements of traditional music on *Keimoun*: Garifuna women singers, rather than male singers,

[104] For instance, *Keimoun* was listed in *The Rough Guide* as one of 100 essential recordings from Latin America and the Caribbean.

[105] It is telling that *Keimoun* is not featured under the category of "puntarock albums" on Stonetree's website (www.stonetreerecords.com).

provided group responses in their everyday vocal timbre, and one of the tracks is the traditional song "Bungiu Baba" ("God my Father"), performed as an *a cappella* call-and-response.[106] Finally, Duran employed professional instrumentalists from Havana, Cuba—friends he had made while attending music conservatory there—alongside Belizean percussionists and singers and recorded many tracks there as well as at the Stonetree studio in Western Belize. These cosmopolitan and "sober" elements were lost on Belizean audiences, however, even as *Keimoun* won the approval of world music journalists.[107] Palacio's subsequent album for Stonetree, *Til da mawnin!* (1997), aimed to win Belizeans back with full-tilt punta rock, showcasing homegrown musicians and uptempo, electronic dance tunes. Accordingly, the musician roster included three keyboard players and an electronic drum player; however, it also retained performers of primero and segunda, turtle shells, alto saxophone, acoustic guitar, and female backing vocalists. Unlike *Keimoun*, the majority of the lyrics are in English and Kriol, not Garifuna, and the focus on Garifuna culture was replaced with an outward orientation to Latin America and the Caribbean (Track 8, "Viva el Caribe") and Africa (Track 9, "Land of Africa"). He and Duran succeeded, and the album quickly became a punta rock classic that heavily influenced the next generation of musicians.

Third Phase: Late 1990s to Present

Punta rock's third phase began in the late 1990s, picking up where *Til da mawnin!* left off. During this time, African American musical influences from pop, hip hop, R&B, and

[106] As discussed in chapter 4, all traditional Garifuna music is performed as call-and-response, with the *gayusa* (chorus) of respondents composed primarily of women.

[107] As Duran told me during an interview on April 27, 2007, "The *Keimoun* album that we did with Andy in '95 was a *disaster* in Belize. Everybody *hated* it. They accused him of selling *out*. They hated the fact that we went to Havana to record and added on those musicians" (Duran 2007c).

electronic dance music began to substantially influence punta rockers. The groups that formed in Belize, Los Angeles, and New York near the turn of the millennium exhibited even faster rhythms, the continued dominance of digital instruments (although sometimes adding primero and segunda), greater use of Kriol and English, more ballad-influenced vocals, and sophisticated group vocal harmonies as found among the U.S. R&B "boy bands" prevalent during the 1990s (A Palacio 2005). The band that best exemplifies this phase is the Belizean group Punta Rebels, again from Dangriga, which featured a trio of excellent lead singers comprised of Lindsford "Supa G" Martinez, Lloyd Augustine, and Felix "Reckless" Flores (popularly known as Supa G, Lloyd, and Reckless). Punta Rebels formed out of the Sound City Band, whose rough demo was played by Andy Palacio on his radio show (A. Palacio 2007). Reckless joined Sound City as a drummer in 1994 and eventually moved to lead vocal duties, which he shared with Lloyd (who joined the band in 1996). After Sound City disbanded (temporarily) in 1997, Lloyd and Reckless formed Punta Rebels with Supa G that same year. Although the seven-member group lasted only a few years, the trio went on to have highly successful solo careers since 2000 as "Supa G" and "Lloyd and Reckless," achieving superstar status in Belize and in U.S. Garifuna communities. For instance, Supa G won for the Best Punta Rock Artist category at the 2005 Belize Music Awards, as well as Artist of the Year at the 2008 and 2009 Belize Sound Fest; moreover, his popularity extends to neighboring countries such as Guatemala and Mexico (A. Ramos 2009).

Several Belizean artists soon followed in this vein: 1) the Griga Boyz from Dangriga (heirs apparent to the Punta Rebels, including Supa G's younger brother Elroy Martinez); 2) Aziatic, originally from Hopkins Village but a resident of Los Angeles since childhood (utilizing a strong U.S. pop/R&B influence, often evoking Michael Jackson in his vocals); and 3) L.A.-

based Dangriga singer and guitarist Dayaan "Nuru" Ellis (a former Sound City Band guitarist) with his band Punta Cartel (made up of other Central American musicians who combined Caribbean and Latin American musical influences). In 2007, the band to hear in Dangriga was the New Rebels, led by three vocalists in their mid-20s—"Vida," "Jobo," and Sheldon—and backed by members of the Ügüraü Band. Of the Honduran punta rock bands from this phase, perhaps the most representative are Kazzabe (a variant of "cassava," the starchy dietary staple for which the Garifuna are named), formed in San Pedro Sula in 1996, and Fuerza Garifuna (Garifuna Force), both comprised of mostly Garifuna musicians. Other famous Honduran bands that perform punta rock are primarily ladino, following the footsteps of Los Gatos Bravos: Los Silver Star has functioned for over thirty years as a dance band devoted to the hot rhythms of the moment, while the twenty-four-year-old band Los Roland's takes credit as the first Honduran band to commercialize the punta rhythm ("Los Roland's" n.d.). Like the Belizean punta rockers, Kazzabe, Los Silver Star, and Los Roland's regularly tour U.S. cities with large Garifuna populations and perform at international festivals held along the Caribbean rim.

While the assertion of Garifuna identity and language through the genre remained and the practice of re-interpreting traditional songs continued, punta rock now foregrounded the urban dance club experience, in a genre-defining move. Andy Palacio described this incarnation of punta rock as follows:

> Sweating bodies surrounded by the aromas of smoke and booze in dimly lit dance clubs, grinding to the pulsating beat with varying degrees of physical expression [between male and female dancers] ranging from the merely suggestive to explicit pelvic gyrations and physical contact (A. Palacio 2005).

With the priority now shifted to "rocking" dancers' bodies, punta rockers of this era began to conceive of themselves as party bands not merely confined to the punta rock genre. Supa G described this embrace of regional dance musics as one of the qualities that had set the Punta Rebels apart from previous punta rock bands:

> And also we sang different styles of music; we didn't only do punta rock, but we did Latin Music: cumbia. We did…dancehall, soca, different kinds of music. So we were more of a band, so to speak, than just a punta rock band (L. Martinez 2007).

As an audience member, for instance, I witnessed Supa G switch gears between performing his Belizean hits for a high school graduation party in Dangriga on June 8, 2007, to throwing in U.S. disco tunes such as "Ladies Night" and "Celebration" by Kool & the Gang while performing at the touristy Riverside Lodge in Bullet Tree Falls, Western Belize, on June 16, 2007. Moreover, he released his first all-soca album in 2009 called *Club Jam*. For their part, Lloyd and Reckless cite the following musical influences on their MySpace page: "punta, reggaeton, salsa, bachata, soca, paranda, Pen Cayetano, Chico Ramos." Chicago-based musician Rhodee (Rhodel Castillo) released *In Exile* in 2002, which recasts a number of punta and hüngu-hüngu songs as reggae tunes (Greene 2010; Cohen 2003). Finally, Kazzabe stresses on their website their facility not just in punta rock, but also in other Afro-Caribbean styles such as reggae, calypso, and cumbia ("Kazzabe" n.d.).

Another characteristic of this phase of punta rock is the noticeable deterioration of the proper use of the Garifuna language, as the majority of today's twenty-somethings did not grow up learning Garifuna in the home. Phyllis Cayetano of the National Garifuna Council noted "the poor pronunciation of the language in many punta rock songs" in 2000, and Supa G told me that

he regularly assists the younger generation of Dangriga punta rockers with Garifuna lyrics (P. Cayetano 2000; Greene 2002: 212; A. Martinez 2007).

Figure 5.1 Belizean punta rock star Supa G and his band Daynjah Zone performing on June 8, 2007 at Ecumenical High School, Dangriga, Belize. Photo by the author.

Figure 5.2 Newly graduated seniors dancing punta during a performance by Supa G and his band Daynjah Zone on June 8, 2007 at Ecumenical High School, Dangriga, Belize. Photo by the author.

Figure 5.3 Belizean punta rock star Reckless and his band performing on June 8, 2007 at The Rivera Bar, Dangriga, Belize. Photo by the author.

Fourth Phase: Late 2000s to Present

In the late 2000s, punta rock entered a fourth identifiable phase to co-exist with the still-extant third phase. Notable stars of this third phase, namely Supa G and Lloyd Augustine, have been inspired by the roots emphasis of *Wátina*—the 2007 release by Andy Palacio and the Garifuna Collective that became a world music success story—to move away from a dance party emphasis to take up the acoustic emphasis and lyrical themes of traditional songcraft. By 2007, for instance, Lloyd turned to writing parandas of his own, and Supa G began work on a self-penned paranda album celebrating his cultural heritage called *Yurumein* (St. Vincent) (Barnat 2013: 103). However, this traditional turn could also be heard in punta rock proper. Supa G's 2008 punta rock album, *Di Scandal*, for instance, found him speaking out against social ills for the first time in his music, including inflation, gun violence, and child molestation. Reckless's album, *Watch No Face*, released the same year, is a self-described "reality" album advocating compassion and tolerance, with a track condemning discrimination against those with the HIV

virus and AIDS (Flores 2008). Moreover, Supa G and Reckless have incorporated primero, segunda, and sometimes even shakas as part of their band line-up from at least 2007 onward. On the Honduran front, Kazzabe released their first album with entirely Garifuna lyrics, *Tradicional*, in 2007.

Musical Characteristics

We witnessed in the previous chapter examples of the polyrhythms, melodic contours, and lyrical themes of punta rock's constituent song-dance genres, punta and paranda. Other than changes in timbre/instrumentation, perhaps the biggest transformation from these genres into punta rock is tempo. Parandas are slower-paced to begin with, yet even the relatively fast-paced punta rhythm accelerates in punta rock at the turn of the millennium to the 155-65 beats per minute allowed by drum machines. This is one of many musical attributes of third-phase punta rock influenced by fast soca songs of the late 1990s, popularized by such artists as Square One, Machel Montano, Chinese Laundry, and Krosfyre.[108] Another attribute that has remained to characterize today's punta rock is a horn line, played on synthesizer, which outlines the I chord of a song and repeats the notes of the chord (discussed further in upcoming musical examples 6 and 7). Such outlining sustains late 1990s soca songs, found in vocal melodies, bass lines, and synthesized horn lines; one such song is Machel Montano's 1997 international hit "Big Truck." In punta rock, however, these lines become truncated, repeated as short circular sequences, and are often played as triplets over the duple punta and paranda rhythms, signaling a rhythmic

[108] Profuse thanks to Birgitta Johnson for bringing these songs to my attention.

"Latinization." One more soca import is the presence of a quick call-and-response (call on beats one and two of a measure, response on beats three and four) usually sung on the tonic note.[109]

However, soca influenced punta rock, particularly in Belize, long before the late 1990s: after 1985, one already finds synthesized horn lines seemingly lifted from soca hits, a blend of the compatible soca and punta rhythms, and lyrics devoted to getting bodies moving on the dance floor.[110] Beyond the heavy soca influence, hearty Caribbean-style vocal exclamations like "Ayyy!" and "Chuba!" have punctured introductory and between-verse instrumentals in most punta rock irrespective of national milieu from the mid-1980s on. Let us now turn to analyses of musical examples that highlight punta rock's various phases of development and national contexts.

1) *"Gayu Benafi Leh" and "Kemon Aduguraha"(1982) - Pen Cayetano and The Turtle Shell Band*

The original incarnation of The Turtle Shell Band recorded these pioneering tracks in Belize City's Radio One studio in1982.[111] The recording sessions began with a serendipitous bus trip: since their block party performances in Dangriga's streets—what they called "roadblocks"—had proved successful, leading to paid gigs, the band members wanted to try their luck in the country's largest urban center (Greene 2002: 198). A rainstorm cut short the band's

[109] For instance, this can be heard from 0:17" to 0:30" in Square One's 1998 soca tune "Mannequin" (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m7FM1zxM1k8) and from 0:17" to 0:37" in Supa G's 2006 punta rock tune "Son of a Gun" (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xIv7NK_NvdA).

[110] Punta rock lyrics, however, have by and large remained less risqué than soca lyrics.

[111] Michael Stone (2002) claims that these sessions began in 1980; however, Pen Cayetano gives a start date of July 28, 1982, in an autobiographical account referenced by Oliver Greene (Cayetano 2002; Greene 2002: 214). Moreover, Greene claims that, in his interview with Garifuna punta rock promoter Barbara Norales (now a Dangriga town councillor), she suggested that "the first performances of punta rock in Dangriga occurred around the time of Bob Marley's death in 1981 and may have been held as a memorial to him" (Greene 2002: 200).

impromptu performance in the outdoor Central Park on July 28, 1982, but by then a large crowd of passers-by had stopped to enjoy the music. One of these audience members was a technician from the Radio One studio, who invited the band to come by that afternoon to record some tracks (ibid.: 199).

These songs demonstrate that the first punta rock songs diverted from traditional punta songs most strikingly in: 1) the additional percussion provided by the snare drum, and iron bell; 2) the inclusion of electronic amplification via electric guitar; 3) the addition of harmony via guitar chords and vocals, much in the vein of the paranda genre (the latter in the song "Kemon Aduguraha," which has two-part harmony); 4) words sung in Spanish as well as Garifuna; and 5) sung melodic lines, reminiscent of *paranda* or Jamaican *mento*, that deviate from the chant-like quality and descending melodic contour of traditional Garifuna songs through their affiliation with Latin American and Caribbean-style balladry.

These examples also contain clear delineations of a punta rhythm ("Gayu Benafi Leh") and a paranda rhythm ("Kemon Aduguraha"), both of which provide the bedrock for punta rock. Interestingly, both the guitar strumming and its repeated alternation between I and V chords evoke Belizean Kriol *boom-and-chime*, or *brukdown*, a rural recreational music that developed among slaves brought by the British from West Africa via Jamaica and Barbados to work in the colony's mahogany camps during the nineteenth century (Broughton 2000: 326; Stone 2002a). It was also mentioned in chapter 4 that the traditional punta rhythm and dance was likely to have originated among the Kriols of Belize City. It is possible that these little-discussed musical elements were factors in the Turtle Shell Band's warm reception in Belize City and punta rock's subsequent elevation to the status of a national music.

2) *"Marion" (1997) – Titiman Flores*

This is a track from Titiman's 1997 debut album, *Titiman Flores*, which features beloved hits from his live shows committed to the CD format for the first time. The album exemplifies the "roots and culture" punta rock initiated by The Turtle Shell Band, which features the Garifuna language and allies the original instrumental line-up with the subtle use of drum machine and synthesizer patches to re-create acoustic instruments such as live drum set and steel drums. I decided to discuss this particular track because of its catchy melody and because it showcases one of Titiman's musical trademarks: the centrality of acoustic percussion.

Regarding the latter, one hears not only the primero and segunda drums front and center (showcasing the punta rhythm) but also the added rhythmic interest from Titiman's *timbale* playing, which may partly explain his appeal in Guatemala and Honduras. In contrast, the drum machine track remains in the background. The tempo is a mellow 140 beats-per-minute, similar to the Turtle Shell Band excerpts. The role of electric guitar is also very similar to what we heard in the previous excerpts: it provides the song with harmony and another source of rhythmic emphasis, and contains a similar timbre. Here, however, we also have the addition of bass guitar. In terms of harmony, "Marion" continues the Turtle Shell Band's practice of centering the tonic and dominant, with the addition of the subdominant. The introductory section and its subsequent reiterations contain an organ part, common to both "roots and culture" and Honduran punta rock. We find the expected call-and-response between Titiman's solo singing and a group of male singers singing two-part harmony, and we hear "Ayyy" in the introductory sections and between melody lines.

3) *"Gi mi Punta Rock" (1990), "Gimme Punta Rock" (1995) – Andy Palacio*

One of Palacio's hits for Caye Records, the infectious "Gi mi Punta Rock" tells the tale of a club DJ who impedes the party atmosphere by segueing into a slow song. In response, the crowd demands that he go back to playing punta rock; once the DJ complies, "Everything is alright!," and the dance floor comes to life once more. In the video and implied in the song, Palacio is the one to confront the DJ, in order to keep his dance partner happy. The video is one of the first from a Garifuna or Belizean musician.

Video URL: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lztsD-fBL8c (Accessed 22 July 2009).

Lyrics:

Refrain: Gi mi Punta Rock! (3x), Garifuna music!
Gi mi Punta rock! (3x), Garifuna! Garifuna!

I gave this girl a chance
Took her out to dance
She burst right through the gate
Man! Just like she could not wait!
Well I was right behind
And Boy! This girl start to wine
But the DJ in the place said
"Now we're going to change the pace"

Refrain: Gi mi Punta Rock! (3x), And she bawlin'!
Gi mi Punta Rock! (3x), And she screamin'!

[Keyboard string solo]

Now the music soft and slow
Some folks walked off the floor
She refused to move at all
Everybody start to bawl,
"We want to jam! (3x) We want to party, so…

Refrain: Gi wi Punta Rock!" (3x), Garifuna music!
"Gi wi Punta Rock!" (3x), Garifuna! Garifuna!

So the DJ changed the pace
Punta music in the place!

Refrain: Sun Kati lidan dan! (3x), Everything is alright!
Gi mi Punta Rock (3x), Garifuna music!
Gi mi Punta Rock (3x), Garifuna! Garifuna!

Don't want you to stop it yet
I still want to move and sweat
Ay ay ay! Man! Gi mi more
Hold it deh, don't you let it go
It's like my imagination
Ah feelin' a new sensation
C'mon, check the sound
Let your body go round and round

[Keyboard string solo]

Refrain: Sun Kati lidan dan! (3x), Everything is alright!
Sun Kati lidan dan! (3x), Everything is alright!

This track exemplifies the dominance of drum machine and synthesizer that is characteristic of punta rock's second phase. As with Titiman's track, "Gi mi Punta Rock" is composed of I, IV, and V chords, with the recurring chord progression I-IV-I-V. The male backup singers provide the refrain "Gi mi punta rock!" and sing in the three-part harmony that is standard in punta rock from this point on. The lyrical focus upon a dance club scenario and the use of Kriol give the song an unmistakable pan-Afro-Caribbean appeal. We can also hear a significant improvement in the recording quality and production compared to the inaugural Turtle Shell Band recordings, thanks to Caye Records's professional Los Angeles studio.

An important aspect of this track and its video is how they incorporate tradition. First of all, the song itself is dedicated to granting punta rock pride of place among all possible Afro-Caribbean dance club music styles. Within the lyrics, Palacio even throws in a line in the Garifuna language,—"Sun Katei lidan dan!," meaning "Everything is alright!"—which

appropriately celebrates the return of the specifically Garifuna genre to the DJ's turntable. The song is underlain by the paranda rhythm common to punta rock, played on both drum machine and traditional drums, rather than the soca beat of other early Palacio tunes like "Watu." The video depicts the scenario narrated in the lyrics, on the dance floor, but also jumps to cuts of Palacio singing by himself and Palacio fronting a band; interestingly, this band is made up of mostly acoustic instruments, like drum set and violin, which mime the digitally reproduced parts of the recording. Interspersed with these central shots, however, is black-and-white footage of village elders dancing, singing, and performing on primero, segunda, and shakas.

Although pride in Garifuna culture is the theme of "Gi mi punta rock" and its video, I conclude that it nonetheless serves as the periphery to a larger Afro-Caribbean popular music center, indicating Palacio's attempt within the late 1980s and early 1990s to achieve success within this world while not losing sound and sight of his roots. This is visually glossed by Palacio's donning of a pan-African black, green, red, and yellow tunic during the dance club scenes. While his references to tradition stand out in their difference, drawing attention to Garifuna cultural uniqueness, they also remain disconnected, inserted as pastiche rather than integrated into a larger whole. This indicates, perhaps, not only Palacio's relative disengagement with traditional music and communal events growing up, but also the prevalence of such postmodern audio-visual editing techniques at the time the video was made. As we will hear and see with Reckless's 2007 song "Ti Boom Boom" and with tracks from *Wátina* that same year, both later punta rock artists and Palacio himself made great strides toward this integration.

In 1995, Palacio re-recorded "Gi mi Punta Rock" for the album *Keimoun* on Stonetree Records, which was re-named "Gimme Punta Rock."[112] His and producer Ivan Duran's re-interpretation of the song ditches the electronic emphasis, as in all of *Keimoun*'s tracks, while keeping its original buoyant "party" feel. From the start of the song, primero, segunda, and turtle shells dominate the proceedings. However, once "the DJ changed the pace" to punta rock in the lyrics, Duran musically follows suit with not only a brief key modulation but also a scorching electric guitar solo improvisation by Norberto Rodriguez (replacing a synthesized string part in the original version) that re-appears during the subsequent refrains and ends the song. This import, while innovative, comes off as jarringly discordant and, more importantly, thematically hypocritical when it first appears in the song: instead of "Punta music in the place!," rock has clearly taken over.[113] Such experiments pervade the songs of *Keimoun*, from jazzy instrumental breaks to half-step key modulations, appreciated by cosmopolitans but in enough defiance of what most Belizeans had come to expect from punta rock that they by-and-large rejected the album.

4) *"Ti Boom Boom"(2007) – Reckless*

This 2007 Belizean dance hit, exemplary of punta rock's millennial third stage, finds Reckless at the top of his game. Singing in Kriol, Reckless celebrates the punta moves of "Ti Boom" from "backatown" Dangriga, west of the main road. The accompanying video debuted at the Lakeland Recreation Center in Dangriga the evening of July 22, 2007, and was shown three different times, during the breaks between "Cultural Sunday" performances. Throughout most of

[112] In addition to "Gi mi Punta Rock," Palacio re-recorded "Watu," "Nabi," "Roots," "Samudi Guñou," and "Se Busca" for *Keimoun*.

[113] It should be noted here that the "rock" in the genre title "punta rock" refers to bodily motion, not the rock genre.

the video, "Ti Boom," a thirty-something "Rasta gyal" with dreadlocks clothed in flattering club attire, leads a group of young costumed female dancers through the street, much to the delight of the "Grigalizean" backatown crowd. Other clips show her dancing with Reckless onstage, interspersed with shots of young local women dancing in traditional and everyday clothing. As the video demonstrates, Ti Boom's reputation rests on the flexibility and athleticism with which she moves her behind, independently from the rest of her body, for this is the hallmark of a great female punta dancer. Practically all of the shots are outdoors and showcase Dangriga as the heart of punta and punta rock.

Video URL: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ykn8wJM_4-A (Accessed 28 July 2009).

While celebrating punta rock's local prowess, the song also fits well within the Afro-Caribbean popular music pantheon. Ti Boom herself visually glosses Rastafarianism in the video, nodding to its significant influence within Dangriga. The introductory spoken section announcing the arrival of Ti Boom comes straight from Jamaican dancehall, while punta, paranda, and soca rhythms merge into an indistinguishable whole, especially at the song's 157 beats-per-minute-tempo.

On the subject of soca, the song evokes this genre in ways other than the inclusion of a soca beat. Peter Manuel describes soca lyrics as "usually short and inconsequential…, and the typical song consists of a series of catchy vocal hooks" (Manuel 2006: 227-228). Reckless follows suit here, especially in the chorus:

Ti boom boom, da boom boom (3x)
Boom boom (2x)

Attesting to its rhythmic emphasis in the service of moving bodies on the dance floor, the melody of the entire song consists of little more than two notes and two chords (I and IV). The title of the album on which "Ti Boom Boom" appears is *Mek Something Jump*, reminiscent of soca singers' "calisthenic commands to 'jump up' or 'get something and wave'" (ibid.: 228). Punta rock dancing itself is a variant of "wining"—a term meaning "dancing" commonly found in soca songs—which Manuel describes as "now the predominant West Indian up-tempo dance style, whose essence is a pneumatic pumping, ideally executed in synchronicity with an adjacent 'winer'" (idem.).

But the video showcases solitary Garifuna female dancing to punta rock as a different kind of ideal. As in most other Caribbean locales, women predominate as dancers. However, Belizean punta rockers celebrate women's talents more than they sexually objectify them (as is likely to happen in dancehall, salsa, merengue, or calypso). During their shows, Supa G, Lloyd, and Reckless routinely encourage female audience members to dance in front of them as they sing. The respect for women as culture bearers and educators among Garifuna has probably mitigated the sexism and "slackness" found in much Caribbean popular music. The video, interestingly, also shows different varieties of women in age and dress, dancing in various locales and playing cards as ways to enjoy each others' company. Reckless's presence frames the video, but its subject is these women.[114]

Other quintessential features of punta rock are present as well, including the prominent inclusion of Garifuna drums alongside the drum machine rhythms (as in Andy Palacio's album

[114] The role of former punta rock promoter and current Dangriga town councillor Barbara Norales as director for the video might have influenced this depiction as well.

Til da mawnin!) and the presence of a call-and-response between Reckless and his supporting singers (fast-paced in this case, like much late 1990s soca). Moreover, the responses to Reckless are in three-part harmony, each part comprising the I chord, and can be found in the chorus (responses in bold):

Ti boom boom, da **boom boom** (3x)
Boom boom (2x)

They also appear near the end of the song:

Take the time and ride! (**Ride!**)
Ride, Ti Boom Boom, Ride it! (**Ride!**)[115]

Also present is the synthesized horn line—imported from late 1990s fast soca and given a Latin feel—outlining the I chord and played in a triplet rhythm, popularized by the Punta Rebels and standard to subsequent punta rock. This line first appears at 0:45" with the chorus. It begins on the tonic, then descends to the dominant and repeats that note. The next sequence starts on the dominant and descends to the median. To point out one final feature, "Ti Boom Boom" enters an interlude after the second chorus consisting of Reckless's "shout-out" commemoration of a friend named One Love Heights who has passed on. In the video, the camera zooms in on Heights's image displayed on a woman's T-shirt during the interlude. The interlude ends with all music dropping out for a second. This moment of rupture reveals not only African-derived musical aesthetics[116] but the continued existence of the deceased within Garifuna collective

[115] This exhortation to "ride" can also be found in soca star Machel Montano's aforementioned hit from 1997, "Big Truck," where he encourages listeners to "Ride di truck and jump up!"

[116] Here, I follow Paul Gilroy's explanation of rupture in Black Atlantic aesthetics (1993) as intrusions that mimic experiences of physical and emotional upheaval, particularly those resulting from racism and originary enslavement, in order to commemorate and "own" them. Moreover, ruptures are mitigated by the flow of repetition, where

memory, as evidenced in the necessity for a *dügü* ceremony if ancestor spirits (*gubida*) are not regularly acknowledged by their kin (chapter 3).

In short, the song and video demonstrate well the continued inscription of spaces for cultural heritage in punta rock, even after the genre's diversification in the late 1990s.

5) *"Tu Eres Mi Amor" ("You Are My Love") (2008) – Kazzabe*

Video URL: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pfyj4UJN5B8 (Accessed 5 July 2009).

Lyrics:

(Jajaja kazzabe!)

Otra vez el doctor Alex Arriola

[Again, Doctor Alex Arriola]

Te quiero sin ningun prejuicio no entiendo por que me busca
si tu lo eres todo yo te adoro baby, eso es lo que importa
el rio cuando suena algo a de traer
y asi es mi corazón que esta loco loco loco por ti

[I love you unreservedly. I don't understand why I search
if you are everything I adore, baby. That is what matters.
The river, when it brings a sound,
it is the sound of my heart that is crazy, crazy, crazy for you.]

Chorus (2x): Tu eres mi amor, tu eres mi amor
quiero amarte, abrazarte y devorarte
por que tu eres mi amor

[You are my love. You are my love.
I want to love you, embrace you, and devour you
Because you are my love.]

(Kazzabe coje mi swing para ti!)
[Kazzabe picks up my swing for you!]

---

material (in Reckless's case, a musical phrase) circulates, mildly transformed with each go-round, constructing what Gilroy calls a "changing same" (Gilroy 1993: 101,106).

Ay este mundo mira las cosas que te ofrece
mujeres lindas pero una cabe en mi corazón
y en este caso eres tu la reina de mi amor
y quiero darte las gracias por tu comprensión
el rio cuando suena algo a de traer
y asi es mi corazón que esta loco loco loco por ti. (Jacquelín!)

[Oh, look at the things this world has to offer…
beautiful women, but only one fits into my heart,
and, in this case, you are the queen of my love,
and I want to thank you for your understanding.
The river, when it brings a sound,
it is the sound of my heart that is crazy, crazy, crazy for you.]

Chorus (2x): Tu eres mi amor, tu eres mi amor
quiero amarte, abrazarte y devorarte
por que tu eres mi amor

The video for this song captured a live performance by Honduran punta rock band Kazzabe at the 2008 Calle Ocho carnival street festival in Little Havana, Miami. The group is led by three Garifuna singers on the "frontline" who rotate solos; "Tu Eres Mi Amor" presents the vocal stylings of "El Doctor" Alex Arriola. The instrumentalists perform on primero, congas, synthesizer (using organ, piano, and horn timbres), electronic drum kit with live cymbal, guitar (usually acoustic), and electric bass. Like Los Roland's, Kazzabe also includes a female Garifuna dancer who leads a handful of other dancers (usually ladino), all of whom routinely perform in bikinis.

Compared with Reckless's "Ti Boom Boom," its Belizean peer, "Tu Eres Mi Amor" exhibits numerous continuities that demonstrate punta rock's third phase as present throughout the Garifuna diaspora. First is the appearance of a horn line outlining the I chord, played in a

triplet rhythm on synthesizer near the end of the song.[117] Second is the ~150 beats-per-minute tempo executed on both electronic and traditional drums. Next is the melodic departure from Garifuna traditional song, here capturing the sound and sentiment of the *largo* "song" section of the Cuban *son* and New York Latino *salsa* genres (Manuel 2006: 43-44, 99-100). Similar to the Punta Rebels and their offspring, Kazzabe is fronted by a trio of vocalists, although their call-and-response style references the *montuno* section of a salsa song more than the U.S. R&B "boy bands" that influenced the Belizean groups (ibid.: 99-100). Finally, Kazzabe too features female punta dancers, although more scantily clad, ethnically diverse, and stage-oriented than the Garifuna dancers in the "Ti Boom Boom" video.

Alongside these continuities are punta rock traits specific to the Honduran national context. Some of these have already been mentioned, such as the influence of Latin American genres upon song melodies. Let us focus for the moment on rhythm. A fixture of Honduran punta rock groups is the conga player, standard to Latin American musical ensembles, who plays what would be the segunda part in Belizean punta rock. We can also discern a strong polyrhythmic tension between duple and triple feels. For instance, the saxophone riff marking the instrumental section that begins the song and the synthesized horn part that starts the percussion break later in the song are performed as triplets against the duple punta rhythm. Moreover, the lower-pitched congas perform the punta rhythm against a dotted quarter note performed by the higher-pitched primero. This tension is endemic to Latin American musical styles, crystallized in the Afro-Cuban *clave* rhythm, and has made its way into Belizean punta rock since 2000 via the aforementioned triplet synthesized horn line, as heard throughout "Ti Boom Boom." Finally, a

[117] Here, however, the line is preceded by a triplet-rhythm riff performed on a pair of saxophones, revealing potential additional roots in Dominican merengue.

key structural feature of Honduran punta rock is a percussive break that appears in the last minute or two of a song, called the *rebane*, reminiscent of the montuno section of son and salsa. At this time, all other instruments drop out, and the female dancers begin to punta in earnest with the singers. Moreover, the lead singer utters percussive vocables in consort with the drums to propel the intensity. In "Tu Eres Mi Amor," the rebane begins at 2:44," during which time we hear "El Doctor" chant on one note "Den den de den da (sigui) de den dengui de den" followed by the declamation "Yuca yuca, para ti [for you], yuca yuca, (un) Kazzabe" ("yuca" being another name for "cassava").

We can also hear a larger number of chord changes in this song than in the songs we have heard from Belizean artists, thanks again to the influence of Latin American *baladas*; in "Tu Eres Mi Amor," for instance, we find the following sequence of chord progressions:

Instrumental section featuring saxophones:

i-V-V-i (2x)

Verse 1:

[i-iv-bVII-bIII
i-iv-V-i] (2x)

Chorus:

[i-iv-bVII-bIII
i-iv-V-i] (2x)

Instrumental section

Verse 2:

i-i-i-iv-bVII-bIII (2x)
i-iv-V-i

Chorus

Rebane

Last, but not least, we must consider the performance of identity within Kazzabe's live shows and conceptual videos. The performance of *Garifuna* identity is effected by the genre itself (including the core rhythms and the primero drum), the ethnicity of the group's leaders, and, at times, the language; however, a larger Honduran and Latin American sensibility is present in equal measure. Musical characteristics aside, Kazzabe and other Honduran groups specializing in punta rock follow the Latin American dance band model in its number of members, its stylistic versatility (emphasizing, but not limited to, punta), its predominately Spanish lyrics, and the highly choreographed quality of the group's stage presentation (singers and lead dancer in the first row, secondary dancers in the second row, instrumentalists in the rear). We can also discern exploitative constructions of gender and race. Whereas the women dancing punta in the "Ti Boom Boom" video display sensuality and self-confidence simultaneously, appearing in a number of guises and contexts, the Kazzabe dancers channel the playful flirtation of punta toward the end of male sexual gratification, in consonance with the patriarchal Latin American ideology of *machismo*; this is apparent in both the band's often-risqué live shows and in their conceptual videos (the video for "El Coco" is a prime example).[118]

[118] To be sure, Afro-Caribbean genres such as dancehall are rife with sexist lyrics and imagery and are overwhelmingly male-dominated. However, these genres usually emerged from, and are performed for the benefit of, beleaguered African-derived Caribbean populations. In Honduran punta rock, the dominant ladino population mediates images of race and gender more extensively and forcefully. Dancehall dancers, for example, likely dance more for themselves than for a "male gaze"; as Peter Manuel notes, "Whether in a reggae club or Trinidad's Carnival procession, it often seems that, regardless of the song lyrics, women are ruling the scene, flaunting their sensuality in a way that is more for their own enjoyment than aimed to entice men" (Manuel 2006: 282). At the same time, the female-led group Las Chicas Rolands showcases women in leadership roles within Honduran punta rock, performing call-and-response singing and punta moves with precision and professionalism even as they accentuate the sexual in their appearance and performance style.

Moreover, by being bracketed off from the romantic balladry of the majority of the song, the rebane section upholds a binary opposition between love and sex, aligning rhythmic emphasis and explicitly sexual dancing with the latter and, thus, constructing (and feminizing) the "Afro-Caribbean" as an illicit pleasure in which to indulge. Finally, Honduran punta rock is usually performed in association with a band identity, which always includes ladinos, rather than that of an individual star performer (with the exception of famous parrandero Aurelio Martinez, who has led a band in punta rock performances), signaling the continued difficulty with which most Hondurans accept a Garifuna musician in this role.

6) *"Pressure" (2008) – Supa G*

This fourth-phase punta rock track is from the 2008 album *Di Scandal* by Supa G and his band Daynjah Zone. He described the album as follows:

> What we're doing is an experiment still with punta rock music because most of the previous years punta rock is all about bashment music, party, but this album speaks a lot about real issues.[119] Like I said, hopefully the people enjoy the music. I try to do it still in that party type of way but with messages ("Supa G's Scandal" 2008).

Although the song's rhythmic component (a punta rhythm at 156 beats-per-minute) and its standard pop chord progression (I-V-vi-IV during the verses) are hardly different from Supa G's earlier output, there are important differences worth noting. First and foremost are the lyrics, which bring to light social strife faced by most Belizeans in accordance with the album's focus. "Pressure" addresses the growing poverty accompanying the country's runaway inflation. Second is the ubiquity of a minor chord (vi) in the chorus, where he repeats the word "pressure," sonically conveying the gravity of the situation. However, the song's centrality as dance music

[119] "Bashment" is a pan-Caribbean term that often refers to an especially good, high-energy dance party for the younger crowd.

remains. For one, a video of Supa G and Daynjah Zone performing "Pressure" for a live crowd (since removed from YouTube) shows its effectiveness in getting people moving (interspersed with thematic shots of pumping gas and grinding paste). Moreover, Supa G begins the second verse with the suggestion that the positive communal feeling that such music evokes is an important starting point for ending the country's problems:

We want good parties,
We come together,
And good politics outta dis.

Finally, despite the chorus's dwelling on a minor chord, it resolves in an upbeat manner with a standard V-I progression.

The Punta Rock Industry

What has not yet been mentioned is the induction of Garifuna music into the commercial music world for the first time with the appearance of punta rock. The genre's immense popularity in Belize helped to provide a foundation for a national music industry infrastructure, encapsulated in Andy Palacio's formation of the community recording project Sunrise in 1987, although punta rock has since been equally, if not more, dependent upon international networking with Garifuna communities in Los Angeles and New York particularly. Characteristics of the punta rock industry also exhibit crucial similarities to those of music industries in other parts of the Caribbean. Let us now turn to a discussion of industry components, including recording, performance, promotion, income, and distribution.

The Caribbean Music Industries

Understanding the punta rock industry requires a general knowledge of the shared characteristics of the Caribbean cultural industries, particularly the music industry sector. In 2006, the Caribbean Regional Negotiating Machinery (CRNM) published a report assessing "the economic contribution of the cultural/creative industries in CARICOM,"[120] identifying "the factors constraining the global competitiveness of the sector," and analyzing "the trade and investment issues with a view to formulating a strategic action plan for the development of the sector" (Nurse 2006: 6). In this case, "development" means creating higher export value for goods and services in order to enrich national profit margins and strengthen and/or establish industry infrastructures. With their study, the CRNM hoped to capitalize on multilateral mechanisms for copyright regulation now in place (like the WTO TRIPS Agreement and the WIPO digital treaties) and the potential of the Caribbean Single Market and Economy (CSME) to offer "reduced barriers to trade and greater facilitation of the movement of artists and cultural workers" within the region (ibid.: 7). The group also noted the global business forecasts that "the creative industries will grow by 33% in the next four years" and that "consumer demand for creative content is driving the new sales (30-50%) in computers, broadband, cell phones, and *e-commerce*" (ibid.: 10).

CRNM's findings can be summed up as follows:

> The Caribbean enjoys a competitive capability in musical production. The region's contribution to the global cultural economy, particularly popular music, has been very significant exemplified by the expanding international demand for reggae, zouk, meringue, salsa, calypso, soca and dancehall. However, the level of penetration of the global market has been small and sporadic with a number of one hit wonders. As such, the economic potential of the Caribbean music industry is under-developed. The home, diasporic and international markets for Caribbean music are subject to high levels of

[120] CARICOM stands for the Caribbean Community and Common Market.

> piracy and other forms of copyright infringement as well as low levels of airplay in the electronic media. These problems are compounded by weak governmental support in terms of industrial, trade, intellectual property and educational policies relative to other sectors in the economy (Nurse 2006: 49).[121]

In the course of their information gathering, CRNM found that piracy accounted for at least half of the music consumption within Latin America and the Caribbean, with most territories within the region experiencing piracy rates close to 80% (ibid.: 33). As an example of "low levels of airplay," Belizean radio stations as of 2007 were subject to a law requiring them to air only a 10% minimum of local content, which includes commercials and talk shows in addition to music (Frishkey 2007b). Finally, lack of governmental support to local musicians is especially pronounced in Jamaica, where they struggle with informal marketing channels while "most top-selling Jamaican artists are signed to foreign labels and are not members of the local copyright society (JACAP) resulting in the non-repatriation of the large share of overseas income by Jamaican artists and entrepreneurs" (Nurse 2006: 34). These deterrents to industry sustainability noted by CRNM are compounded by: 1) inadequate or absent training (for recording studio assistants in Trinidad and Tobago, for example) and education (about the benefits of mobilization and advocacy, as with forming industry associations on musicians' behalf); 2) a weak telecommunications infrastructure "with low levels of penetration among [the region's] households and businesses"; and 3) the anti-establishment themes of most genres defining the region's music industries, emanating as they do from "marginalized groups for whom music is an act of resistance to cultural and political domination" (ibid.: 31, 41-42, 55-57).

[121] In chapter 7, we will see how these challenges of Caribbean music industries manifest and are addressed within the Belizean music industry.

What CRNM describes as "an historical, institutional and commercial bias against indigenous content in the home market that marginalizes and limits local entrepreneurship, investment and market development" is especially disconcerting given the significant popularity of Caribbean popular music genres within many global cities (ibid.: 12). To approach gold and platinum level record sales as a commercial artist, a Caribbean musician invariably has to break through regional borders, as Jamaica's Sean Paul and Barbadian Rihanna have recently accomplished; usually, it is only with such Euro-American stamps of approval that Caribbean commercial musicians receive support from national markets. It would appear that Caribbean governments by and large allow for First World exploitation of their cultural services in exchange for foreign aid (toward tourism development, for example), which bespeaks an immense crisis of confidence and a history of collusion between national ruling classes and former colonial governments that renders these countries independent nation-states in name only. As Peter Manuel states,

> In the twentieth century, one of the greatest challenges for Caribbean countries has been to ameliorate poverty by gaining control over their own natural resources and by creating social justice. North American imperialism has in many cases impeded such progress. Virtually whenever a Caribbean state has attempted significant reform—redistribution of wealth, land reform, or nationalization of resources—the United States has intervened, often by overthrowing governments in the name of "safeguarding American interests" and "fighting communism" (Manuel 2006: 288).

Thanks to this endemic disempowerment, most Caribbean popular music (made largely by subaltern groups) is received as exotic in markets beyond the region's current scope—like the much-studied cases of the unauthorized sampling of Third World indigenous musics (especially vocals) in European ethno-techno hits of the 1990s—occluding critical inquiry into the operation of these markets.

On the other hand, musicians' committed participation within local industries based more on the sales of services than on goods or intellectual property could be said to fashion such inquiry. Within the Belize-Los Angeles diasporic network, a hub of the punta rock industry, the challenges outlined above regarding Caribbean music industries have certainly prevented most musicians from achieving a presence in First World markets, where success has been largely measured by record sales and royalties. Within Garifuna national, regional, and diasporic markets, however, careers thrive via income streams from live performances and the promotional network serving them, from which record sales secondarily benefit. For the Garifuna making punta rock, 1) alliances based on kinship and township linking Central American and U.S. communities (as well as communities in the U.K. and Europe, to a much smaller extent); 2) increased access to tools of production, marketing, distribution, and media provided by the Internet and by affordable multi-tracker software generating high-fidelity recordings; and 3) creative marketing strategies virtually guarantee a large and responsive crowd at these events. In short, the brand of success that obtains among punta rockers, as with most Caribbean commercial musicians, necessitates further examination, especially now that mainstream multi-platinum acts like Madonna and Robbie Williams have begun signing 360° contracts whereby they get marketed holistically as brands for a variety of media, products, and experiences, of which recordings comprise only a small percentage.[122]

[122] Profuse thanks to Anthony Seeger for bringing 360° contracts to my attention. These contracts stipulate that companies signing artists (whether record labels, liquor companies, or tour promoters) receive not only the majority of CD and digital download sales profits but a portion of "event ticket profits, merchandise sales, endorsement deals and anything else that uses the artist's brand or music" (Arrington 2008) . On one hand, companies are using these contracts to expand their revenue streams in order to recoup losses from declining record sales; alternately, this allows them to cross-market artists, with profits in one area (concert ticket sales, for example) encouraging profits in another (like ringtones) (Leeds 2007).

Recordings vs. Performances

From its beginnings, punta rock has been a genre vivified by live performances, the best of which influenced the generation that followed. Former Dangriga punta rocker Adrian "Doc" Martinez, Supa G's brother, described to me Andy Palacio's 1988 Independence Day concert in Belize City, following Palacio's stint in London studios, as the inspiration for his adoption of punta rock, just as Pen Cayetano's amplified performances in the Garifuna language had inspired Palacio (A. Martinez 2007). Cayetano's early performances in Dangriga, Belize, with The Turtle Shell Band during the late 1970s and early 1980s proved the money-making potential of live punta rock. The band's early "roadblock" performances were often funded with food, drink, and "hat collections," but their first venue performance, at the Eden Rose Club, attracted such audience volume and enthusiasm that they began charging BZ$1.00 for men and BZ$0.50 for women at the door from that point on. Eventually, their Friday night spot at the club expanded to Saturdays and Sundays as well. When the band played a paid gig in Belize City for the first time, on the evening of July 28, 1982, at Club "Bonfire," they were compensated with ~BZ$50.00, food, and drink (D. Cayetano 2002).[123] The following day, their performance in Belize City's Central Park led to the invitation by a Radio One studio technician for the band to record tracks, which eventually yielded their debut album *The Beginning.* Prior to the formation of The Turtle Shell Band, Garifuna performing groups existed to showcase traditional drumming and dance and to perform paranda during the Christmas season but were not known as commercial operations. For example, acclaimed Garifuna drummer Isabel Flores, who moved to Belize from

[123] As in the U.S., Belizean currency is measured in "dollars." However, the exchange rate in Belize, heavily dependent on U.S. tourism as noted by Oliver Greene, is fixed at two Belizean dollars for one U.S. dollar (Greene 2009: 27).

Honduras during the 1920s and died in 1988 in Dangriga, "always insisted that he never got any money for his musical shows," according to his mentee Cayetano, even though Flores's group performed throughout the Caribbean, U.S., and Mexico (D. Cayetano 2006).[124]

This point in time also saw Jamaican reggae, via Bob Marley, achieving platinum sales status and carving an industry niche for non-Euro-Anglo music soon to be exploited by the creation of the "world music" marketing category. Moreover, the proliferation of Afro-Caribbean communities within the U.S. since the 1960s, as discussed in chapter 3, extended the markets of home countries into urban areas like New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Miami (Nurse 2006: 40). These circumstances provided an avenue for punta rock to expand into and commercially flourish within U.S. borders, beginning near the close of the 1980s. The Turtle Shell Band pioneered not only the genre in Belize but also its performance abroad in 1983 at the New Orleans Jazz Festival. Andy Palacio, however, can be credited with initially forging lasting connections between Garifuna communities in the U.S. and Central America toward the promotion and professionalization of punta rock. The primary impetus for this was the inability to make professional quality recordings in Belize at the time; as Palacio noted, "Belize-engineered recordings got slammed…for not sounding like studios in New York or Kingston [Jamaica]" (Frishkey 2007a). As a result, he studied recording and arranging in London, and soon after took advantage of twenty-four-track recording studios and record labels in Los Angeles during the late 1980s and early 1990s in order to create recordings of the caliber that would garner radio airplay and performance opportunities; as he put it, "…what being abroad

[124] Flores enjoyed the status of Garifuna cultural leader in Dangriga and Belize during the late 70s, just prior to the Turtle Shell Band's formation.

afforded me was the opportunity to harness current technology and apply it to our cause" (Cozier 2006). Hit singles like "Watu" and "Gi mi Punta Rock" usually sold fewer than 1,000 copies, but Palacio used these as vehicles for exposure and new opportunities more than for profit. Sure enough, radio airplay made him a star in Belize, setting the standard for concerts and albums by punta rock musicians to be advertised on Belizean radio and television (and, more recently, the Internet). It also secured him regular live gigs in the Caribbean, Mexico, and Los Angeles. In Los Angeles, for example, he regularly performed for the Los Angeles Parkfest as well as the Belize Caye Fest in Rancho Cienega Park from the late 1980s to the mid-1990s. In like fashion, fellow punta rocker Chico Ramos moved to New York in 1988; there, he recorded his first CD, *Stop Scratch Up Mi Back*, which contained the track "Conch Soup" that the Honduran group Banda Blanca popularized within the Americas. The success of both versions of the song garnered Ramos performances in Central America, the U.S., and South America, as well as Europe ("Our Belize Community – Chico Ramos" 2007). Since then, several popular punta rockers have made Los Angeles and New York (the locations of the largest English-speaking and Spanish-speaking Garifuna communities in the U.S., respectively) their home base, from which they "have made significant contributions in the areas of recording, production, promotions, and record distribution since the 1990s" (Greene n.d.). These efforts cemented a diasporic network for the promotion and distribution of punta rock live shows and recordings.

As discussed earlier, Sounds Incorporated's implementation of PA systems and digital equipment in live performance during the mid-1980s propelled punta rock to a popular music staple in Belize. However, professional skill in live and recorded sound *engineering* eluded the Central American arm of the burgeoning punta rock industry until 1989, when the five-piece

Obando Sound Guys (three brothers and two cousins) brought their collective technical expertise to Dangriga's weekend live shows. Since then, guitarist Al Obando has spent "every weekend" overseeing live sound for and performing with mostly punta rock bands in Dangriga and elsewhere in Belize (Obando 2007). Self-taught and an avid reader fascinated with electronics since childhood, Obando showed keyboardist Allan "Baba" Castillo of the Ügüraü Band how to use the multi-track recorder Castillo had bought for his new home studio, Wafamilia. For approximately six years at Wafamilia, Obando and Castillo engineered and produced some of the Belize's most beloved punta rock recordings of the 1990s, after which point Castillo proceeded on his own and Obando became the engineer-for-hire throughout the country. For example, Obando was hired to re-build and maintain Diamond Studios in Belize City, the success of which reached Ivan Duran. After testing his aptitude with a mastering project, Duran hired Obando as his in-house engineer at Stonetree Records, a position Obando still holds, and their first collaboration was punta rock star Titiman Flores's eponymous 1999 debut album, recorded at Obando's house in Dangriga (idem.). With the application of Obando's expertise in audio recording and mastering, quality recordings began emanating from punta rock artists in Belize in addition to Los Angeles and New York. Nowadays, these artists—many with Obando's assistance—make use of multi-tracker software like Nuendo in home studios like Wafamilia. Supa G, for instance, works with his guitarist Junior Marr engineering and producing tracks in his own home studio in Dangriga (L. Martinez 2007). This phenomenon accords with the revelation by the 2006 CRNM report on CARICOM's culture industries that "small digital studios" and "small bedroom studios" have recently begun overtaking large studios within the region, thanks to the democratization of resource access fostered by the Internet (Nurse 2006:

34). However, Belizean recordings of punta rock tend to speak for the Central American Garifuna communities as a whole; according to Honduran Garifuna musician Aurelio Martinez, there are currently no record labels in Honduras, with record stores and recording studios few and far-between. Martinez's recordings, in fact, have been overseen by Stonetree Records in Belize, Rochez Brothers Entertainment in the Bronx, New York, and JVC (with traditional group Lita Ariran) (Greene 2009: 11-12, 26-27).

Despite the presence of Garifuna recordings (albeit mostly of traditional music or world music) in U.S.-owned multinational outlets like Amazon.com and Barnes and Noble, punta rock recordings are largely released on homegrown independent labels with distribution limited to diasporic circuits. For example, Jorge Marin, owner of Punta Rock Records in New York City, in 2003 had only been able to convince fifteen stores to carry CDs by his eight artists since starting his label in 2000 (Shear 2003). U.S. distribution of Reckless's albums, released on his own Belize-based label Nuff Luv Records, relies upon a lone associate in New York City working primarily live shows. Although punta rock albums are usually difficult to find in record stores outside of their home countries, as these cases demonstrate, they can nonetheless be reliably purchased online at websites devoted to punta rock, to Garifuna culture, to national genres, or to regional music—like PuntaMusic.com, Garinet.com, BelizeanArtist.com, the MC Productions website (www.musicacatracha.net), and TuRitmoMusic.com—or at live shows. Unfortunately for musicians, punta rock albums are often not purchased at all, thanks to escalating copyright infringement within Latin America and the Caribbean. Torrenting—attaining songs and albums for free through Internet file-sharing—joined CD burning since 2000 as a method of piracy. As a result, most punta rock musicians today—including Central America's top punta rocker, Supa

G—do not receive due compensation from royalties and album sales.[125] As he explained regarding his 2010 release *Still Standing*:

> Honestly the music isn't selling in Belize. I did better on the 'Supa deh yah,' the first album but not in a way where I could say I could get rich off of music. […] And then having eighteen songs on this album, I did that because after this I will take a pause [a three-year recording hiatus] because again because of the sales of the album, you spend a lot of money and you don't really make back that money. Financially it is not really there ("Supa G's Still Standing" 2010).

In Honduras, the government has made little effort to enforce existing national laws protecting authors, in accordance with the WTO TRIPS Agreement (Greene 2009: 27). In Belize, a loophole exists in current legislation that enables "duty free importation of equipment that has been bought for the specific purpose of pirating music," such as "blank CDs and recording devices" (Nurse 2006:50). On the plus side, Belizean music associations, promoters, and business owners are taking important steps to curb violations and to promote interest in national musics. The Music Industry Association of Belize (MIAB), for instance, sought in 2006 to be recognized by the government "as the authorized agency to vet the importation" of the aforementioned pirating equipment and submitted a proposal to the Cabinet in 2007 requesting: 1) their investigation into unpaid royalties for songs used in radio and television broadcasts; and 2) a statement from Cabinet ministers supporting a government mandate that Belizean radio stations devote 10-20% of each hour of their daily broadcasts to Belizean music (ibid.: 50; Frishkey 2007b). Donna, the owner of Val's Internet Café and Laundry Service in Dangriga,

[125] Andy Palacio was an exception, thanks to his association with Stonetree Records and his international education in the workings of music industries. He stated in 2006 that "…my royalty statements indicate where my music is being played – Eastern Europe, Middle East, US, New Zealand, Japan, it's everywhere. I'm always pleased to see new additions. Once every quarter I get these statements that tell me where I get air play, what media and earnings for that period" (Efunyemi 2006).

omitted CD burning capability on her public computers deliberately to prevent piracy (Donna 2007). Finally, promotional flyers for local concerts have begun decrying piracy: to name one example, on the flyer for the Garifuna Collective homecoming concert in Dangriga on July 14, 2007 following their world tour, a line of text at the bottom reads "Beware of Bootleggers! Support Yu Own!! BUY ORIGINAL!!!" For the time being, however, the money generated by punta rock recordings is scant and drives promotional efforts more than musicians' incomes.

Consequently, the continued existence of the punta rock music industry depends upon live performance, as with most music industries based in the Caribbean. Receiving minimal income from album/song sales and royalties, punta rock musicians earn their keep almost entirely from live shows, often as many as four per weekend: according to Supa G's manager, Kevin Martinez, weekend sets usually begin late, with a typical scenario being a 1-3am set followed by a 3-5am set in a nearby town (K. Martinez 2007). To provide some regional context, the ratio of recording artists to performing artists in Trinidad and Tobago is 900 to 4,000 as of 2006, and earnings from live performances in Jamaica totaled an estimated $50 million USD—a significant portion of the Jamaican music industry's total earnings—the same year (Nurse 2006: 41-42). The CRNM 2006 report on the culture industries of CARICOM describes the relationship between music recording and performance as follows:

> Performance has increasingly become the main source of income for the artists/music groups, due to declining local music sales, limited broadcast exposure and limited financial resources to produce and market an album. As a result, many artists tend to skip production and move on to commercial exploitation through live performance, after having created the song or music. This is particularly the case in calypso, soca, rapso and chutney soca (Demas and Henry 2001; Nurse 2006: 42).

With the Dangriga-based punta rock band New Rebels, for example, singer Vida has followed the model of Andy Palacio's early career, recording songs whenever the band can afford it and releasing them as singles that become staples of their live shows and purchasable at such shows (Vida 2007). Whereas these recordings garnered the band ~BZ$500.00 a month in 2007, their weekend live shows pulled in ~BZ$1,600.00 a month (~BZ$200.00 a night), in comparison.

One significant advantage of promoting live shows over recordings is the ability to pool resources towards regular large-scale, multi-artist events. Most punta rock concerts advertised on e-flyers feature at least two well-known acts within the diaspora (sometimes including traditional groups and national/regional musicians representing other genres like soca or reggae) with lesser known acts and DJ sets as openers, and they last from approximately from 8pm to 2am. Promoters for these events typically charge US$20.00-$40.00/BZ$40.00-$80.00 for admission, and tickets can be purchased either at the door or in advance by phone at particular outlets, both of which require oral interactions that may or may not leave a paper trail and which therefore attest to a presence-based cultural and regional mode of communication. Moreover, concerts usually revolve around a particular theme—such as "Beach Bash," "Garifuna Settlement Day," "Boxing Day," and national independence days—and split promotion duties among two or three different companies and organizations (a cultural foundation and a punta rock promoter, for instance). Social media distributes the flyers for these shows, which appear as their own MySpace pages, on the Facebook pages for artists and promoters, and on websites for CD, mp3, and DVD sales. BelizeanArtist.com is a notable website in this regard, featuring a wide variety of e-flyers for shows in Belize and the U.S. Multi-artist concerts also dominate the DVD market, including "The Best of the Best Puntarock Concert" series, "Noche de Estrellas Catrachas En

Vivo" [Night of Honduran Stars Live], "Punta Rock Jam Fest," and "Punta Rock Archive Video, 11/19/92." Finally, concerts tend to occur within tried-and-true venues and festivals; this is especially apparent against the backdrop of the innumerable nightclubs and live events found in U.S. metropoles. In Los Angeles, for instance, concerts are regularly held at the Salaam Temple, the Hollywood Park Casino, and Prince Hall Memorial Auditorium. In New York City, common venues include Cafe Alta, El Palenque, and Mundo Maya. And, in Miami, punta rock musicians frequently perform at the Miami Carnival each October and the Calle Ocho Festival every March.

Figure 5.4: E-flyer for the 2008 Las Vegas Punta Fest

Figure 5.5: E-flyer for Punta Rock Jamfest 2000 in Los Angeles

Figure 5.6: E-flyer for a punta rock concert on December 12, 2009, in the Bronx, New York City

Figure 5.7: E-flyer for Punta Rock Beach Bash, December 12, 2009, in Hopkins Village, Belize

Figure 5.8: Concert featuring punta rock musicians at Buda's Disco in Triunfo de la Cruz, Honduras

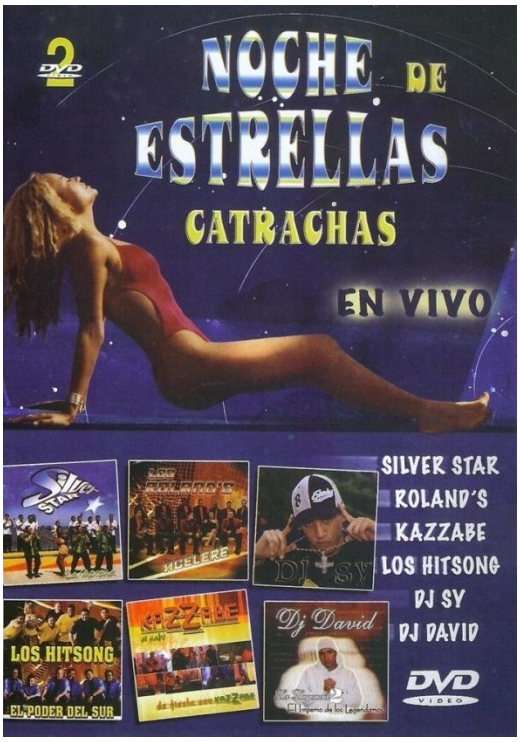


Figure 5.9: DVD cover for "Noche de Estrellas Catrachas En Vivo"

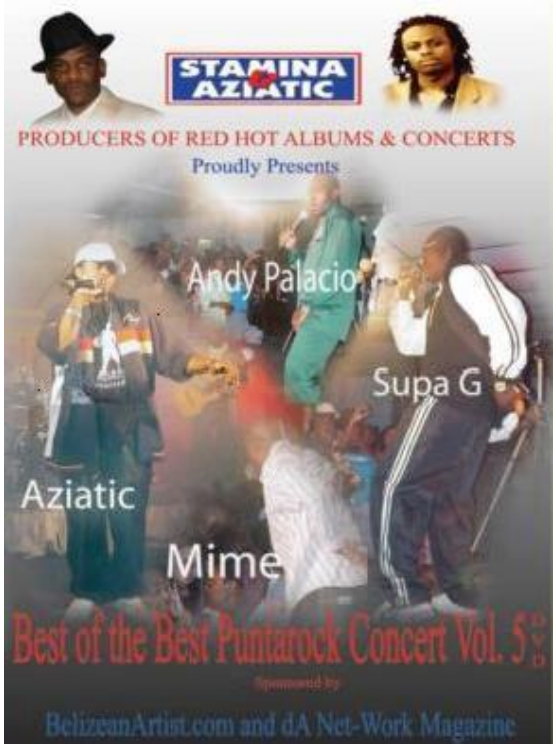


Figure 5.10: DVD cover for "Best of the Best Puntarock Concert Vol. 5"

Promotional outfits are similar to labels in that they are often small-scale enterprises, comprised of only a handful of associates, and are usually run from the U.S. Despite their size, many of them have shown formidable perseverance and longevity, including SKM Promotions (NYC), MC Productions (Miami), and Sta-Tic Productions (L.A.). Sta-Tic Productions, administered from Los Angeles by Belizean Garifuna musicians King Stamina and Aziatic, has been especially successful for a company promoting punta rock almost exclusively (whereas MC Productions, devoted to Honduran acts, also features on their roster ladino groups performing other regional styles). The former a rap and reggae artist and the latter a punta rocker, King Stamina and Aziatic have promoted punta rock shows in earnest since 2000, initiating a more

aggressive marketing of punta rock within the industry.[126] According to Stamina, a gun shooting at a house party he was performing at in Los Angeles in 1997 convinced him to move to "bigger and more secured events" as more of a promoter than a musician, while Aziatic remained the star of Sta-Tik's artist roster with more peripheral involvement in promotion (Melrose 2006). By 2006, Sta-Tik Productions had promoted twelve concerts in six years; all of Aziatic's albums, videos, and DVDs since 1999; and several volumes of the "Best of the Best Puntarock Concert" DVD Series.

Sta-Tik's company philosophy is risk-taking through large-scale investment that allows for high-quality entertainment and presentation. As King Stamina relayed in a 2006 interview with *BelizeanArtist.com*,

> [The most stressful thing about promoting a concert is] knowing that you can lose 20 – $25,000 in one night. […] [We] strive to produce Belizean talent to the outer world as best and glamorous as we can afford. It's basically making a choice, either you keep your little bit of money and stay in the background or risk all you have and go for the sky (ibid.).

Regarding the setbacks attendant to this approach, Stamina explained

> …it's been times where we've lost big amounts of money and contemplated quitting but at the same time if we gained enough knowledge that will help us to make double that money in the future then we look at today's loss as an investment. It's crazy but only time will tell (ibid.).

Even though many of Sta-Tik's ventures have paid off, attested to by the company's existence for over ten years, King Stamina still places a great deal of stock in established mainstream benchmarks for commercial success, like getting an Aziatic video aired on MTV or BET and

[126] They also cater to the larger Belizean and Belizean-American communities, with an emphasis on Garifuna popular culture, through broader channels, such as the website BelizeanArtists.com (begun in 2002) and the online magazine *da Net-work*.

securing record deals with major labels for the artists he promotes. He attributes Belizean entertainers' inability to achieve wealth and worldwide fame up to this point (since, according to him, "money runs the world and when you mention money people listen") to them not taking their talents seriously enough (ibid.). While this claim contains a grain of truth, relying upon live performance for a substantial portion of their incomes remains a steadfast reality even for major label artists, a fact overlooked in King Stamina's romanticization of the North American and European music industries that perhaps indicates the very lack of confidence that he perceives in Belizean commercial musicians.[127] As Andy Palacio noted, "With exposure to the lives of the rich and famous, those who don't know better end up with the misconception that that's the way it ought to be. Their perception of your purpose gets skewed due to media stereotypes" (Efunyemi 2006).

Organization and Advocacy

Assessing the present situation of Garifuna in popular music, Andy Palacio noted this lack of confidence as indicated by the following factors. One is minimal investment of money and time in musicians and their activities by national and international funding sources (ibid.2006). For instance, while supported by the People's United Party (PUP) from 2002 until 2008, the Music Industry Association of Belize (MIAB) nonetheless operated on "shoestring budgets" with "limited technical assistance" and a "lack of interest by CARICOM" (Nurse 2006: 50). Another indicator is the location of punta rock industry management largely in the U.S.,

[127] Even Andy Palacio granted a positive valence to such benchmarks, claiming in 2006 that "It is only a matter of time before we [Garifuna musicians] hit the mainstream through a major label" (Cozier 2006). This hope, however, never occluded his dream of greater accessibility and exposure for Garifuna commercial musicians within the Caribbean market, as he felt "a more intimate connection with Caribbean people" (ibid.2006; Efunyemi 2006; Frishkey 2007a).

with only one punta rock music association, in Dangriga, Belize, (known as the Punta Rock Music Association, or PRMA) to represent the majority in Central America. The scarcity of Garifuna musicians organizing to represent their interests in their home nations can be attributed in part to the non-existence of national music industry infrastructures in the Central American countries with Garifuna communities (while cultural organizations exist in all home nations). In Honduras, one of the two home countries where punta rock has achieved a national presence, managers, entertainment lawyers, promoters, and record labels are nearly absent (Greene 2009: 26-27). The lack of funds for the "performing and creative arts" in the country is directly connected to its high rate of unemployment (27.9% in 2006) and poverty (53% of the population below the poverty line in 1993) (Greene 2009: 27-28). And Belize, while monetarily wealthier than Honduras and until January 2011 militarily protected by the British, suffered a hiatus of the Music Industry Association of Belize (MIAB), which "sets policies concerning the country's music industry," from the induction of the opposition party in February 2008 until early 2010, then again until 2016 (Greene 2009: 25; K. Martinez 2007).

But another, more pressing reason that organization among punta rock musicians remains fragile is isolation. There is the isolation of Garifuna communities from public works and infrastructure throughout Central America, which helps to keep musicians in the dark about the workings of national and international industries (Palacio 2005: 112-118). As Oliver Greene notes, "Most artists are not familiar with the Belize Act or comparative documents in Honduras on the legal ramifications of pirating, counterfeiting, and bootlegging" (Greene 2009: 29). This had led to the norm of self-representation among punta rock musicians, particularly veterans and more community-oriented artists, which Andy Palacio connects to an underlying mistrust of

industry-mediated business exchanges stemming from fear of the unknown. As he states in an interview with Greene,

> There is a trust factor that is missing from the artist, from not understanding enough about the [music] industry in relationship between the artist and manager. It is likely to end up in trust quarrels before too long unless the artist begins to start to trust people. It is severely lacking and in many cases people who do business would rather do business with a manager and not directly with the artist. But the artist loses a lot of opportunities because they are being everything for themselves. They're their own public relations manager,… artistic director, … record producer. They are basically a one-man show (ibid.: 24).

Upon closer examination, however, the sense of extreme autonomy among Central American Garifuna that Palacio conveys operates in varying degrees depending on factors of age and location. For instance, the more solitary efforts of punta rock pioneers paved the way for more instances of collaboration among younger generations; for instance, Supa G has employed a manager (Kevin Martinez, secretary for PRMA) since 2005 and regularly features his younger brother Elroy as his opening act. Even within early punta rock, Palacio's bid for stardom as a solo artist appealing to cosmopolitans provided a stark contrast to the large bands and collaborative projects surrounding him, from Sounds Incorporated and the Sound City Band to family ventures like the Obando Sound Guys and the Martinez brothers (Adrian Martinez, Supa G, and Elroy Martinez) assisting with each others' careers through the years. Palacio's perspective on punta rock intra-dynamics emanates from the trajectory of his own personal growth.

This chapter has shown that the longevity of the punta rock industry, as a grassroots endeavor, could not have happened *without* a significant amount of cooperation between musicians, sound technicians, promoters, and distributors; punta rock itself, as a genre, is

additive in nature, linking urban and rural communities throughout the diaspora with multiple layers of sonic hybridity. What ultimately concerned Palacio, rather, was cooperation toward the end not only of achieving fame within the region and diaspora but of being able to make a living from music first and foremost, as manifested in national-level infrastructures and organizations. A wide-scale interest among punta rock musicians in cultivating this effort took root once the positive buzz for the neo-traditional 2007 album *Wátina* by Palacio and the Garifuna Collective began circulating within the world music industry. Not only did Palacio release the album of his career with *Wátina*, but it brought unprecedented attention to Garifuna commercial musicians of every ilk: punta rockers, paranderos, and traditional female singers alike. In its wake, the realization spread that developing a wide range of skills that assist musicians—arranging, engineering, design, entertainment law, and marketing among others—would elevate them to "brand" status, launching sustainable careers for all involved and a sustainable industry supporting all commercial genres of Garifuna music. I have already noted efforts in Belize to curb piracy and recoup royalties beginning in 2006. In addition, Belize's PRMA reconvened late in the same year after a five-year hiatus with new goals of 1) expanding the association's purview to include punta rockers living in Los Angeles; 2) proliferating government-funded educational workshops; and 3) committing to showcase punta rockers' stylistic versatility (K. Martinez 2007). For their part, musicians began displaying this versatility on recordings like never before with aforementioned all-paranda albums (Supa G and Lloyd Augustine) and punta rock albums devoted to social commentary (Supa G and Reckless) as potential world music bids, as well as albums devoted to regional styles in an effort to penetrate the Caribbean market (like Supa G's 2009 soca album *Club Jam*) (Moody 2009). As of 2007, PRMA was still working out

the logistics of how to carry out their new mission, thus performing the process of learning to move an agenda forward collectively, beyond direct personal allegiances (as will be discussed further in chapter 7). In sum, the punta rock industry at present stands at the crossroads of cultural values and new developments within both world music (Garifuna music recognition via *Wátina*) and within the culture industries worldwide (the First World monopoly on intellectual property legislation and a growing consumer demand for creative content thanks to new media) that present the global North construct of a "music career" as a viable option for Garifuna commercial musicians for the first time.

Conclusion

The history of punta rock provides a narrative of the involvement of Garifuna music in the commercial music world, beginning thirty years ago, and has defined Garifuna popular music until very recently. In its contemporization of traditional punta and paranda songs, the genre quickly joined the pantheon of Caribbean and Latin American dance musics and moved beyond regional festivals to forge a stable network for the promotion and distribution of live shows and recordings between its countries of origin and Garifuna transmigrant communities in the U.S. However, based on our analysis in this chapter, it is debatable how much of this success has been its specifically Garifuna elements and how much of it has been the incorporation of musical lingua francae well-received within the Caribbean and Latin American popular music scenes. While the Garifuna language and traditional melodies set punta rock apart from other dance musics, the punta rhythm is also just one of many rhythms rocking regional and diasporic dance floors. Thus, the question arises: what exactly was accomplished by how punta rock brokered long-held Garifuna traditions, and what could be gained by placing more emphasis upon the

production and promotion of recordings as *albums*, unified in concept and finely-honed in craft? These concerns have motivated the agenda of the Belizean label Stonetree Records since the beginning of the millennium, initiated by the release in 1999 of the album *Paranda: Africa in Central America* featuring revered paranderos from throughout Central America. The following chapter will provide a detailed history of Stonetree and the genre of Garifuna popular music that it birthed.

Chapter 6:
Garifuna Popular Music II: Garifuna World Music

"In a shifting consensus regarding a given traditionally based style's popularity, actors co-produce a mutable domain of musical 'tradition' and 'truth' in a discourse that rewards particular mediations of local roots traditions at the expense of their commodity-resistant counterparts." - Michael Stone, "Garifuna Song, Groove Locale and 'World-Music' Mediation" (2006)

Introduction

The recent genre I am terming "Garifuna World Music" forwards narratives that have garnered the most attention to traditional Garifuna music-making within the commercial realm. While several internationally available traditional music recordings preceded the mid-2000s emergence of this genre, the efforts of Belizean production house Stonetree Records cemented a sustainable inroad into the world music industry, allowing for the unprecedented transformation of Garifuna musicians into international celebrities. This chapter will detail the development of this genre, its musical characteristics, and how its neo-traditionalism dialogues with common world music industry tropes.

Precursors

Field recordings of traditional song-dance genres intended for academics and specialists comprised the first albums of Garifuna traditional music. The first such album is *The Black Caribs of Honduras*, produced by ethnographer and archeologist Doris Stone[128] and released in 1952 on the independent folk/international record label Folkways Recordings; this recording includes *uyanu*, *punta*, *paranda*, *wanáragua* (John Canoe), and *ahuruhani*.[129] This was followed in 1982 by the more extensive *Traditional Music of the Garifuna (Black Carib) of Belize* and

[128] Stone is the daughter of Samuel Demurray, the president of the United Fruit Company until 1951.

[129] See chapter 4 for an extensive explanation of traditional sacred and secular song-dance genres.

Dabuyabarugu: Inside the Temple: Sacred Music of the Garifuna of Belize, both recorded and produced by ethnomusicologist Carol Jenkins and her husband Travis and also released on Folkways.

In 1989, Japanese anthropologist Akira Tomita produced the first recording to reach an international audience far beyond the Americas. The album is titled *Lita Ariran* ("rooster blood" in the Garifuna language, referencing the sacrifice of roosters in the most sacred Garifuna ceremonies), performed by Grupo Garifuna Honduras; the group subsequently became known as Lita Ariran. It was founded by then-twenty-year-old Aurelio Martinez, now the leading figurehead for Garifuna World Music, who performed lead vocals and acoustic guitar on the album alongside a traditional garaón percussion ensemble (primero and segunda drums, shakers, conch shell, and female response singers, with added turtle shell). Tomita also sponsored the group's tour in 1994 to the Japanese towns of Nagoya, Toyama, and Tokyo, among others, making it the first Garifuna group to travel outside of the Americas. Also in 1994, Tomita released a version of the album as part of the JVC World Sounds series; representing the country of Honduras, this incarnation is titled *Songs of the Garifuna*, attributed to the group Lita Ariran, and contains punta, paranda, *gunchei*, wanáragua, and *hünguhüngu*.[130] Teofilo Colon Jr. posits that Lita Ariran was likely influenced by predecessors—such as the Wanichigu Dance Company of New York City and early 1980s New York and Houston performances by Ballet Folklórico

[130] Two subsequent versions of this album exist: *Lita Ariran* by Grupo Garifuna Honduras (the original album and group titles) released on Ediciones Pentagrama in September of 1995, and *Black Turtle* by Lita Ariran released on U.S. label Alula Records in 2005. The 1995 version is longer, containing a different song order and song arrangements. Each song on the 2005 version is three-to-five seconds shorter (Colon Jr. 2014).

Garifuna de Honduras—to present traditional performance in a formal style more fitting for preservationist settings such as theaters and museums than nightclubs (Stone 2006: 69, 72).

According to Latin American studies scholar Michael Stone, Garifuna immigrant communities in the U.S. were circulating Garifuna-made LPs as early as the 1960s, in turn (idem.). In 1992, independent U.S. label Arhoolie released one of the first Garifuna commercial recordings known outside of these communities: an album by the Los Angeles-based Belizean Garifuna traditional ensemble Chatuye (named after the Garinagu folk hero) (ibid.: 70). However, commercial recordings began in earnest with the founding of Belizean label Stonetree Records in 1995. Stonetree has had a two-pronged approach to Garifuna music: modernized traditional music based on field recordings on the one hand and youth-oriented, digital-heavy punta rock on the other. On the traditional side, Honduran Garifuna Evangelisto "Lugua" Centeno Pitio recorded the album *Bumari* (2000) with his traditional ensemble, the Larubeya Drummers, in Belize City. The child of a respected parandero and punta composer, Centeno is fluent in all traditional styles. The previous year saw the release of *Paranda: Africa In Central America*, based on field recordings of paranderos from Honduras, Guatemala, and Belize. Paranda's emphasis on guitar laid the foundation for the mid-2000s inception of what I am calling the Garifuna World Music genre.

With the largest number of Garifuna villages of all countries, Honduras has proved a rich repository for traditional music practices. As a result, Honduran musicians have been the subject of the majority of traditional music recordings to date and predominate among the musicians realizing the neo-traditional Garifuna World Music genre in performance.

Musical Characteristics

Like the punta rock genre discussed in the previous chapter, Garifuna World Music (GWM) incorporates foreign influences. As discussed in chapter 4, the paranda style that strongly informs both genres was incorporated from Latin America into the traditional song-dance repertoire well over a century ago, and, with it, the use of Western European three-part harmony via guitar chords. GWM differs, however, in that it ventures outside of the Western Hemisphere to styles found throughout Africa; elements of Malian griot blues, Congolese soukous, and Ghanaian highlife are easily discernable in the guitar arpeggiation especially.

These African influences converge with a strong sense of Garifuna neo-traditionalism in GWM. For instance, women are more prevalent in GWM than in punta rock, which highlights male solo singers. GWM songs often contain not only soloists but an ensemble of singers, featuring the call-and-response vocals of traditional song performance. Punta rock and GWM are both comprised of original compositions alongside adaptations of punta and paranda songs from the traditional canon; however, punta rock rarely strays from the punta and paranda rhythms and is largely concerned with the theme of romantic connection, albeit with some forays into political issues. In contrast, GWM compositions consistently draw upon a wide array of secular and sacred genres and a traditional orientation to *lamíselu*: a lyrical recounting of trials and tribulations both past and present and the mood of melancholy accompanying it.[131] More importantly, GWM is not meant to accompany dance per se, but to be listened to and contemplated (although movement is encouraged). Finally, GWM is *exclusively* sung in the Garifuna language, while punta rock songs are additionally sung in Spanish and English.

[131] See chapter 4 for a thorough discussion of *lamíselu.*

The traditional garaón percussion ensemble and paranda's acoustic guitars form the instrumental foundation of the GWM genre. Added to this are electric guitar solos influenced by Afrobeat and blues, Latin *clave* percussion and rhythm, and, occasionally, a reggae rhythm and sensibility—all elements that are popular in African-based world music.

In order to illuminate the contrasts between *oremu* (traditional song) and its refiguration in GWM, I now turn to two treatments of a hünguhüngu titled "Águyuha Nidúheñu" ("My People Have Moved On).

Lyrics

Verse 1:
A:
Águyuha nidúheñu. Águyuha níbegu nuari. (2x)
Águyuha nidúheñu nuari.
Águyuha níbegu nuari.

B: (2x)
Anirein Baba hadan aü, laransehaña nege nubara nei.
Nuguya nei gabáradina yagura.

Verse 2:
A:
Renúnsiatina yebe luaria ladügüniwa duru. (2x)
Renúnsiatina yebe ah luari.
Renúnsiatina yebe ah luari.

B: (2x)
Renúnsiatina yebe luari. Buléiseitáru nanigi.
Nuguya nei labureme duru.

Translation into English (by Andy Palacio with Roy Cayetano)

Verse 1:
A:
My people have moved on. My relatives have moved on from me. (2x)
My people have moved on from me.
My relatives have moved on from me.

B: (2x)
The Father is with them preparing a place for me.
As for me, I have a place over yonder.

Verse 2:
A:
I tried to give up doing wrong. I am the guilty one. (2x)
I tried to give up doing wrong.
I tried to give up doing wrong.

B: (2x)
I tried to give up doing wrong. She has hurt my heart.
I am the guilty one.

The first treatment of a hünguhüngu that I want to address is a performance in the traditional context of *a Beluria*, or "nine-night," a wake performed on the ninth evening following a death and commemorated with percussion, singing, and offerings of food and rum. It is a chance for loved ones to give a final farewell before the spirit of the deceased departs for the afterlife (*seiri* in Garifuna). This version was recorded in 1981 in Hopkins Village, Belize, by Carol and Travis Jenkins and can be found as Track 2 (simply titled "Hunguhungu") on the album *Traditional Music of the Garifuna (Black Carib) of Belize*. The singing on the recording is attributed to Paulino "Young Man" Castillo, although other singers can be heard faintly in the background. As discussed in chapter 4, the hünguhüngu rhythm is a secularized version of the sacred *hugulendu* rhythm and is characteristic of lesser ceremonies and processionals, slowly unfolding in a stately triple meter (1-2-3, 1-2-3, etc.) that is typically played on segunda drums; on this recording, however, Nicho Flores and John Castillo split drumming duties on primero and segunda, respectively. Fitting for a beluria, the lyrics of this particular song—one of many that can be performed over the rhythm—lament the passing away of relatives but also take comfort in the knowledge that the living eventually will join the deceased in the afterlife. Verse structure is

open-ended, as is typical in oremu performance: this version repeats Verse 1 twice, then Verse 2 twice, then returns to Verse 1 (in the middle of which the recording cuts off). This version also poses an anomaly in that women typically predominate among singers in social and ceremonial contexts, but it also provides a relatable example and, hence, prime adaptation opportunity for the male solo singers at large within GWM.

As we can see in my transcription of the first verse below, the melody contains the descending melodic contour and minor scale found in most oremu. It is split into an A and B sections in approximately the key of E minor. The A section (measures 1-22) has its own octave descent from tonic to tonic while the B section (measures 23-42) descends from dominant to tonic in the lower 5th interval of the octave. [132]

[132] The descending slur in measures 24 and 34 indicates a slide in pitch from A to E.

"Águyuha Nidúheñu (My People Have Moved On)"

Singer: Paulino "Young Man" Castillo, Primero: Nicho Flores, Segunda: John Castillo
Hünguhüngu recorded by Carol and Travis Jenkins, Hopkins Village, Belize, 1981

A version of "Águyuha Nidúheñu" appeared on the 2007's *Wátina* from Andy Palacio and the Garifuna Collective, the album that solidified GWM as a distinct genre. Arranged by Felix "Reckless" Flores, a punta rocker famous in Belizean Garifuna town of Danginga, it retains the percussive base of traditional versions and keeps the melody generally intact. However, additions and edits appear that both showcase and diverge from its traditional components.[133]

As an example of the former, the sung melody not only remains monophonic but is divided between Andy Palacio, Reckless, Sofia Blanco, and Silvia Blanco, creating a persistent call-and-response that predominates in a ceremony like beluria. Also, all instruments except percussion drop out about two-thirds of the way through the song; this break provides a customary backdrop of oremu singing via a primero improvisation, highlighting the song's continuity with the traditional version.

In turn, divergences from the 1981 version reveal much about GWM priorities. First, acoustic and electric guitars provide the song with harmony while retaining the minor key of the original, rendering the song more appealing to popular music audiences. Second, the *Wátina* version has a more varied structure evocative of pop songs. Background-sung "ohs" create a "Bridge" section following the repeat of Verse 1, which is then followed by the B section of Verse 1 alone, now established as a "Chorus." The Chorus is followed by the aforementioned percussion break, followed by Verse 2 (no repeats), then the Bridge, then the Chorus (B section of Verse 1) sung twice.

[133] It should be noted that Reckless was unaware of the existence of the 1981 Jenkins recording until I asked him about via electronic communication on July 29, 2016.

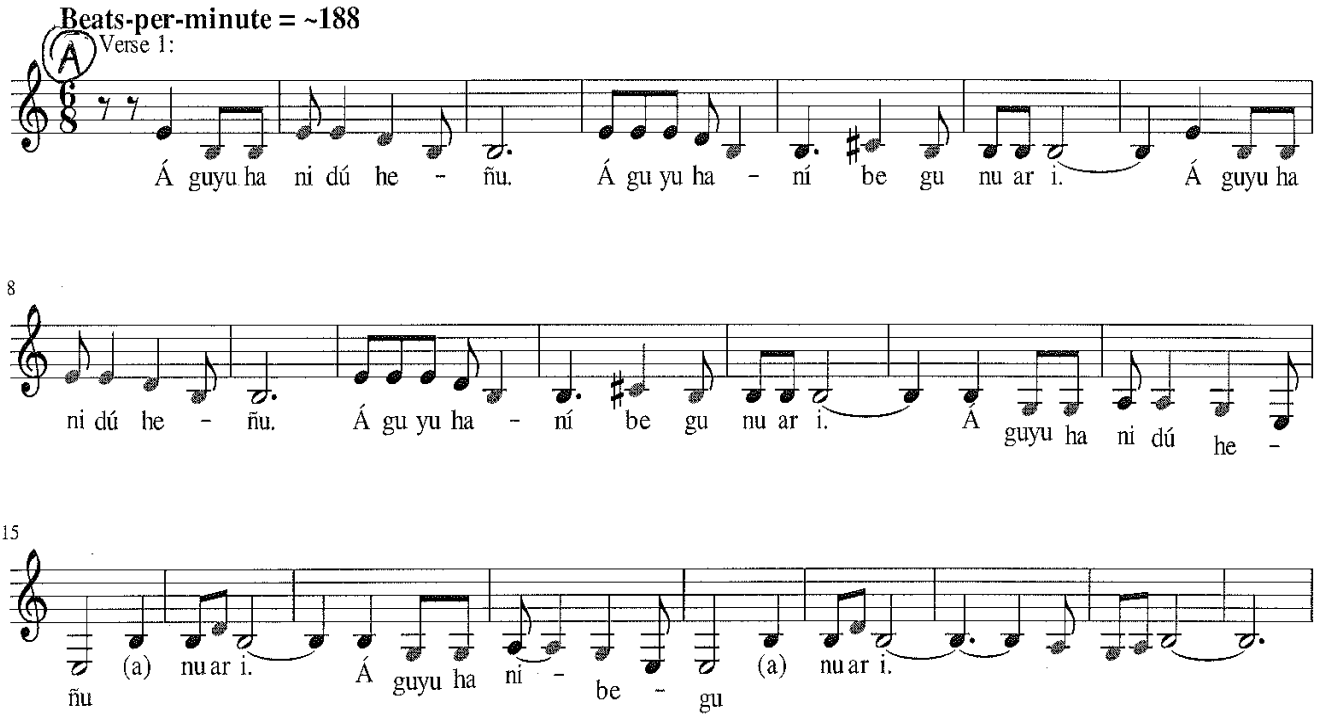
Song structure:

Verse 1 (2x), **Bridge**, **Chorus**, **Percussion Break**, **Verse 2**, **Bridge**, **Chorus** (2x)

Third, solo electric guitar licks, the raspy timbre found in Andy Palacio's vocal delivery, and Reckless singing a quick D note against a B major chord give the song a prominent bluesy feel.[134] Finally, the percussion break discussed earlier reveals a West African-derived rhythmic pattern played on Afro-Cuban *clave* wooden sticks accompanying the segunda drums and shakas.

It is also worth mentioning that the notes in the A sections of the verses differ markedly from those in the 1981 version. In the older version, note descension along the E minor scale is consecutive, whereas the melody of the *Wátina* version descends in intervallic leaps outlining the **v** and **i** chords. The end of the A section in Reckless's arrangement (measures 21 to 23) also contains ornamentation leading away from and back toward the B note, whereas that note is simply held in the older version. I have provided below the A section to Verse 1 in Reckless's arrangement to help visualize these differences:

[134] That said, the traditional version already contains this feel via note sliding in the B section of the verses.



By comparing versions of "Águyuha Nidúheñu," I hope to have highlighted adaptive strategies characteristic of GWM. Reckless's arrangement and Ivan Duran's production of this song for the album *Wátina* demonstrate which characteristics are routinely chosen to breathe new life into community oremu "standards" and to drive new compositions within this new genre: namely the use of harmony, North and Latin American popular song structure, blues melodic and timbral gestures, and Afro-Caribbean rhythmic gestures. More specifically, it shows how paranda—an oddity of Garifuna traditional music in its prevalence of acoustic guitar, male singer-songwriters, and Latin influence—provides the basis for GWM and how musical nods to the West African heritage of Garifuna provide the accents.

Stonetree Records and Garifuna World Music Genre Development

I now turn to the process by which Garifuna World Music came into being, fueled largely by the globally oriented efforts of Ivan Duran's Stonetree production house and label in Belize and Andy Palacio's interest in paranda. I also examine current output and projections for the future.

The Stonetree Records complex is located just on Belize's western border with Guatemala in a small town called Benque Viejo del Carmen. The bright yellow wood and corrugated metal offices and studio congregate on a small hill off Elizabeth Street, a thoroughfare missing from Google Maps, near a soccer field. On one side of the road is the 48-track studio completed in 2011 and the intern office; on the other side are the main offices, adjacent to the publishing company Cubola Productions. When I was an intern from mid-April to late August 2007, a young man of Mayan descent in his twenties, Otto Puc, was Duran's primary administrative assistant in the main office. I shared the intern office with a Peace Corps volunteer named John assisting with bookkeeping; a former volunteer named Tim O'Malley now worked for Duran as a graphic designer off-site in San Ignacio. Another intern studying photography at the Savannah College of Art and Design, Sarah Weeden, arrived in May. My own intern role was to devise and edit press releases, bios, album liner notes, official letters, and website content; in addition, I wrote up the 2007-2008 annual funding report to the international agency HIVOS, which supported Stonetree's hiring of a staff member to help promote its revamped company website and well as research for projects by Kriol musicians.

Sound engineer Al Obando, who has engineered over half of Stonetree's albums, spent most of the weeks Duran was in Benque assisting him in the studio, where Duran could be found

most days; otherwise, Obando was in his hometown Dangriga working live sound.[135] As president as well as founder, Duran makes all decisions on the company's behalf and is its only producer; in fact, it is the latter role in which he invests the most time, whereas he outsources album marketing and distribution to larger and better-connected labels like Cumbancha and Real World.[136] He lives in San Ignacio just ten minutes away and divides his time between Belize, a second home in Montreál (the hometown of his wife), and time abroad touring and producing. He is a tall, stocky fellow in his mid-40s with curly sandy blonde hair and a boyish face. In the relaxed manner of his fellow Belizeans, Duran speaks Kriol-inflected English and Spanish fluently, the languages in which he speaks with Garifuna musicians. When he talks about music, he talks at length, with vision and passionate sincerity; in turn, he navigates his day-to-day professional dealings with a dryly sarcastic jocularity. Through it all, he maintains a comportment that is always purposeful, and somewhat impenetrable for that.

When I arrived to start my internship on April 19, 2007, Duran was in the throes of whirlwind activity, telling me he had never been so busy as he was then. He and Obando were spending most days in the studio mixing *Umalali*, the follow-up album to *Wátina* featuring female singers in Belizean, Honduran, and Guatamalan villages.[137] Earlier in the month, Duran had overseen the recording of Garifuna musicians, including Andy Palacio, by British electronic

[135] He explained to me that Duran knows the sound he wants and explains it for him to realize technically. Then Obando will play back the recorded track or mix for Duran to critique (Obando 2007).

[136] As noted in Stonetree's annual narrative report to HIVOS for 2007-2008, "Post-production is the most important and time-intensive activity for all of Stonetree's audio-recorded output. Close attention to detail in the process of mixing and adding tracks provides Stonetree its distinct identity as a record label and recording studio" (Duran and Frishkey 2007).

[137] Some of the recordings on this album come from the same portable recording sessions as for *Paranda: Africa in Central America* (1999), discussed in chapter 4.

dance music DJ Fatboy Slim (née Norman Cook) for possible use on a future album. Duran was also fielding interviews regarding his most recent production, *Wátina* by Andy Palacio and the Garifuna Collective, for major press outlets in the U.S. and Europe, such as the *Boston Globe*, *New York Times*, NPR's "All Things Considered," and *Mondomix*. On top of that, he was gearing up for a six-week tour to support the album—obtaining musician visas for Slovenia, for instance— and had just learned that he and Palacio had won the 2007 World Music Expo (WOMEX) award.[138]

Since forming Stonetree in 1995, Duran has prided what he calls its "backabush" sensibility, showcasing Belize's homegrown musical styles and forging lasting relationships with its musicians. While compilation albums such as *Punta Paradise Volume 1* and *This Is Belize!* have brought in a regular flow of revenue, those albums that Duran has spent years crafting as a producer have been largely dedicated to Garifuna music and based on the folkloric collection of songs performed in their original contexts. Stonetree's first widely acclaimed release was *Paranda: Africa In Central America* (1999), discussed in chapter 4 and later in this chapter, devoted to a century-old musical tradition promulgated by elder men in the Central American home communities. Duran's next major production effort singled out Honduran *parandero* Aurelio Martinez with the 2004 solo album *Garifuna Soul*. *Wátina* (I Called Out) from Andy Palacio and the Garifuna Collective (which includes Martinez) and *Umalali* (Voice) from the Garifuna Women's Project (featuring several female singers of the Collective) followed in 2007 and 2008, respectively, after almost ten years in the making. These final two recordings have

[138] As stated in the press release announcing the honor, the WOMEX award is presented annually to "an individual or organization that represents the best the world music community has to offer" (http://www.stonetreerecords.com/news/2007_05_womex_award_2007.php, Accessed 27 August, 2016).

been instrumental in garnering world music recognition for Garifuna music, for Palacio as a musician, and for Duran as a producer—goals that have motivated Duran since the label's inception:

> Over the years we have…been very active in having our music recognized on the world music scene. We have attended WOMEX (World-wide Music Expo) every year since 1997 and we are constantly working to have our artists perform at festivals around the world (https://www.womex.com/virtual/stonetree_records, Accessed 24 June, 2009).

Raised in Belize since infancy by Catalonian parents, Duran grew up with one foot in Belizean Kriol[139] culture and the other in European-derived conceptions of and approaches to art (Johnson 2006). His mother, Montserrat Casademunt, received training as a classical pianist and vocalist before establishing Cubola Productions, Belize's first and premiere publishing house, in 1973 with Ivan's father, Joan Duran; she currently runs the company. The elder Duran is a respected visual artist who got his start painting in Barcelona in the mid-1960s under the influences of Pablo Picasso and Joan Miró; since then, he has expanded his artistic endeavors to include avant-garde filmmaking, graphic design, and multimedia installations (www.imagefactorybelize.com). Once out of high school, Ivan, an aspiring classical guitarist, enrolled in Havana, Cuba's Escuela Nacional de Música, where he realized that his passions lay more with exploring guitar timbre and technique in sound production than in performance. Duran

[139] As discussed in chapter 3, "Kriol" refers to the creolized English spoken by all native Belizeans, linking them nationally as well as linguistically.

became motivated to establish a respected record label and recording studio in Belize (perhaps following his mother's example) that musically chronicled Belizean multiculturalism.[140]

At the time that Duran was launching Stonetree in the mid-1990s, punta rock star Andy Palacio was enjoying international recognition as Belize's popular music representative, as discussed in chapter 5. In the midst of the attention, he noticed that punta rock's popularity was beginning to generate fan interest in traditional Garifuna oremu. In response, he released the single "Punta Medley" in 1993 on Los Angeles-based independent label Caye Records and incorporated it into his live shows as an interlude from that point forward. "Punta Medley" is comprised of punta songs performed in the traditional *garaón* ensemble arrangement of primero lead treble drum, segunda support bass drum, a pair of gourd shakers (*shakas*), and call-and-response group vocals. Shortly afterwards, he began pursuing a long-time interest in *paranda*, a form of Christmas caroling song brought to Latin America from Spain and adapted by Garifuna men during the nineteenth century. Sung and strummed with a distinct rhythm on acoustic guitar, it became a witty form of social commentary and romantic lament that was soon performed year-round, often backed by a garaón ensemble (McGranahan 2005[2009]: 265-267).[141] In 1995, he introduced his friend Duran to a tape recording of two parandas by elder parandero and *buyei* Paul Nabor from Punta Gorda, Belize, in which Duran immediately took an interest. Eighteen months later, Duran and his sound engineer/co-producer Gil Abarbanel—with Palacio's assistance— spent approximately two years seeking out the few surviving paranderos in

[140] Stonetree has also remained somewhat of a family affair, with Duran's father and his wife—photographer and documentary filmmaker Katia Paradis—often providing photography and art direction and his mother assisting with publishing services.

[141] For further discussion of paranda, see chapter 4.

Belizean, Honduran, and Guatemalan villages—older gentlemen like Nabor, considered the best at the craft—to disseminate songs and background in an effort to preserve a genre on the verge of dying with the performers (Duran 1999). They recorded in the villages using a portable DAT machine and two microphones (Edgar 2008b). These recordings culminated in the commercial release *Paranda: Africa in Central America* in 1999 on the Stonetree label, introducing the paranderos and their beloved, time-honored repertoire beyond the home villages. Although the label's debut album, 1995's *Keimoun* by Palacio, is listed in *The Rough Guide* as one of 100 essential Latin American and Caribbean recordings, *Paranda* was the first album that brought Stonetree notice in major press outlets (Eyre 2000; Stone 2007: 36). Reflecting his interest and experience in teaching, Palacio's pride in the project as a pedagogical tool for educating youths in Garifuna musical traditions can be clearly discerned in his statement from the episode "Honduras y Belice: La Aventura Garifuna" (Honduras and Belize: The Garifuna Adventure) of the Spanish documentary television program *Todo El Mundo Es Música* (All The World Is Music):

> *Paranda* is a major accomplishment. Not only for Stonetree Records, but for the Garifuna People. Because that record embodies a permanent document of the works of a number of the greatest talents of the Garifuna music world. What that has meant, especially for the young Garifuna person, is that now here is basically a textbook that they can carry with them and listen and continue to learn for years to come ("Honduras y Belice: La Aventura Garifuna." 2000).

The *Paranda* album's turn away from punta rock's synthesized sounds and party themes became the driving force of Palacio and Duran's collaborative efforts. It was released shortly after the *Buena Vista Social Club* album (1997)—featuring a supergroup of Cuban musicians at large from the 1930s to the 1950s, produced by U.S. guitarist Ry Cooder and initiated by owner

of U.K. label World Circuit Nick Gold—was enjoying success at the top of the world music charts and on the Grammy circuit.[142] Duran and Jacob Edgar, at the time an A&R representative for the New York-based world music compilation label Putumayo, began envisioning a neo-traditional group of musicians that similarly would take turns leading on songs and decided to follow Cooder's and Gold's example in an effort to encourage an interest in Garifuna roots among both younger Garifuna and also cosmopolitan British, European, and North American fans of world music (Edgar 2008a). As Edgar states,

> We definitely used *Buena Vista Social Club* as inspiration, asking [ourselves] "Why did it sell 10 million copies around the world? What lessons can we learn? How did it appeal?" (idem.).

This led to the formation in 2001 of a collective of seasoned Central American Garifuna musicians with Palacio at the forefront, acting as the primary spokesperson for the group. Initially called the Garifuna All-Stars, Edgar and Duran changed the name to the Garifuna Collective in the mid-2000s. The emergence of the All-Stars occurred the same year as the UNESCO designation of Garifuna music, language, dance as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, which brought attention (and cosmopolitan value) to Garifuna traditions on a global scale, setting the stage for positive critical reception for neo-traditional GWM (Stone 2006: 71).

During the making of their first album, eventually titled *Wátina* (I Called Out), Duran began gathering momentum for the group with showcases at world and roots music industry conferences like APAP (Association of Performing Arts Presenters), GlobalFest, and WOMEX

[142] See further discussion of this phenomenon in chapter 2.

(World Music Expo) (Chanona 2002; Stone 2006: 71). While Duran prides himself on Stonetree's financial self-sufficiency via family money, not ordinarily relying on external sources of funding by his own admission, these ventures were helped along by government agencies administered by Prime Minister Said Musa, such as the National Institute of Culture and History (NICH) (Duran and Frishkey 2007). The Duran family has close ties with the Musas and the People's United Party (PUP) with which they are affiliated; Andy Palacio did as well, working full-time for Belize's National Institute of Culture and History (NICH)—formerly headed by Musa's son Yasser—as Cultural Ambassador and Deputy Administrator from 2004 to the time of his death (Palacio 2007b).[143] The Musas' support of Garifuna music, discussed in chapters 3 and 7, proved highly beneficial to the development and promotion of GWM, at times to the frustration of Kriol musicians who felt slighted by the PUP and angered by the party's tendency to privilege private and specialty interests over public ones.[144]

The Garifuna Collective released *Wátina* in 2007 on Edgar's new world music label Cumbancha. Although over six years in the making, due to careful planning and Duran's meticulous production and post-production, the perfectionism paid off: it won Palacio and Duran near unanimous critical acclaim from world music industry tastemakers, capturing the

[143] Yasser Musa has collaborated with both Duran and his father Joan Duran on multi-media projects since 1992. In 1999, Musa's art gallery the Image Factory, located in Belize City, exhibited a thirty-three-year retrospective of Joan Duran's work (http://www.imagefactory.bz). Moreover, Andy Palacio held the following government positions, from oldest to most recent: 1) Rural Community Development Officer in the Ministry of Rural Development and Culture; 2) Information Officer for the Ministry of Rural Development and Culture; 3) Director of Culture; 4) Director of the Institute of Creative Arts; and 5) Cultural Ambassador and Deputy Administrator of the National Institute of Culture and History (NICH) (Palacio 2007b).

[144] I detail the negotiation of these tensions during the 2007 Music Week conference sponsored by the Duran-led Music Industry Association of Belize (MIAB) in chapter 7 (Frishkey 2007a, 2007b; Guild 2007).

prestigious WOMEX award for that year and the #1 position on Amazon's Top 100 World Music Albums of All-Time list.

Figure 6.1 Ivan Duran and Andy Palacio accepting the 2007 WOMEX (World Music Expo) Award. Sevilla, Spain. October 28, 2007. Photographer unknown.

At this juncture, Palacio finally achieved his long-standing goal of opening the door to the general public for Garifuna popular music that veered closer to traditional practices than pop conventions. Only two months after a homecoming concert in Barranco, his birth village, where he was proclaimed a UNESCO Artist for Peace, Palacio died suddenly of a massive stroke and heart attack at age 47, on January 19, 2008. In the ensuing years, his friends and bandmates wrote tribute songs and released a stream of Duran-produced neo-traditional albums in the vein of *Wátina* that cemented the Garifuna presence within the world music circuit and Garifuna World Music as a genre. These albums include *Umalali* (Voice) (2008) by the Garifuna Women's Collective (an all-female vocal counterpart to 1999's *Paranda*), the Garifuna Collective's follow-up to *Wátina* titled *Ayó* (Goodbye) (2013), and *Laru Beya* (On The Beach)

(2011) and *Lándini* (Landing Place) (2014) by Aurelio Martinez.[145] They follow *Wátina*'s lead of revising songs originated by elder community members, writing from personal experience, and employing traditional acoustic instrumentation, rhythms, and responsorial group vocals.

The song that became Palacio's posthumous calling card is the self-penned "Ámuñegü" ("In Times To Come"), the closing track on *Wátina*. He references an almost obsolete men's genre, *arúmahani*, brought to Central America from St. Vincent, in the lyrics to bolster his warning about cultural and linguistic endangerment, harking back to his formative experience of Garifuna language loss in Nicaragua in 1980 (Steward 2007: 43; Herndon 2008: 82).[146]

Lyrics

Kaba funa san áñüga wabute ámuñegü.
Kaba funa san ayanuha Garifuna numa ámuñegü.
Kaba funa san arumaha numa o ámuñegü.
Kaba funa san adügüraha wau o ámuñegü.

Chülühali dan lun lareidahóun.
Chülühali dan lun larufudahóun.
Chülühali dan lun lareidahóun.
Féiridiwañáli ei gumugubei.

Ageindaguatian wayunagu lun habagaridun kei Garinagu.
Wagía me san aferidirei wagaburi, madügawaméi.

Aganba humaña agübürigu, harufudaha houn isanigu.
Wererun luma weremuhan, wafíen luma wabínahan.

Chülühali dan lun lareidahóun.
Chülühali dan lun larufudahóun.
Chülühali dan lun lareidahóun.
Féiridiwañáli ei gumugubei.

[145] I discuss *Umalali* in greater depth in chapter 7.

[146] As discussed in chapter 4, arúmahani is the men's version of the sacred and most likely oldest Garinagu song-dance genre *uyanu*.

Féiridiwañáli ei gumugubei.

Translation into English (by Andy Palacio with Roy Cayetano)

I wonder who will bake cassava bread for us in times to come.
I wonder who will speak with me in Garifuna in times to come.
I wonder who will sing *Arúmahani* songs with me in times to come.
I wonder who will heal us with the *dügü* in times to come.

The time has come for it to be preserved.
The time has come for it to be taught.
The time has come for it to be preserved.
Lest we lose it altogether.

Our ancestors fought to remain Garifuna.
Why must we be the ones to lose our culture?
Let's not do it.

Parents, please listen to me.
Teach the children our language and our songs,
Our beliefs and our dances.

The time has come for it to be preserved.
The time has come for it to be taught.
The time has come for it to be preserved.
Lest we lose it altogether.

Lest we lose it altogether.

In a 2007 interview for U.K. world music magazine *Songlines*, Palacio stated, "That song reflects on where we are headed as a people. The time has come for a deliberate transmission of culture to the next generation – or we'll lose it altogether" (Steward 2007: 43). One stop on the Garifuna Collective's November 2007 homecoming tour of Belize, following their European tour supporting *Wátina*, was Hopkins Village, where the album was recorded and where Garifuna remains children's first language. It was to them that Palacio dedicated the band's performance of "Ámuñegü." As U.S. journalist David Herndon observed, " …I was in the presence of

something more than simply excellent and righteous, but something noble. The man was singing directly to the next generation about the importance of their cultural heritage, their legacy of resistance and tenacity despite their minority status, the distractions of globalism and 'progress'" (Herndon 2008: 87-88). Seven years later, filmmaker Andrea Leland featured the song prominently in her 2014 documentary *Yurumein*, about Honduran Garifuna making a pilgrimage to St. Vincent and meeting descendents of Garinagu who remained after the 1797 exile; after we had presented on a conference panel together in 2015, she told me that it is well-known and loved among the Garifuna with whom she spoke. A prime example of GWM in its guitar layering, traditional percussion, and pop melodicism, "Ámuñegü" is distinguished by the convergence of heightened dolefulness, textural sparseness, performative restraint, and the inclusion of cello and children's voices on the refrain that ends the song—"Féiridiwañáli ei gumugubei" (Lest we lose it altogether)—in order to highlight Palacio's concern for the successful sustenance of cultural identity.

A group refrain, "lárigi" (meaning "beyond" or "after" in Garifuna), also closes the song "Wamada" ("Our Mutual Friend") from Garifuna Collective member Aurelio Martinez's 2011 album *Laru Beya* (On The Beach). Recording for the song began in San Juan Village, Honduras, shortly after Andy Palacio's death, and the lyrics depict him swinging in a hammock in the spirit correlate of the Garinagu homeland Yurumein (St. Vincent), called *seiri* (described earlier in this chapter as the afterlife). "Wamada" is based upon a traditional song sung during the *dügü* ancestor veneration ceremony central to Garifuna cultural vitality.[147] Dügü songs employ the

[147] See chapter 3 for a detailed description of dügü.

triple-meter *hugulendu* rhythm[148]; in this case, however, the rhythm is sped up to a shuffle feel, which produces a swaying quality evocative of a hammock. They are usually not recorded, confined to their highly sacred context, but Martinez "felt it was appropriate to use this music to honor Andy" (Newyear, Duran, and Vietze 2011). As demonstrated by the last of a series of emotional video clips of the recording session, Martinez recorded the mournful-sounding lead vocal in one take; when producer Ivan Duran asks him if he wants to do another take, he replies that it is "unrepeatable."

Video URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SEVvnHYUQOM (Accessed 27 February 2016).

Laru Beya marks Martinez's first release on Real World Records, famed art rock musician Peter Gabriel's label, and is the product of Martinez's partnership with Senegalese Afropop legend Youssou N'Dour as a recipient of the 2008-2009 Rolex Mentor and Protégé Arts Initiative discussed in chapter 1, which provided the first ever extramural funding of his work (Eyre 2011). On "Wamada," N'Dour provides supplementary vocals containing lyrics tying the Garifuna to Africa, a move further cemented by the song's inclusion of the double-headed, pitch-bending "talking drum" found throughout West Africa—in this case the high-pitched *tama* of the Wolof people. In fact, the entire album is informed by Martinez's month-long cosmopolitan and politicized experience in Dakar, Senegal, for the Rolex program, collaborating not only with mentor N'Dour but also with members from the local superstar group Orchestra Baobab[149] and

[148] See chapter 4.

[149] Nick Gold of the London-based world music label World Circuit reconvened the group in 2001 long after they had disbanded during the mid-1980s, resulting in the re-release of their 1982 album *Pirates Choice* (first released in 1989) in 2001 and the release of a new album, *Specialist in All Styles*, in 2002 (Whitmore 2015: 349-350). The

from the relatively lesser known hip-hop collective Sen Kumpe. In contrast, his subsequent release, *Lándini* (Landing Place) (2014), is a love letter to his mother, Maria Teofila Martinez Suazo, as a singer and composer, veering back toward the traditional within GWM's neo-traditional emphasis.[150] As Martinez put it, "I consider this album to be the sound of my Garifuna people. On the previous album Laru Beya we experimented and collaborated with other artists to reconnect what was lost between Africa and America. This album is purely Garifuna, and the entire spirit of the music reflects the Garifuna experience" (Holland 2014).

With *Laru Beya*, Aurelio Martinez took up Andy Palacio's mantle within the world music community in earnest. As explained by *Pitchfork* reviewer Joe Tangari, "if Palacio changed the scope of what Garifuna music could be, Martinez seems intent on inserting it into the mainstream of global music" (Tangari 2011); in Martinez's own words, *Laru Beya* "puts the exclamation point on the life of Andy Palacio so it can continue to the next level" (Eyre 2011). A veteran musician, Martinez founded the traditional ensemble Lita Ariran in 1989 and performed punta rock with the dance band Los Gatos Bravos during the 1990s. He subsequently founded the group Los Bravos Del Caribe, with whom he continues to perform punta rock and other regional genres to this day and which had their first performance, at the invitation of Andy Palacio, on April 12, 1997, at the bicentennial celebration of the arrival of Garinagu to Honduras from St. Vincent (Long 2014; Colon Jr. 2014; Greene 2009: 11-12). Born in the small Honduran Garifuna village of Plaplaya, Martinez learned traditional songs from his mother and grandmother and

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latter album garnered the Best African Artist award and Critics' Choice award at the 2003 BBC Radio 3 World Music Awards (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/2740023.stm, Accessed 15 July 2016).

[150] Martinez co-wrote three of the album's songs with her.

began drumming at adult-only dügü ceremonies and playing guitar as a child, moving to multiple instruments and ensembles in his teens while in secondary school in La Ceiba, capital of the Atlántida province. Following his involvement with Lita Ariran, he became a mainstay in La Ceiba's music scene as a punta rock performer. His dedication to paranda, the art of his father, flourished in the late 1990s and early-to-mid 2000s, during the course of which he met Palacio and Duran and contributed two original songs to the 1999 Stonetree compilation album *Paranda*. This was followed in 2004 by his Duran-produced solo album *Garifuna Soul*, on which "his richly resonant voice and soulful acoustic songs caught the attention of the global music press and put [him]…on the map as a tradition-bearer with an innate musicality and subtle innovative streak" (FLi Artists website: http://fliartists.com/artists/global-roots/aurelio-martinez/, Accessed 10 March 2016).[151] In 2005, his commitment to improving the plight of groups subject to discrimination in Honduras—Afro-descendents, indigenous peoples, farmers, and those suffering from poverty—resulted in a four-year term in the Honduran National Congress as its first Afro-descendent participant, representing the Atlántida province (Long 2014). Moved by the loss of his good friend, Martinez returned to music full-time following Palacio's death in 2008 and has since performed GWM and paranda at venues and festival throughout the U.S., Latin American, and Europe, including the largest world music festival in the world, the WOMAD (the World of Music Art and Dance) Festival, co-founded by Peter Gabriel in 1982.

Future Directions

Regarding future directions after Palacio's death, Duran stated in a 2011 interview with me that he believes that Palacio had left a blueprint for Garifuna musicians in Belize especially

[151] For instance, he was named "Newcomer of the Year" for *Garifuna Soul* in 2004 by AfroPop Worldwide, a radio program and online magazine dedicated to music from Africa and the African diaspora (http://www.afropop.org/).

(as a Belizean Garifuna), modeling musical sustainability and "depth" with unprecedented success. As he puts it,

> But the amount of interviews that he gave, the awards that he got, but *why* he got those awards…is *why* that recognition came along. I think younger musicians will pick up on these things and help create artists that…can see music as more than sheer entertainment or as a career just for entertainment's sake. Which is what was interesting about Andy's career, which started with punta rock, something that was very commercial and "light," for lack of a better word, to something that was much more cerebral. Like he said, he started making music for the hips, he ended up making music for the soul. And that's the path he took. And I'm very inspired that you go to Dangriga nowadays, and you have all these guys playing guitars and writing songs in a style that was completely unthinkable even a few years back. They're listening to a lot more African music, they're listening to songwriters. So the song becomes more important than before. Before, it used to be the beat, and the lyrics were just an excuse to fill it up, whereas now it's about the song and the melody. So I'm very encouraged (Duran 2011).

This sentiment was corroborated by former punta rock musician and Garifuna Collective member Adrian "Doc" Martinez of Dangriga, Belize:

> [Today] younger punta and dancehall musicians are seeking their roots, and they want to join the Collective. They see how important it is to take the music seriously. *Wátina* is the first project I've worked on where every song has a meaning, something more than just, 'Let's party'" (Stone 2007: 37).

Andy Palacio's efforts to bring Garifuna music to a global cosmopolitan audience had his intended effect of strengthening pride in one's Garifuna heritage among youth not only in the home communities but also among transnationals living in New York City and Los Angeles, the two largest Garifuna populations outside of Central America. As of this writing, the most recent example is the significant presence of Belizean Garifuna musicians associated with punta rock—including Lloyd Augustine, Felix "Reckless" Flores, Jobo, Mohobub, Nuru, and Mime—as performers in the 2016 Hopkins International Parranda Music Festival on March 26th, now in its third year; in addition, Reckless is releasing his first paranda album, titled *Afayahani* (Garifuna

Journey), in August 2016 (Flores 2016).[152] Aurelio Martinez has become a respected figure not only among cosmopolitans in the U.K., Northwest Africa, and Europe but also within the Honduran Garifuna community in the Bronx, where he recently lived off-and-on for a year and has performed regularly for over a decade at local nightclubs. One of the members of this community, Teofilo Colon Jr.—a first generation Garifuna-American raised by Honduran Garifuna parents—devoted a 2014 entry on his blog *Being Garifuna* (started in 2010) to exposing readers to the punta rock recordings Martinez has made concurrently with his more widely known paranda and GWM albums since 2000. Moreover, Martinez received a plaque in January 2011 by the NYC-based hometown association of Plaplaya, Honduras, his home village (Colon Jr. 2014).

I interviewed Martinez in 2011. He painted a contrasting picture of the effects of Duran's Garifuna releases in Honduras, stating outright that the recordings have not been released in Honduras, and are not meant for Hondurans, for two reasons. The first is that the country's radio stations play merengue, salsa, and U.S. music, but no "world music" (Martinez and Muguerza 2011). He corroborated this assertion in a 2011 interview with Banning Eyre for *Afropop Worldwide*:

> I like Youssou N'Dour's music. I hear it, but not too much, because in Honduras, we don't hear world music. No radio station plays world music. No. But I have a little group of friends, and we talk about world music, and we have meetings, and we are talking. So this is a special group. A long time ago, I played with some guy in Honduras his name is Guillermo Anderson. He had an artist's collective. So I am the first member. I opened this group, created it with him. So we are talking about music around the world, theaters and shows (Eyre 2011).

[152] Interestingly, these musicians are referred to as "parranderos" in the Facebook event posting (https://www.facebook.com/events/485627494980969/, Accessed 25 July 2016).

The second is that the Ministry of Culture knows little about Honduras's minority cultures, having been chosen by the president from an opposing party for the sake of political strategy.

Drawing upon knowledge gleaned from his four years serving as a Congressman, Martinez claims that importation from the outside is the most effective way to effect change in "Third World countries" and that, as a result, international respect for Garifuna cultural products is the best chance the group has for Hondurans to take Garifuna culture seriously (Martinez and Muguerza 2011). The fact that Honduran radio stations are unlikely to play world music, as he states, poses a challenge.[153] The case in Belize, however, proves his point rather well. As Duran asserted, "I think the biggest pride of *Wátina* is that it has been very well-received abroad. That's it, that's it. That has been the *key* of the success of *Wátina* in Belize.[…] I think what initiated all the interest was the reviews outside, definitely" (Duran 2007c). This strategy is what George Lipsitz calls "strategic anti-essentialism in popular music"; in his book *Dangerous Crossroads,* he discusses, for instance, how the censorship of Haitian band Boukman Eksperyans by the coup-installed Aristede government drew international attention to their cause (Lipsitz 1994: 49-68).

Lloyd Augustine—a Belizean Garifuna musician known for punta rock (with the groups Sound City Band, Punta Rebels, and Lloyd and Reckless) who started performing paranda as a member of the Garifuna Collective during the *Wátina* sessions—has also continued Andy Palacio's legacy, replacing him as lead singer and songwriter of the Collective on the follow-up

[153] That said, the profile of Garifuna traditional music and dance, at least, was bolstered by the appearance in 2011 of the Ballet Nacional Garífuna de Honduras on U.S. Latino pop star Marc Anthony's television show *Q'Viva!*, dedicated to showcasing Latin American talent (as mentioned in chapter 3).

to *Wátina*, *Ayó* (2013), and subsequent tours. He also wrote the first tribute song to Palacio after his death, the title track to *Ayó*, and is known as the "Prince of Paranda" in his home village of Hopkins as of July 2016 (Edgar 2013). However, while Palacio and Aurelio Martinez have made relatively uniform albums genre-wise, dedicated either to paranda/GWM *or* punta rock, Augustine's solo albums—2007's *Ligiya Le* (This Is It) and 2014's *Yugadan* (Hopkins)—unprecedentedly combine these styles under one umbrella and, in some cases, in one song: the original song "Nuguchili" ("My Father") from his self-funded, self-produced 2014 album *Yugadan* is a case-in-point of the latter instance. Moreover, his albums are local productions promoted largely in Belizean and U.S. Garifuna communities (although commercially available on the iTunes and CD Baby online stores). Perhaps due to his fascination with traditional songs as a child raised in the highly traditional village of Hopkins, the majority of the songs on *Yugadan* are not original compositions but respectful re-workings of songs by elders who have passed, encompassing the GWM/paranda genres ("Yugadan," "Rosita"), punta rock/regional dance genres ("Daya," "Garada," "Koropatia"), and even the 1990s U.S R&B genre ("Tuguchru Angela"). While Aurelio Martinez evokes traditional genres via new GWM compositions, as did Augustine on *Ayó* under Ivan Duran's tutelage, Augustine of his own accord approaches paranda as a traditional body of work to be covered, or reproduced, in order to share topics and sensibilities of "yesteryear," rather than as one to which new songs should be added; as he puts it, "The whole idea behind *Yugadan* is to bring old songs to life and give them another chance to be heard" (Augustine 2015). Unique among Garifuna popular music offerings in its wide stylistic range and hybridity, with his sweet-sounding, optimistic personal aesthetic as discernable as genre characteristics, Augustine considers *Yugadan* to be "really him" and contrasts it with *Ayó*,

a GWM album in every respect where Duran "had the final say" as the producer; as a result, he is proud that *Yugadan* outsold *Ayó* in Belize (ibid.).

A tribute to Augustine's birthplace, *Yugadan* is the Garifuna term for Hopkins Village, the Belizean Garifuna community that has retained the strongest connection to cultural tradition and language of any in the country. The title track, "Yugadan," is a paranda written by deceased villager Joe Tump, about his insistence upon weathering community gossip to return home to be with his family following a stint in prison. As Augustine describes, "To go to jail is an embarrassment—people would gossip about you, family and villagers calling you 'jailbird'— so you would want to settle somewhere else when you got out. No one should go to prison, in Garifuna culture" (Augustine 2015). Augustine saw Tump perform up close as a youth during the 1980s, but did not realize this until recently when he saw a video of himself standing next to Tump during a show. The song's numerous guitar layers were inspired by Tump's playing, and it showcases the three-part harmonies that hark back to Augustine's work with the Punta Rebels, inspired by 1990s U.S. boy bands.[154]

Production Style and Common Tropes

> *"[In 'world music'], the difference at stake wasn't between Western and non-Western music but, more familiarly, between real and artificial sounds, between the musically true and the musically false, between authentic and inauthentic musical experiences."* – Simon Firth, "The Discourse of World Music" (2000)

[154] See chapter 5 for further discussion of the Punta Rebels and their form of punta rock.

Although stylistic fusion and peer-to-peer collaboration abound in recent world music[155] relative to the previous century, the case of GWM makes clear that the allegiance to "authenticity" that Frith called out at the millennial turn still maintains a hold in the genre discourses discussed at length in chapter 2 (Edgar 2008a). In terms of his production style and his label's modus operandi, Ivan Duran uses on site recordings, which he called "field recordings" in our interviews, of traditional genres performed in their appropriate contexts as the basis for new works (Duran 2007c). In terms of what he champions about GWM as Stonetree's flagship genre, Duran's descriptions of what sets it apart stylistically usually include a narrative of its diametrical opposition to punta rock, the popular music genre previously associated with Garifuna youth culture.

This is not to say that Duran eschews musical markers of contemporaneity, or that his albums from *Wátina* onward do not also exhibit the current habit of marrying disparate influences and placing participants upon more equal footing than did projects of world music's past. In fact, Duran regularly seeks to place preservation and innovation in conversation in his public statements representing Stonetree. As he states in the "About Stonetree" section of the label's website:

> […] the Stonetree team is dedicated to actively promoting the region's unique musical styles and encouraging the preservation of Belize's traditional music: including that of the Garifuna, Creole, Maya, and Mestizo cultures. But we're by no means just archivists. We also support the ongoing development of new and unique musical styles, and foster experimentation and creativity (Web site 2009).

[155] Two notable examples from the past two years include the albums *Touristes* by Vieux Farka Toure and Julia Easterlin (2015) and *Daya* (2014) and *Monistic Theory* (2016) by Joe Driscoll and Sekou Kouyate.

This mission can also be discerned in Jacob Edgar's liner notes to the album *Umalali*:

> Duran began by recording women in natural settings: kitchens, living rooms, in the streets or in the Garifuna temples, often putting on tape voices that had never been recorded before. But while Ivan recognized the importance of documenting these songs, his intention was always to create something more. He had in mind a musical journey, one that blended Garifuna traditions with contemporary flavors to capture the soul and spirit of Garifuna women in a way that would translate to the wider world. Says Duran, "The project was always about the stories, about the lives of these women, about capturing the essence of their voices and putting them in a modern context" (Edgar 2008b).

Although it is difficult to discern Duran's intended meaning of "contemporary flavors" and "modern context" from these vague excerpts of promotional copy, three items these domains definitely do *not* include are synthesizers, sound samples, and electronic drums: the staples of electronic dance music (EDM) genres like techno and house that heavily informed 1990s "ethno-techno."[156] As recounted by Latin American studies scholar Michael Stone, Duran had encouraged Andy Palacio to move away from punta rock, a genre in which digitally produced sounds had become standard by the late 1980s (and remain so to this day), and toward Garifuna traditional musical genres (Stone 2007b: 36). Duran also expressed his distaste for such sounds in our interviews, believing them to instantly "date" the songs in which they are used:

> ...The risk when you try to be 'modern' is that it can age really fast, you know? […] So perhaps the main decision I took on the album [*Wátina*] is that, regardless of the arrangements, the sound itself had to sound timeless, and by that I mean absolutely no keyboards, absolutely no external sounds that would date it. So a Garifuna drum will sound like that forever…and I'm not saying no electricity at all—I mean, we use a lot of

[156] This is not to say that Duran does not welcome remixes of Garifuna Collective songs as a form of promotion within the world music industry, as indicated by DJ Fatboy Slim's visit to record members of the Collective at Mata Grande Recording Studio on Ambergris Caye, the largest and most tourist-heavy Belizean reef island. Duran has also worked with French ethno-techno duo Deep Forest in the past.

> electric guitars, but [those] have that characteristic as well…a strat sound is a strat sound forever…(Duran 2007a).[157]

Thus, Duran's working definition of "modern" or "contemporary" that ultimately emerged from our conversations and my research is not the wholesale importation of a "western half" signifying modernist rebellion (by adding, for example, a techno groove, the creation of "noise" via distortion, or minimalist repetition) that has often characterized world music as a genre.[158] Rather, it is the application of innovation to the aesthetic production of "timeless" recordings, in Duran's words. As he himself put it, "Stonetree is not about making 'hits.' I've always strived to make albums that will stand the test of time" (Stone 2007b: 37).[159] This priority corroborates a valuation of the "classical" in world music shortly after the millennium, discussed in chapter 2. Duran strives to give his albums a substance or "weight" (a word that popped up repeatedly in our interviews) that defies disposability, bringing together the songs, the cultural and individual stories they tell, the production, and the *longue durée* to create a "mature" work that begs repeated listens beyond the moment from which it emerged. On *Wátina*, for example, bargain 1960s and 70s Japanese guitars purchased on e-Bay met with American dobro, banjo, and lap steel to form a unique and broad instrumentarium—run primarily through tube amplifiers to create an "old sound"—that is too difficult to reproduce yet configured into a fitting showcase for the melodies, rhythms, and textual meanings of each track (Duran 2007a). In addition to the extensive multi-tracking necessitated in part by so many instruments, mix-down is an important

[157] "Strat" is short for Stratocaster, a style of guitar made by Fender, a U.S. company.

[158] See chapter 2 for an in-depth discussion of this topic.

[159] This is attested to by the fact that all Stonetree releases remain available for sale on the company website (www.stonetreerecords.com).

aspect of Duran's production. For instance, he mixes some parts at such low amplitude as to be under most listeners' conscious aural radars, added for atmospheric effect; as C.C. Smith confirms, "Using traditional song as the point of departure…Ivan imagines and creates the subtle atmospheric touches, ambient sounds and understated ideas that one might notice only after several hearings, always respectfully, adding multilayered sonic landscapes and the innovative effects that characterize his recordings" (Smith 2008: 34). Finally, Duran's sound is contingent upon perfectionism and long-term investment: as he joked regarding *Wátina*, "It's…a bit pathetic because no album should take so much time to make [approximately six years]. But, in a way, it's a culmination of all these things that have been going on; it makes for an album that is very unique…" (ibid.). Both he and Palacio perceive these qualities as key ingredients to a "quality" track, the recognition of which they believe to be transcultural in its reach, audible across a variety of human experiences. For instance, in one interview Palacio attributed the success of *Wátina* to a "soul-to-soul aspect" or connection that such music inspires (A. Palacio 2007b; Duran 2007a).

Duran's production priorities are strikingly similar to those articulated by World Circuit label head Nick Gold, responsible for assembling veteran elder musicians from Havana and eastern Cuba for the six-day session at EGREM studios in central Havana that resulted in the album *Buena Vista Social Club*, which has long served as the yardstick against which other world music releases are measured.[160] U.K. journalist Mark Hudson describes Gold as someone "championing more mature artists in defiance of our youth-obsessed mainstream,…extending the highest production standards to artists from poor countries and…flouting musical fashion while

[160] Gold has also worked with Malian singer-guitarist Ali Farka Touré, singer Oumou Sangare, and kora virtuoso Toumani Diabaté, as well as Senegalese Afro-Cuban band Orchestra Baobab (Whitmore 2016, Hudson 2006).

remaining prepared to experiment" (Hudson 2006). He is also described as "agoni[zing] over every last note and beat" in the studio (idem.). A guitarist by training who studied in Havana at the Escuela Nacional de Música before starting Stonetree Records in 1995, Duran was still a fledgling producer in the midst of recording paranderos in Garifuna villages in Belize, Honduras, and Guatemala when *Buena Vista Social Club* was released in 1997. The similarity between paranda and the Eastern Cuban *oriente* "country" style featured on the album rendered its production style (and artist presentation) a fitting framework for the resulting 1999 *Paranda* album (Edgar 2008a). With the formation of the Garifuna Collective, he and Andy Palacio oversaw the generation of new compositions from this framework, from which the new paranda-leaning, neo-traditional genre Garifuna World Music emerged.

In sum, Duran's perspective on Garifuna musical tradition is that it is currently in need of innovations in order to have staying power for future generations, but only those that act in the service of exemplarity. For Duran, these are appropriately "authentic," while other types of innovations, such as the digitization of punta rock, are "inauthentic." He believes he is effecting these innovations, and that musical "endangerment" is caused as much by internal entropy as by outside encroachments. He does not perceive his role as a producer as being complicit in such encroachments because of: 1) the fieldwork basis for his albums; 2) his long-standing relationships with Garifuna musicians; 3) his lifetime residence in Central America; and 4) the time and care he puts into crafting each album. As he put it in one of our interviews from 2007:

> But one thing I say over and over and over is that I am in a very unique position as a producer just for the fact that I've lived here [Belize] all my life and I've worked with Garifuna musicians for over ten years, and that's all I need to say as to why I am the way I am towards Garifuna music. I see myself as a part of the movement, which is very different from an outside producer coming in and doing an album with his vision. This

> might still be *my* vision, but it is a vision that has had huge amounts of influence from *here* […] it has elements from Garifuna musicians that have helped me all these years understand the music and appreciate the music. So that is also very different—if you were to compare, for example— from a producer no matter how good he is, and that he would get the twenty best Garifuna albums that he can get and listen to it and then understand Garifuna music. That's not understanding Garifuna music; that's understanding me as a producer and that's understanding an anthropologist who recorded the field recording, etc., etc., etc. When I mean "understanding," it goes *way* beyond the music; it's knowing these people *personally*, the way they think. Knowing what to expect from them musically is so important…not getting frustrated when you don't need to be frustrated. All these are things that take *years* to sense and to feel what is right and what is not right (Duran 2007a).

Indeed, familiarity with the culture of most of the musicians he produces sets him apart from the majority of world music producers, and he aims to represent the genre's classical/art music vanguard from this relatively "insider" perspective.

When Duran speaks of the transcultural reach of a "quality" recording, he evokes German Enlightenment philosopher Immanuel Kant's notion of "the beautiful" as a gateway into the listener's "reflective judgment"; in other words, her ability to perceive something comprehensible in the sound "work" she is presented with. Paul Ricoeur describes this aspect of a work—comprehensibility—as its "communicability" and further defines "the beautiful" as *exemplary*, remaining communicable over vast expanses of time and distance. Ricoeur describes reflective judgment as always a dialogue between a work's structure and the spectator's experience of pleasure in apprehending it, which opens the door to interpretation (Savage 2005). If Duran provides listeners with a pleasurable experience in his recordings, he figures he can initiate their caring engagement with specifically *Garifuna* experiences.

Moreover, Duran targets a specific kind of audience. As discussed in chapter 2, consumers of world music tend to be college-educated, over the age of twenty-five, occupants of

a middle-class-or-higher income bracket, and from Europe, Canada, and the U.S. (Taylor 2007: 171; 2012). As David Novak has recently observed, many regularly consume what he calls "Western subcultural musics" with the heft of lyrical and/or musical complexity, such as conscious hip hop, indie rock, experimental, and electronic (Novak 2012).[161] It could easily be assumed that such an audience would be the most likely to use Garifuna sounds as a stepping stone into cultural education, as Duran and Edgar themselves have done. And many listeners have, although their fledgling position on that *first* stepping stone often vascillates between overcompensation and exoticism, well-illustrated in the audition of traditional instruments on *Wátina* where they are none. As Duran pointed out, "*Wátina* doesn't have a single turtle shell track on the whole damn album, and that's one of the Garifuna instruments that everybody talks about, including all the *Wátina* reviewers; they mention about these turtle shells [guffaws]…they haven't realized that there is not a single turtle shell on the album!" (Duran 2007a).

However, the world music industry within which Duran and Edgar navigate often represents a reluctance to budge from this step, still rife with tried-and-true stereotypes of "the authentic" to bolster sales despite the millennial emphasis on musical fusions. Interestingly, despite the relatively profound depth of his engagement with his artists' cultural backgrounds, Duran rarely spoke to me of the world music industry's fault lines, and depicted it like a club that he and Andy Palacio spent years gaining access to in order to properly realize their shared vision for innovating Garifuna music. Moreover, he has catered to the world music industry's general

[161] See chapter 2 for more detail about post-2010 world music audiences.

Afrophilia.[162] To provide a few examples, the album title *Paranda: Africa in Central America* strategically foregrounds the African component of Garifuna ethnicity even as Latin American attributes such acoustic guitar and harmonic progressions hold court within the paranda genre. Also, Afropop references were new appearances in Garifuna music with the release of *Wátina*, and they characterize Ivan Duran's subsequent Garifuna productions.

As a result of capitulating to the world music market, some of the attributes of its discourses that I addressed in chapter 2 manifest in Duran's distinction between tradition and innovation with regard to the Garifuna music he has produced. Within his narrative, we find a series of interrelated binary oppositions—sameness/difference, raw/refined, and cultural/non-cultural—that reveal the double-edged sword of the "authenticity" trope more than the complexities of the expressive culture he is devoted to presenting.

Sameness/Difference

From Duran's perspective on Garifuna music, tradition happens when a song is preserved as an identifiable entity, retaining melody, story, and traditional rhythm, whereas its style and sound are fair game for experimentation. Duran clearly respects the compositional prowess of the Garifuna musicians he has worked with on a regular basis, namely Andy Palacio, Paul Nabor, Aurelio Martinez, and Sofia Blanco. As he told me, "the compositions are ultimately their responsibility," with his being "the blend of traditional and modern, the blend of acoustic instruments with the electric" (Duran 2007a). He describes the delicate interrelationship between

[162]Several journalists interviewing Andy Palacio during the *Wátina* world tour made much of the Garifuna's African ancestry, often asking him from which African peoples the Garinagu descended (Palacio 2007a). For his part, Palacio conveyed the personal opinion that "promoting the Amerindian roots of Garifuna would help the Garifuna Collective distinguish themselves…from other artists with African roots" (Palacio 2007b).

song—what remains the same over time—and *style*—what is appropriately subject to change—as follows:

> But one of the things that I've always been very careful [about] is that, no matter anything that we add to it, it should never overpower the song itself, you know? To me, that's the biggest disrespect for the song, if you start adding all kinds of shit competing with the voice. […] …as long as we preserve the integrity of the song by way of the melody and the song itself, we can do whatever we want. And, as musicians and as producers, we should have that liberty to do whatever we want; *everybody* should have that liberty…that's what music is about, you know? (ibid.)

Therefore, tradition, according to Duran, can be heard in the "sameness" of a song from version to version, whereas innovation is introduced with producers' and performers' differing interpretations.

Raw/Refined

Beyond merely placing a personal stamp upon a song, innovation for Duran also involves refining the "raw," a term he commonly uses to describe traditional musics unmediated by a producer's vision. It is here where we can locate most precisely the assertion of his power as a producer to shape a work's end result. As he stated to me regarding the making of the Garifuna women's album *Umalali*:

> …we had to work with what was available, and what was available was a huge pool of traditional songs: totally unrefined, uncut, un-everything…I mean, we're talking about some songs being just one verse, one line, and that was it; others would just go on and on and on and on for minutes and minutes, which is totally unrealistic to record (ibid.).
>
> […] Before, we had a more traditionalist approach to the project. We would go in with the good melodies and the good beats, but the arrangements would be very limited. And then I realized that we needed to do something else; in other words, to have the songs in their quasi-traditional state was just not enough, and it needed an extra spice, if you like. And that was the main turning point, when I realized that, in order for this album to actually reach not only an audience outside of Belize but actually to the younger generation within Belize, it had to have some kind of like a modern flavor to it; it had to

> sound a lot more elegant than just a raw sound. So we tried to keep all the raw elements as much as possible, but what we added, I think, gave it a little sophistication that will make for an easier listening experience for the non-hardcore Garifuna music lover. Also, I was thinking that doing a strictly anthropological project is something that can be done anytime. The songs have been recorded, so there's no risk of losing anything; you can always put [together] a whole box set of traditional field recordings very easily. […] And then the fact that it was going to be released by Cumbancha [Jacob Edgar's record label] as well was what made us realize that it was all-or-nothing, and the exposure that these women would get now is gonna be bigger than anything else we've seen in the past. So we needed to make a bigger musical impact (ibid.).

In these quotations, Duran describes moving from what he calls a more "anthropological" approach to a more "modern" one likely to appeal to a broader audience. For him, the former domain is devoted to activities of preservation such as collection and documentation—more folklore than anthropology, in reality—and the latter to activities of refinement in the process of both artistry and commodification. In his capacity as owner of Stonetree, Duran (with the help of engineers Al Obando and Gil Abarbanel) listens to and creates "field recordings" [163] as the foundation for self-crafted "albums," the notion imported from rock that a collection of song recordings holds together as a work of art. In his own words in the liner notes to *From Backabush: The First Ten Years of Stonetree*, "…the music was there [from the beginning], the songs were there, and that was the focus all along: document and experiment." Interestingly, his commitment to cultural immersion in the production of Garifuna albums—a crucial reason for his relatively lengthy creation periods—is, in fact, quite anthropological in the canonized Geertzian sense: allowing for layers of "thick description" to inform the music, just as a researcher would her ethnography, while interpolating that description with traditionally

[163] For example, the *Umalali* CD is also an enhanced DVD that contains "Project field tapes and studio demos." These excerpted tracks are accompanied by images of women (often grainy and/or sepia-toned) undertaking the various activities of village life and recording tracks for the album.

"western" theory (Geertz 1973). This theory is world music discourse in Duran's case and Continental social theory in the anthropologist's case.

It should be unsurprising that this "raw/refined" dichotomy is championed by stalwarts of the world music industry. With regard to Duran's role in winning the 2007 WOMEX Award, founding WOMEX director Ben Mandelson noted, "Ivan best represents what is valuable, good, important, correct, moral and creative about the world music community; which he does with integrity; *meeting international standards and global vision whilst using local resources* [italics added]"(http://www.womex.com/realwomex/main.php?id_headings=48&id_realwomex=9&subheading=40#Andy, Accessed 10 November 2012).[164] This depiction of Garifuna music as a "resource" used to meet a "global vision" tacitly validates an instrumental "means-end" aspect to the relationship between producer and musician. On this point, Keith Negus has written of an "international agenda" at work within the rock and pop genres promoted by A&R reps for the likes of Sony and BMI, producing a sonic sameness to the music of global superstars (Negus 1999: 162). I would add that a similar agenda works within world music, prompting producers to revamp domestic releases for a cosmopolitan audience via innovations associated by this audience with high art, an early millennial development that Timothy Taylor has termed the "classicalization of world music" and on which I elaborate at length in chapter 2 (Taylor 2012: 183). Duran's use of innovation toward the end of exemplarity is an endeavor common to classical traditions around the world.

Cultural/"Non"-Cultural

[164] Mandelson is also one of the UK music professionals who created the "world music" marketing category in 1987 (http://www.zoominfo.com/#!search/profile/person?personId=45811761&targetid=profile).

Finally, I noticed that Duran regularly referred to the traditional musics he engages as "cultural" musics. For instance, during a panel on the state of the Belizean music industry as part of Belize's Music Week 2007, he proposed an online "music guide to Belize, sponsored by the BTB [Belize Tourism Board]…anything that has a cultural aspect to the music should be included" (Frishkey 2007b). Timothy Taylor has noted the regularity with which this term has appeared in the world music press since 2000 to describe non-European and non-European-derived musics, which implies what ethnomusicologist John Blacking called "music for being," as part of a way of life, as opposed to the "music for having" that comprises the commercial realm (Taylor 2007; Blacking 1973). As mentioned earlier in the chapter, reviewers for the Garifuna Women's Project album *Umalali* emphasize the integral role of song in Garifuna women's everyday lives. While they rightfully ran with a truth that Duran devised the Project to convey, they also upheld a dichotomy denying a commercial impetus for music-making among these women, despite the fact that at least one of the singers, Desere Arana Diego, makes a substantial portion of her living in this capacity and is paving a way to this new reality for younger women like herself as a recording and touring member of the Garifuna Collective. As Taylor explains, Euro-Anglo popular musics are placed at a remove from the anthropological "cultural" designation used in the world music industry, indicating instead the cosmopolitan understanding of "culture" that encompasses those domains with global reach yet dominated by developments and interests associated with the global North, such as academia, multicultural capitalism, and digital technologies (2007: 164-65).[165]

[165] I explicate these different interpretations of the culture concept in chapter 2. The anthropological definition points to the unique lifeways and assumptions that differentiate groups while its cosmopolitan definition conflates "high" culture and the culture industries.

Summary

Although Cumbancha label head Jacob Edgar speaks of world music as having discarded any "devotion to authenticity" and Duran speaks of such devotion as having "tied down" Garifuna music "into particular forms and sounds" in the past, rescue from endangerment via preservation and refinement, coupled with a commitment to what he called "timelessness" (building to last), nonetheless provides an "authenticating" narrative at work in Duran's production efforts and Palacio's construction of cultural knowledge (Edgar 2008; Duran 2007c). A defining innovation within Duran's notion of "the modern" is a type of canonization, injecting the ostensibly weightier reality of "tradition" into a popular music environment—encapsulated by punta rock—that he and Palacio constructed as too profane and trend-responsive for its own good, which is also in accordance with the anti-market vibe of today's world music industry. For Duran, neo-traditionalism creates art, whereas, for an industry selling not products or services as much as "culture," it creates a commodity.[166]

Musicians' Perspectives

As stated earlier in this chapter, song innovation can occur within both a producer's interpretation and also within a performer's interpretation. Andy Palacio, Aurelio Martinez, and Lloyd Augustine have been widely recognized not only for their musical prowess and exemplarity in the performance of traditional songs, but also for their new and personalized takes

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[166] Jacob Edgar claimed in our interview that "A huge part of what makes a record successful or not in the world music arena is the story behind it and how to present the story" (Edgar 2007a). Likewise, Duran asserted, "And definitely world music…will *always* need to have those other elements [story, video materials, photography]…because it's a lot more than just a song…it's a whole experience, it's a whole culture that's being represented *in* that product" (Duran 2007c). The world music industry personnel that ethnomusicologist Aleysia Whitmore spoke with made similar claims (Whitmore 2016: 347-351).

on traditional Garifuna sounds, upon which GWM as a genre is built. At the same time, they have had regular engagement with high-end studios and production techniques: Palacio had been trained in audio engineering during an apprenticeship in London in 1987 with Cultural Partnerships Limited, a community arts organization; Augustine was a leading musician in the *Ayó* sessions at the Stonetree studio in Benque Viejo del Carmen in Western Belize; and Martinez recorded regularly not just there but most recently (2015) at Real World Studios in Wiltshire, England. As such, these men stand out as individuals with a cosmopolitan bent.

Despite their familiarity with that world, however, only Augustine of the three, on his latest album *Yugadan*, conceives of himself as the shaper of an album's overall sound, which appears to be a very recent development among Garifuna musicians (Augustine 2015). Palacio and Martinez have been content to leave this aspect of the recording process in the hands of Duran as producer. As Palacio told me in an interview,

> How I sing is not really something I have thought about. People talk about an 'Andy Palacio' vocal style, but I don't know what that is. I don't think I have that great of a voice compared to my influences. How the vocals come out on a recording is more of what the producer wants (Palacio 2007a).

In the course of my fieldwork in 2007 and 2011, it was the case that most Garifuna commercial musicians I met cared more about the moment of performance than the final recorded result. By and large, the intricacies of producing sound recordings—not merely engineering with a multi-tracker, but creating a unifying, high-fidelity sound via effects application, editing, and instrumental enhancements—seemed to be out of the range of their concern as musicians, although it is an aspect they appeared to value and claimed to want to learn more about. For example, the Dangriga punta rock band New Rebels prioritized perfecting their live shows, their

sole source of income as musicians for all intents and purposes, recording tracks here and there when money was available.[167] I was also struck by the sound-shaping license that musicians tacitly granted non-Garifuna recordists. While recording tracks in Dangriga in June 2007 for a planned paranda compilation album featuring local punta rockers, recordists from the Canadian non-profit organization The Sound Alliance—who arrived with no prior knowledge of Garifuna musical or cultural practices— also acted as *producers*, telling compliant musicians when to raise and lower the volume of the primero and segunda drums, when to cut off a particular vocal or instrumental part, and how to finesse certain vocal harmonies.[168]

Whereas Sound Alliance recorded the entire ensemble live rather than part by part, Ivan Duran added vocals separately, after several takes, during the making of the albums *Wátina* (2007) and *Umalali* (2008). Duran's process mystified several singers who performed on the latter album, as they are accustomed to performing with a full music-and-dance ensemble or *a cappella*. As Sofia Blanco described it,

> …the first recording turned out beautiful, right? But [for] someone who already knows about his work [Duran], no way. You had to repeat. You had to repeat because it didn't turn out well, like how he wanted it. […] Do you know what that is? To sing without music? (Blanco 2007).[169]

[167] See chapter 7 about sources of income for punta rock musicians within Belizean Garifuna communities.

[168] Co-founded by Olivier Cheneval and Dax Hickson (the two recordists under discussion), The Sound Alliance is dedicated to creating "partnerships with musicians [from indigenous communities] and together work towards preserving and promoting their music on the local and international levels using state-of-the-art recording technologies" (now-defunct web address: http://www.thesoundalliance.org/the-project, Accessed 6 August 2007).

[169] Translated from Spanish by the author.

This distinction between privileging creation in the moment of musical performance and creation outside of this moment has fostered a symbiotic relationship between Duran and the Garifuna musicians to which he has dedicated almost twenty years. It was encapsulated in the long-standing partnership of Duran and Andy Palacio since the early 1990s. It also bespeaks an understanding that recordings are primarily meant for outsiders to the culture, as a form of protection against encroachment and as a source of income; in contrast, fellow Garifuna are seen as being within the performative circle, attending and participating alongside the musicians, in parallel to community events.

This idea of musical performance as a shared experience of identity performance relates to the concept of *machulardi* discussed in chapter 3, the idea that what belongs to one belongs to all. In the realm of traditional oral arts, songs manifest machularadi in that they are generally believed to both belong to the community and to ultimately arise from the community, whether as a response to certain members, as a depiction of everyday life, or as a notion received from ancestor spirits. Cayetano states that songs function "like [snapshots] which become public property" (*iyawaü*) and that exposure to the repertoire allows one to "piece together a history of the post Saint Vincent Garifuna" (Cayetano 1974[2009]: 224). This exposure occurs through women immediately teaching songs to neighbors, who then spread them throughout the community as a resource to be appropriated and performed.

Duran verbalized to me his observation of a number of different ways besides origination in which a Garifuna could claim a song as one's own:

> …when you say "this is my song," it could mean many things. It could be that I wrote absolutely everything about it. It could also mean that the song is talking about me, but

> somebody else wrote [it]. And it could also mean that I love this song so much that it's my song and I sing it all the time. […] The main thing is knowing…the story behind the song and who the song is about—to whom this incident happened—and then try and track it down that way. […] It also happens [a lot] that songs have different composers, but they've never met. So you hear a…song and you can relate to that, and you add another verse to it and you make it your own (Duran 2007c; Cayetano and Cayetano 2001[2009]: 332).

Another contribution to authorship ambiguity is the common Garifuna perspective that personal compositions are more often considered to be received than conceived, a concept known as *Ichahówarügüti* ("just given") (Cayetano and Cayetano 2001[2009]: 332). To that end, Guatemalan Garifuna singer Sofia Blanco described song to me as memory immortalized in a moment of "inspiration" or "power" that cannot be sought; as she put it, "Si uno mismo viene a buscarlo, nunca le va a llegar" ("If someone has to look for it, it will never come to them") (Blanco 2007). Even though the song is about a personal experience of the originator—a struggle she is having with her neighbor, for instance—she may view its appearance as an ancestor's commentary upon the situation rather than perceiving it as her own expression.

From their seventeenth-century beginnings on St. Vincent, Garifuna men have regularly migrated for fishing, warfare, and commerce, while woman have remained more village-bound, taking on the role of culture bearers. As such, it is women's perspectives and performances that characterize traditional Garifuna song, as in most lament traditions. However, both paranda and the later but equally male-oriented punta rock genre accentuate individualism in song creation and, thus, build an equivalence with Euro-Anglo notions of authorship.[170] In response to rock

[170] Nonetheless, paranda is considered "traditional," like styles such as *punta*, *uyanu*, and *hünguhüngu*, since it is performed primarily for community and personal purposes and within both secular and sacred contexts. In contrast, punta rock is commercial, entirely secular, and oriented toward youths, urban life, regional dance musics, and pop cultures of the Americas.

and pop and the industry that grew around them, taking hold globally in the twentieth century, paranda and punta rock grew in importance during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. This paved the way for most songs on GWM recordings to be copyrighted, owing mechanical and performance royalties to their authors-of-record.

On the Harry Fox Agency (HFA) website, mechanical splits show 100% (including synchronization licensing) for the songs on *Wátina* and *Umalali* going to Cumbancha Music Publishing, the publishing company for the label that released these albums (https://emech.harryfox.com/CGI-BIN/LANSAWEB?WEBEVENT+L098055958670C201522300S+PRD+ENG, Accessed 1 September 2016). This left Duran to informally split royalties among those musicians listed as the authors-of-record for each song.[171] However, splits for the next Garifuna Collective album to be released, *Ayó* (2013), demonstrated Duran's formation of his own publishing house, Stonetree Music. Duran receives partial songwriting credit on ten out of the twelve songs on the album; Stonetree Music receives between 25% and 50% of mechanical royalties for each of these songs, depending on how many writers are listed, with the remainder going to non-HFA-represented publishing companies. Aurelio Martinez's contemporaneous albums released on Real World Records, *Laru Beya* (2011) and *Lándini* (2014), show Martinez receiving mechanicals from Real World Works Ltd., not including sync licensing. On each of the songs that he shares songwriting credit with Duran among others (all twelve on *Laru Beya* and four out of twelve on *Lándini*), between 10% and 60% of the split goes to non-HFA-represented publishing companies,

[171] Duran was listed as one of the writers for four songs on *Wátina* and two songs on *Umalali*. He provided musical accompaniment to a traditional melody on a *Umalali* track called "Mérua," sung by Chella Torres, and is listed as the sole author of the song on the HFA website.

indicating that Duran receives mechanical royalties via more publishing companies than Stonetree Music.

Having gained industry savvy early on, Andy Palacio-the-punta rocker quickly sought copyright once his recordings attained professional caliber, as did fellow Belizean Hernán "Chico" Ramos, who sued Honduran dance band Banda Blanca for copyright infringement when they had presented his song "Conch Soup" as their own in 1990 and sold three million copies (Greene 2002: 216). However, most local artists, the majority of whom are known for punta rock, approach recordings and broadcasts not so much as a way to make money but as a way to promote and popularize songs within the region so that their live shows are well-attended and lucrative.[172] This non-proprietary attitude can be seen in the prevalence of torrenting punta rock tracks and burning CDs within Garifuna communities. As Garifuna Collective member Lloyd Augustine notes and I have observed, many of these artists, as well as most community members, are unaware of royalties as a potential source of income (Augustine 2015).

Moreover, those few who *are* aware and have pursued copyright face challenges in obtaining their royalties, as seen in Augustine's case. In Belize, the policy of the non-profit BSCAP—the Belizean Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers—states that, once an artist becomes a BSCAP member, the organization collects licensing fees on his or her behalf, reports the fees accrued on a quarterly basis, and distributes checks (http://bscap.bz/). Augustine has received statements since becoming a member, but not checks, even though songs for which he has writing credit have been broadcast in multiple countries for almost a decade. He was also

[172] See chapters 5 and 7 for further discussion.

told by Ivan Duran that his ability to collect royalties for the Garifuna Collective recordings that Duran produced is contingent upon his ability to open a checking account in the States (Augustine 2015). Also affecting Belizean Garifuna like Augustine is the failure of the Music Industry Association of Belize to investigate unpaid royalties for songs used in radio and television broadcasts, and to obtain a government mandate that Belizean radio stations devote a percentage (10-20%) of each broadcast hour to Belizean music, as proposed in 2006 (Frishkey 2007b).[173] Therefore, on one hand, playing by the rules of Euro-Anglo authorship via copyright has brought mixed results depending upon how well-connected the artist is, leaving the majority of commercial musicians with the short end of the stick. What Augustine experienced was not the case for Palacio, who forged lasting bonds with world music tastemakers while studying recording and production techniques in London in the late 1980s. On the other hand, Palacio's pronounced individualism was an exception to the community ethos of machularadi, even as he performatively embraced this idea later in his career as leader of the Garifuna Collective. This ethos remains strong despite the ascendency of accumulation and "saving" that accompanied the introduction of electricity into Belizean Garifuna villages in the early 1990s. Augustine predicts that, although artists do not earn a substantial amount from royalties at this time, they would share their earnings with community members if they did, especially since most commercially recorded songs are versions of traditional songs (Augustine 2015).[174] On Augustine's own album from 2014, *Yugadan*, half of the songs were originated by Garifuna who have passed, and his motivation for using them is community-oriented: he claims to have been compelled by their storytelling and by elders being able to recognize the songs and to appreciate recordings of them

[173] See chapter 7 for further discussion.

[174] Recall that from chapter 5 that punta rock has a basis in paranda as well as punta songs and rhythms.

in high fidelity (ibid.). Augustine also retains faith that the youngest generation, which is accustomed to parents spending time in the States to work to pay for electronics and smart devices, will continue machulardi based on the example of sharing set in the villages, especially by their grandparents. As he puts it, "…that is Garifuna tradition…we are a sharing kind of people. […] No use in being greedy…it's only money. […] Me for you, and you for me" (ibid.). Thus, songs ultimately appear to be a generative resource that carries the language and continually considers the intentions and actions of fellow Garifuna, thus retaining the mutual dependence of machularadi even when authorship undergoes foreign interpretations to become fixed "on record."

Conclusion

In his 2013 essay, "Music in the New Capitalism," Timothy Taylor describes U.S. rock-folk musician Paul Simon's statements about his Grammy Award-winning 1986 album *Graceland* as "a Rosetta Stone of the ideologies surrounding the perception of world music" that is comprised of

> …a mixture of tropes of discovery and connoisseurship, statements of affection for the music, an aesthetics in the spirit of "art for art's sake," assumptions that non-Western music needed to be refined in some way, the importance of finding a local guide, and, sometimes, discourses of artistic rejuvenation (Taylor 2013: 163).

Ivan Duran's promotion of Garifuna music via Stonetree Records has unfolded along similar lines, as we have witnessed in his aesthetic judgments forming Garifuna World Music (GWM) as a genre. These tropes point back to the Romantic "genius" concept and the descendent notion of "hipness" informing world music discourses, discussed in chapter 2. In addition, the prioritization of individual over group experience has brokered the recent inclusion of Garifuna

music into the world music industry, in contrast to the continued machularadi orientation of most Garifuna music-making.

This is not to say that Duran's collaborations fail to proceed from a solidly humanist foundation. His insistence upon working intimately with Garifuna and Belizean musicians, with few time constraints, to create respectful professional relationships demonstrates his long-standing commitment to championing the local on the global stage. However, in his production of GWM, he cordons off punta rock as the opposition that ostensibly mimes wholesale Anglo-Caribbean 1980s dance pop save for Garifuna rhythms and language. In this respect, his perspective overlooks the largely local innovations driving punta rock's changes in the last few decades (chapter 5). In contrast, Garifuna musicians by and large do not value certain types of erudition and creativity over others within the realm of "Garifuna" music. Even as many Garifuna musicians have difficulty appreciating music from outside of their "feeder" geographies (the Caribbean, Latin America, Africa, and North America) at this point in time, GWM co-exists with punta rock, often within the career of a single musician, with no antagonism: Aurelio Martinez, who performs and records both genres concurrently as a matter-of-course, is the prime example of this phenomenon. Moreover, with the exception of Palacio and Martinez—Duran's closest Garifuna peers—Garifuna musicians of every ilk refer to GWM as a form of *paranda*, perceiving GWM's rootedness in acoustic guitar and solo male "troubadour" vocality as the unifying factors and, in doing so, placing an "outsider" construction (Duran and Edgar's conception) within the realm of "tradition" (Barnat 2012; McGranahan 2005[2009]: 266).[175] Whatever the stylistic basis, as long as a song can be identified *as* "Garifuna," it is considered

[175] I discuss the development in the conclusion of chapter 4.

worthy of engagement *by* Garifuna, which is indicative of song's traditional role as a call-and-response between community members that performs their interconnectedness.

Chapter 7:
Building Identity within Garifuna Popular Music: Problems and Promises of Local Musicians' Relationships

"Boyd-Barrett's model of 'modes of imperialism' and my own tentative work on the international music industry (Negus, 1993, 1996) could be developed further to examine how music production is organized in quite specific ways across different regions and to what extent patterns of organization are 'globalized' or translated into very specific practices in particular locations. The issue here concerns the key characteristics of the 'dominant particulars' of the music industry in terms of repertoires, working practices, methods of promotion and performance and technologies of reception. A further question concerns the type of responses or resistance that this might generate in specific localities." – Keith Negus, *Popular Music in Theory: An Introduction* (1996)

"Frequently, however, a city's seeming 'naturalness' obscures the fact that there is usually a struggle between competing groups to define space. Gender, race, and economic interests, for example, are typically associated with the attribution of different meanings to the same space. […] Whose definition of the place wins out ordinarily depends on resources and access to decision makers. It is only after a usage competition has been resolved that it becomes difficult to imagine how space could be put to any other use. The constructed landscape then, has 'the capacity to legitimize the powerful, by affirming the ideologies that created them in the first place'." – Mark Abrahamson, *Global Cities* (2004)

Introduction

"My people…Hello Belize!" With Andy Palacio's jubilant cry began the May 20, 2007 send-off concert for the Garifuna Collective as they embarked on their first world tour. Hot on the heels of widespread critical acclaim for their album *Wátina*, the band performed to an outpouring of adulation at the Bliss Center for Performing Arts, Belize City's premiere concert hall. Palacio fronted the band; however, it was a local reception unprecedented in what would become too short of a lifetime. As he related to Ed Ward of the *Wall Street Journal*, "Right after the record came out, we played the Bliss Center for Performing Arts in Belize City. It brought tears to my eyes: Belizean people don't come out for Belizean artists in those numbers!" (Ward 2007: D6). Gina Scott, a friend of Palacio's from high school, noted that he made the most of the audience response, having been long appreciated by Garifuna and non-Garifuna living abroad

more than in his home country (Scott 2007). The band's subsequent tour of North America and Europe secured for *Wátina* a profound impact upon both young Garifuna musicians throughout Central America and also upon world music tastemakers, launching what I have termed *Garifuna World Music*. As a new generation of musicians began learning its songs, Palacio—a Belizean Garifuna singer who helped launch the *punta rock* genre during the 1980s—won the prestigious World Music Expo (WOMEX) award for 2007 and the UNESCO Artist for Peace designation. Palacio's untimely death on January 19, 2008, cemented his status as a cultural icon throughout the Garifuna Nation.

Figure 7.1 Andy Palacio (left) and *parandero* Paul Nabor (right) performing with the Garifuna Collective on May 20, 2007 at the Bliss Center for Performing Arts, Belize City, Belize. Photo by the author.

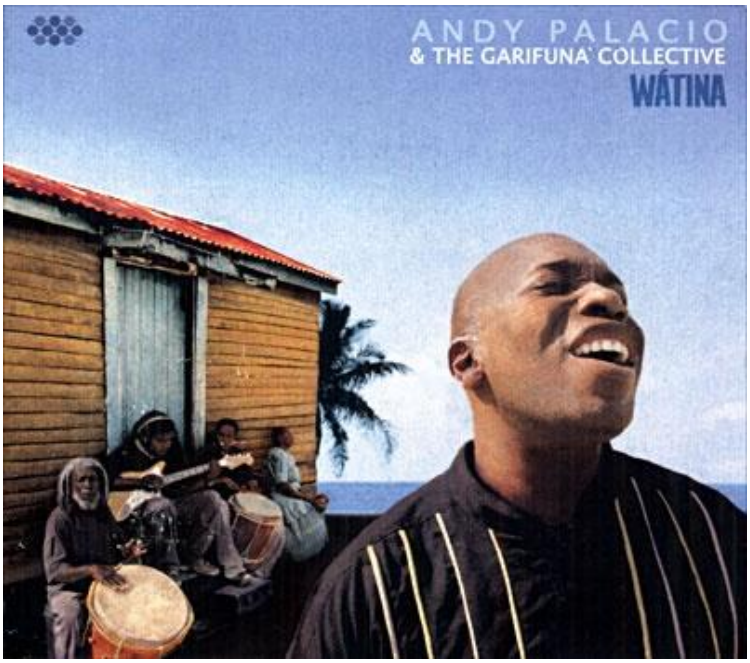

Figure 7.2 Album cover for *Wátina* (2007). Photo by Tim O'Malley (Yuquilla).

Palacio's pleasant surprise at the reception of his band in Belize points to patterns in interpersonal dynamics among Central American Garifuna laid bare by world music industry acclaim for their most recent commercial music. This new variable of sustained international attention introduced a fascinating chapter in Garifuna cultural and musical histories. The experience of Garifuna as a beleaguered yet highly resilient minority group merges with social differentiators such as national context, class, gender, and generation to create a field of identity negotiation marked by both camaraderie and conflict. While some musicians regard international collaborations as sources of creative and financial freedoms, others critique the ways in which these collaborations challenge the *machularadi*—sharing—orientation of Garifuna communities.[176] During the course of my fieldwork, I encountered a balancing act between cross-cultural identification and cultural consolidation in the realm of Garifuna popular music.

[176] See chapter 3 for further discussion of this concept.

According to Sarah England, it reflects the simultaneous celebration of hybridity and re-essentialization of identity accompanying the uneven effects of globalization (England 2006: 223-24). However, if we take Abrahamson's insightful quote at the beginning of this chapter and replace the words "space" and "place" with "Garifuna culture," it becomes apparent that pressures to present culture in particular ways follow success in the world music niche of the global marketplace.

Identity Performance and Social Differences among Central American Garifuna Musicians

While the Garifuna Collective performs transnational cultural unity on world stages, differentiating social categories introduce different ideas—among both members of the band and home community musicians in general—about appropriate cultural presentation to the public. These ideas reflect experiences unique to national context, education level and type, gender, and age group, alongside experiences shared by most Garifuna. Most of these categories contain power differentials propelled by the long-standing rivalries, policies, and prejudices of New World colonial powers. For example, more Belizean Garifuna women are literate than Honduran Garifuna women, thanks to both the more thorough integration of Garifuna within Belizean history and also to the predominance of *machismo* ideology in Honduras as in much of Latin America. However, all categories share in common a tension between cultural insularity and intercultural transactions accompanying the appearance of Garifuna World Music. That said, Garifuna have adeptly mediated these processes for over two hundred years, and communities are likely to be simply "finding their feet" in the face of this relatively new phenomenon.

National Context

As discussed in chapter 3, national context is a particularly strong influence upon Garifuna musicians' sense of place and socioeconomic development. It should be noted that the status of English as the national language joins with Belize's multicultural social platform to orient Belizean Garifuna to a more pluralist outlook relative to Garifuna in other Central American communities. This is somewhat apparent in the fact that Ivan Duran's Belizean label, Stonetree Records, has served as the hub for recorded Garifuna popular music within their diaspora. As Francesca Gargallo notes, "Even though more Garifuna in Belize manage to obtain good positions and academic recognition, they have more difficulty in revindicating their cultural roots, as they operate within a prevailing culture that is multiethnic, globalized, and Anglo-Saxon" (Gargallo 2005: 153). As a result, several Belizean Garifuna members of the Collective—like Lloyd Augustine, Adrian "Doc" Martinez, and Desere Arana Diego—lean towards Andy Palacio's cosmopolitan approach to sustaining cultural identity, encouraging career-minded younger musicians to represent Garifuna traditions and language to Euro-Anglo audiences in particular and to comply with global North music industry standards of sound production.

In contrast, a number of Garifuna Collective musicians raised in Honduras have adopted a traditional community approach, embracing informal conversations and agreements as their social foundation. Sarah England describes the economy of reciprocity, emanating from a machularadi world view, as unique to the Central American home communities and based on shared morals and kinship ties (England 2006: 151).[177] Interestingly, while many Belizean

[177] As discussed in chapter 3, a money-based economy is interpolated within machularadi's "community experience of wealth," but likely to a greater degree in Belize than in Honduras (R. Cayetano 1974[2009]: 225; England 2006: 48; Gargallo 2005: 155).

Garifuna musicians, from the Collective and elsewhere, worked independently of one another in the recent past (as discussed later in this chapter), the success of *Wátina* has fostered greater cooperation among these musicians toward the greater good of a music-based livelihood for all Garifuna musicians. It would seem, then, that this turn toward communality within Garifuna popular music in Belize operates in tandem with the recent turn toward traditional rhythms and themes exemplified on *Wátina* and coincides with the ethos of the Honduran musicians of the Collective, even as cosmopolitanism remains a significant differentiating factor between national milieux.

Andy Palacio misinterpreted the cultural autonomization evident in such Honduran Garifuna behaviors in a 2007 interview with the British world music magazine *Songlines*, claiming that "Spanish-speaking Garifuna are only very recently aware of the concept of a 'Garifuna Nation' beyond their borders" (Steward 2007: 41). As discussed in chapter 3, not only is this diasporic concept integral to most Garifunas' sense of cultural identity, but an organization of the same name was formed in 1998 by professional Garifuna transmigrants to the U.S. from Honduras, Belize, and Guatemala to function as an intermediary between the Garifuna people and larger political bodies such as national, state, civic, and international organizations (England 2006: 218-19; M. Williams 2001). Palacio's statement points to deeper criticisms from Belizeans in the Garifuna Collective, who have characterized many of their Honduran counterparts as "lazy," "unprofessional," and unready "to take the music to the next level": Duran, for one, claimed that he had to diffuse tensions between the two camps by the end of their 2007 world tour and lamented to me that most of the Hondurans had not done anything to capitalize on their involvement with *Wátina* since its release (Duran 2007a).

These statements must be considered alongside the fact that the Honduran musicians under fire experience a continually burdensome reality. Most of them migrated to Belize during the early 1990s to escape not only the harassment and oppression their people have faced for decades but also the privatization of their communal lands. They speak only rudimentary English, working primarily as unskilled laborers in the capital of Belize, Belize City. Moreover, racial discrimination followed them to the Honduran embassy in Belize City, making it difficult for them to obtain the necessary documentation to exit and re-enter Belize as necessitated by touring with the Garifuna Collective (idem.). For instance, this poor treatment had long deterred Honduran Collective singer Chella Torres from going to the embassy to update her passport, even though Duran gave her money to do so. It would therefore stand to reason that more autonomizing behaviors would be called upon under such circumstances, when possibilities beyond self and community preservation appear few and far between (Torres 2007).

Formal Education / Training

The People's United Party (PUP)—long the dominant political party in Belize—most recently held power from 1998 to 2008 under the administration of Prime Minister Said Musa. The PUP has a pattern of catering to the professional class, foreign investors, and tourists at the expense of basic subsistence requirements for small-town residents. For example, it was revealed in May 2007 that Musa covertly funneled ten million USD in aid received from the Venezuelan government toward debt incurred by a private hospital in Belize City, Universal Health Services, that the majority of Belizean residents could not afford to patronize (Stone 2007a). This event, in

fact, was pivotal to Musa's loss of the Prime Minister seat to Dean Barrow of the United Democratic Party (UDP) in the country's general elections of January 2008.

As friends and affiliates of Musa and his son Yasser,—former head of the National Institute of Culture and History (NICH) that his father founded in 2003—Andy Palacio and Ivan Duran have enjoyed Cabinet support for the ways in which they have organized Belizean musicians.[178] Their methods have included delegating leadership and decision-making to those with formal training in music theory and sound engineering methods at large throughout the global North, a group which constitutes only a minute number of Belizean Garifuna musicians.[179] This was especially apparent in May 2007 at a roundtable on the state of Belizean music held by the Music Industry Association of Belize (MIAB). As I will discuss in greater detail later in the chapter, Duran, MIAB's founder and former president, rebuffed a suggestion to hold a membership drive to improve representation and to educate musicians about the benefits of organization (Frishkey 2007b). He replied that this should only happen as a last resort, should MIAB lose Cabinet support in the future. Duran defended his exclusionary stance in the following statement to me regarding the majority of Garifuna musicians:

> […] they're all, you could consider, traditional musicians…they don't read music, they don't have a formal education in music. So when someone has a limited scope of music, they're usually very defensive, they're usually very afraid of going into other directions,

[178] Yasser Musa has collaborated with both Duran and his father Joan Duran on multi-media projects since 1992. In 1999, Musa's art gallery the Image Factory, located in Belize City, exhibited a fifty-year retrospective of Joan Duran's work (www.imagefactory.bz). Moreover, Andy Palacio held the following government positions, from oldest to most recent: 1) Rural Community Development Officer in the Ministry of Rural Development and Culture; 2) Information Officer for the Ministry of Rural Development and Culture; 3) Director of Culture; 4) Director of the Institute of Creative Arts; and 5) Cultural Ambassador and Deputy Administrator of the National Institute of Culture and History (NICH) (Palacio 2007b).

[179] It should be noted that Duran himself is conservatory-trained, having studied classical guitar at the Escuela Nacional de Música in Havana, Cuba.

> and a way to show that insecurity is by dissing everything that doesn't sound like they think it should sound […] and that happened a lot in the past (Duran 2007c).

Twenty-five-year-old punta rock musician Vida, a singer for The New Rebels band, acknowledged this circumstance of defensiveness—although not the connection Duran was making to Western European-derived musical education—in his song "Downpressers," a hit in Dangriga Town, Belize (Vida 2007). Vida explained to me that the song takes older musicians to task for the provincialism evident in their complaints about youths' attempts to "uplift" themselves by courting non-Garifuna audiences. In addition, Allan Castillo, vice-president of the Punta Rock Music Association (PRMA) in Dangriga as of 2007, agrees that defensiveness has been a prevalent problem, particularly before the release of *Wátina*. Castillo hopefully concluded that "[punta rock musicians] are moving from competition to cooperation, a sign of maturity," which he claims was the impetus for reconvening PRMA in November 2006 after a long hiatus (Castillo 2007). But Adrian Martinez, a Belizean Garifuna member of the Garifuna Collective who holds a bachelor's degree in English education and a master's degree in international relations and who has taught Western European music fundamentals in schools throughout Dangriga's Stann Creek District for over five years (hence the nickname "Doc"), stresses that this is simply not enough:

> Yes, the musicians are coming together, but that is just a small part of it…it's much more than that […]. The people within the organization [PRMA], most of them are high school graduates and are sixth form [junior college level]. We need more than that, 'cause when you get out into the real, the international market, these guys are highly qualified…we need to be able to fit in properly and not feel left out (A. Martinez 2007).

In Martinez's view, homegrown concerts and recordings exhibit sub-standard sound quality and musicianship relative to the majority of recordings and live shows marketed as world music. For him,

> ...as it is, we don't have qualified people who would be able to teach…a multi-million dollar studio. We cannot put that in the hands of amateurs. That's a no-no. That's what you have in Belize, amateurs, a lot of amateurs. And it has been like that for quite some time, from since in the 80s, and no one has step up to the plate to be different, at least to lead the others. Everybody still the same way. So there's still a lot of work that needs to be done in punta rock… (ibid.).[180]

His subscription to this narrative bespeaks a sense that most punta rockers are not moving fast enough to acquire the multiple skill sets required of star performers within music industries worldwide. In sum, differing notions of professionalism bear the mark of class privileges and strivings.

Gender

Interestingly, the debut commercial release of Garifuna women's music in early 2008, *Umalali: The Garifuna Women's Project*, met with a widespread response opposite to that of Adrian Martinez's, encouraging women's continued relegation to performing and composing traditional music. This is demonstrated in the following excerpt from a review of *Umalali* on the online review blog *Head Butler*:

[180] As I observed, many small studios in Belize are indeed equipped with personal computers and mixing boards five years old or older (Hixson 2007). However, Al Obando, the sound engineer for Stonetree Records and for all live shows and most recordings in Dangriga, witnessed for the first time how Western European sound engineers worked during the 2007 Garifuna Collective tour and concluded that his aptitude was on par with theirs—even better in some respects, despite their use of higher-end sound systems than in Belize. As he put it, "We are at the same level…we are not far. If we would be put in a setting over there, we would operate the same way, and we could even achieve more with the stuff they have" (Obando 2007).

> History bypassed these women long ago; theirs is the life of eternal duties, ancient rhythms and primal emotions. […] And so, when they sing, you feel they are singing truth. They don't really have another reason to sing --- they've had no show-biz careers and won't get them now. So these songs are like field recordings, which are then layered and processed and yet somehow still sound authentic (Kornbluth 2008).

In other words, the potential for female singers' international commercial success is depicted as dependent on traditional performance and male culture brokers like Duran. Male commercial musicians, on the other hand, are free to incorporate so-called "roots" into their music as they see fit, as proven by the success of Andy Palacio's and Aurelio Martinez's careers discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

That said, women within the Collective—accustomed to the role of their gender to disseminate cultural traditions—do tend to feel a personal responsibility to represent their traditions faithfully, irrespective of the context in which they are performing. As Ivan Duran related in a 2008 interview with Banning Eyre for *Afropop Worldwide*, "The first thing that you'll sense working with them is that they don't need this. [Eyre: "They are doing you a favor."] More or less, yes. It's like it's more about feeling pride. It's more about not disappointing" (Eyre 2008). And C.C. Smith, former editor of the now-defunct African and Afrodiasporic music magazine *The Beat*, gleaned the following about Guatemalan Garifuna singer Sofia Blanco from a filmed interview that he observed: "Nonplussed by the so-called 'glamour' of the music biz, this 54-year-old grandmother of seven is not certain she wants to continue with her public appearances [touring with the Garifuna Collective in 2008], preferring to be home on familiar ground, but on stage she performs joyfully, dancing in the foot-skittering,

hip-swaying Garifuna manner" (Smith 2008: 35).[181] During the Collective's 2007 world tour, two female singers—Chella Torres and Desere Arana Diego—appeared in traditional dress in live performance, providing a collective response to lines sung by whichever male singer sang lead on a particular song. Sometimes they shook a *shaka* (rattle), and they continually swayed from side-to-side using the shuffle step characteristic of the *hünguhüngu* song-dance genre (Greene 1998b: 676). In short, they shared with the male *primero* and *segunda* drummers the role of representing traditional music-making within a commercial performance context, adhering to the accepted gendered division of labor. I encountered a similar practice during my 2001 fieldwork in the Belizean Garifuna village of Seine Bight and the popular tourist destination Placencia Village. Expensive resorts line the five miles of road between these seaside villages, where Garifuna women perform "tradition" via secular song-dance genres—singing, dancing, and playing shaka alongside male percussionists for the benefit of tourists. As Sarah England notes, Garifuna women's participation in the world economy since at least the twentieth century, when they began migrating to cities in Central America and the U.S., "is an integral element of Garifuna history and culture, not a recent phenomenon that has disrupted a 'kind of stable and traditionally-bound regime…beloved of anthropologists'" (England 2006: 183; Wilk 1990: 82). It remains to be seen, however, if the world music arm of the British, European, and North American culture industries could benefit the female singers of the Garifuna Collective to the extent they are benefiting it, as culture bearers.

Age Group

[181] While Smith's observation is true, based on what Duran (close friends with Blanco) conveyed to him and also on my own interaction with her, it also adheres to the equation of cultural authenticity with tradition that often appears within world music journalism (Whitmore 2016: 330-331).

The cultural autonomization, or "defensiveness," spoken of by Vida, Ivan Duran, and Allan Castillo applies especially to Belizean Garifuna musicians in their 50s and older. This attitude valorizes intra-diasporic relations above all others, which allows for a kin-based familiarity and informality that accommodation to global North culture industries does not. As ethnomusicologist Oliver Greene noticed during the course of his fieldwork in Dangriga, "Feelings of cultural deprival are often found in older Belizean Garinagu, many of whom relayed to me past experiences of economic, political, and racial discrimination" (Greene 2002: 202). Regarding this protective stance, it is important to recall chapter 3's discussion of the discrimination by Brits and Kriols against Garifuna, beginning with the latter's arrival to Belize and lasting well into the twentieth century: this is a memory very much alive in the minds of many elders.

The involvement of late, revered parandero Paul Nabor in the Garifuna Collective was unique and a revelation for generational dynamics. While his distinctive vocals and poignant *paranda* compositions became a fan favorite at Collective live shows, his duties as buyei of his own *dabuyaba* (temple) in the largely Garifuna town of Punta Gorda took precedence over being a band member. For instance, he could not perform for the 2007 homecoming concert on July 14 in Dangriga due to buyei duties, and argued strenuously for returning from the tour a week early (Obando 2007).

The variation in priorities among younger musicians within the largest Garifuna community in Belize and the birthplace of punta rock, Dangriga, is worth noting. Some have turned to such Garifuna Collective members as role models for international success and

sustainable careers following the release of *Wátina*. For example, punta rocker Vida told me in 2007 that he wants to be able to tour all over the world, performing for stadium-size audiences, and that he tells others jealous of such aspirations that Andy Palacio and Adrian Martinez are opening doors to this possibility for Garifuna musicians (Vida 2007). Others, however, are more content than Vida with their local fan base and promotional reach. When I spoke with him in 2007, Felix "Reckless" Flores was happy being a punta rock superstar in Dangriga and considered it an apt reflection of his then-current priorities: he planned to release a paranda album in perhaps five or six years, since he perceives paranda as "music for older people" and good music for that reason (Flores 2007). And while Belize's punta rock king, Supa G, recorded a paranda album for the first time in 2007, it was never released and quickly succeeded by a punta rock album called *Di Scandal*, released in August 2008. On the other hand, *Di Scandal* displays an activist bent reminiscent of *Wátina*, as demonstrated by such lyrical topics as rape and gun violence, and Reckless might not have considered paranda seriously as a stylistic option if not for his involvement on *Wátina* (Sanchez 2008).[182]

The "Globalization Response"

The "globalization response" is sociologist Mark Abrahamson's term for the revamping of former industrial cities to attract the interest and investment of information-centered businesses based in global cities (Abrahamson 2004: 4). This move became necessary for retaining viability after the late twentieth-century First World shift from a manufacture-based economy to an information-based economy, facilitated by technological developments that

[182] As discussed in chapter 6, Reckless arranged a traditional hünguhüngu song titled "Águyuha Nidúheñu (My People Have Moved On)" as a vocal duet between him and Andy Palacio.

greatly increased the speed and distance of communication and travel. A major result of this shift was that inhabitants of factory cities lost manufacturing jobs outsourced to formerly non-industrial countries where labor costs and production resources are significantly cheaper. One of the primary ways that factory cities like Manchester, England, have found new relevance in the post-industrial climate has been through recourse to the culture and tourist industries. For example, investment in sports and puppet animation breathed new life into Manchester, resulting in a rejuvenated downtown area capable of attracting international tourists as well as the international business community (ibid.: 6-7). However, this was achieved by limiting the strategists to a small association of no more than thirty corporate chief executives, many of whom led multinational corporations headquartered in other countries. Their small size allowed them to present a more unified business view to government officials, "without having to go through electoral politics or legislative review" (ibid.: 7). This bypassing of local interests and infrastructure, endemic to global cities, ensures that "not all segments within a city will necessarily reap much benefit from such developments" (idem.). This is particularly the case for minorities, immigrants, and women. As globalization scholar Saskia Sassen has noted, the question then arises, "Whose city is it?" (Sassen 1999; Abrahamson 2004: 8).

We could easily apply this question to Garifuna music and culture in light of their interpolation by the world music industry via Garifuna World Music. Although Garifuna communities do not constitute aspiring global cities (with the exception of the "charter city" experiment in Honduras, if successful, discussed in chapter 3), the "globalization response" has begun to be evident within aforementioned intra-community differentiations. As a result, these differences are becoming not merely "different," with cultural cohesion the larger concern, but

hierarchical. In this not-so-new scenario, power struggles come to overshadow mutual respect. With *Wátina,* Duran and Palacio retooled Garifuna traditional music into a type more appealing to the cosmopolitan inhabitants of these global cities, as well as savvy Garifuna youths attuned to the global marketplace. Like the financial elites who steered Manchester's transformation, they did this by enlisting the help of Belizean government officials and institutions while diminishing both the range of opinions emanating from Garifuna communities and also national reception to the album, as I discuss more thoroughly later in this chapter. The accolades *Wátina* and Palacio received from world music industry tastemakers legitimated his and Duran's positions, painting dissenting musicians who perceive less value in their endeavor in a somewhat antagonistic light.

The growing hierarchical relationship within categories like education level/type and nation-of-birth might be said to rest on the rising importance of class differences over cultural differences as capitalism penetrates globally (Abrahamson 2004: 124).[183] This has the effect of diminishing cultural identity as a source of group solidarity. We have witnessed in this chapter and chapter 5 the strivings of several younger Garifuna punta rockers toward full-time employment as musicians, and Palacio and Duran fashioned the Garifuna Collective as a model for this livelihood. At its *extreme*, this livelihood subverts the informal economy still emblematic of most Central American Garifuna villages by participating, full-time, in the late capitalism driving the global economy with its emphasis on "consumption, leisure, and touring" (ibid.: 15). As described in chapter 3, traditional lifeways prior to the late twentieth century shaped how Garifuna spent colonial dollars earned, and manufactured goods were *supplemental* luxuries in daily life, from textiles and soap to refrigerators and VCRs. Only in the last twenty years, with

[183] The ascendance of class differences with capitalism's maturity was famously theorized by Karl Marx in the *Communist Manifesto* and *The German Ideology* (Nisbet 1966[1996]: 201-202).

the lifting of trade restrictions in the Americas and the monopolization of British, European, and North American culture industries by merging conglomerates, has globalization begun to significantly impact Garifunas' notion of tradition (ibid.: 130-136). For example, the late John Mariano, a buyei based in Dangriga and renowned throughout Central America, incredulously relayed to me on August 13, 2007, that younger buyei are now claiming that their helping spirits (*híuraha*) are speaking English to them instead of Garifuna: "The spirit never does speak English. But now this is what they use, you know? [chuckles] This is what they speaking, but not *my* spirit" (Mariano 2007). Belizean Garifuna dwell in a country where success in capturing cosmopolitan attention through the arts has begun to put pressure on Garifuna rooted elsewhere in Central America to adhere to the Belizean narrative of Garifuna creative expression; for example, I discuss later in the chapter the application submitted by Belize's government and National Garifuna Council, on behalf of Garifuna throughout Central America, for recognition by UNESCO of Garifuna language, music, and dance as "a masterpiece of oral and intangible cultural heritage." In addition, Honduras's most renowned Garifuna musician, Aurelio Martinez, was "discovered" by Ivan Duran as a young *parandero* in the late 1990s and has been groomed to fill Andy Palacio's shoes as the Garifuna World Music ambassador since his Palacio's death in 2008; Peter Gabriel's decision to release Martinez's latest Garifuna World Music album, *Laru Beya*, on his Real World label in 2011, and Martinez's mentorship by Senegalese world music superstar Youssou N'Dour on that album, attest to the success of this endeavor.

At the same time, I observed in Dangriga a rather unencumbered double life of several Belizean members of the Garifuna Collective. Most of them participated in the 2007 world tour, but then resumed their local performing and recording schedules upon their return with full

support from their peers and fans. While their experiences in Europe, particularly, set them apart from the majority of their fellow residents, the musicians easily bracketed off these experiences as distinct from local life. This attitude is fully in line with traditional Garifuna thinking on relations with Euro-Anglos, as a purely instrumental *quid pro quo* enterprise. Garifuna musicians' participation in the Collective furthers Ivan Duran's agenda of capturing First World acclaim and assistance for Garifuna music, the "how" of which they deem not their concern or business,[184] and they personally benefit from the stature that an international tour grants them at home, leading to more performance opportunities and, hence, the greater likelihood that they can live on income generated solely from music-making. In sum, the difference between Garifuna working for banana plantations and as merchant marines in the past and those working for an internationally recognized musical ensemble in the present is one of degree rather than kind.

As these world tours become a kind of gold standard within the communities, cemented through storytelling and fomenting expectation, the likelihood looms of a deepening division within the Dangriga musician pool based on experience. Stonetree engineer and Garifuna Collective bassist Al Obando alluded to this possibility in his comments about returning to Dangriga after the 2007 tour:

> …One of the biggest lows to me was, I wish I had more Belizean or more of my friends from Dangriga on a tour like that, just for the experience, and I know it's going to be

[184] I further discuss this attitude among Garifuna commercial musicians in chapter 6. For instance, when asked about the possibility of a 2008 world tour for the Garifuna Collective, bassist and Stonetree engineer Al Obando replied, "When it's gonna start, how it's gonna start, when it's gonna end, I have *no* clue [laughs]. Yeah, I don't try to get into that stuff. I think when Ivan and those guys are ready, they just pass on information, and then we act. But the less I could know, the better, right?"(Obando 2007). Although not Garifuna, Obando encapsulates the prevailing attitude among the band's musicians in his statement. To provide another example, Justo Miranda, a Honduran Garifuna musician living in Belize and a Collective member, told me that Duran provided direction to the musicians during the *Wátina* sessions, and they simply carried it out (Miranda 2007).

> hard, and…all they will hear will be stories. It would even be hard for them to be in a group like that…although they will try to do it by themselves, you know? Most of them aren't, like…and it's because we don't have much musicians who plays, like, elements of the Collective like guitars, which are totally important, bass, even a good primero track, good lead or segunda or something like that, so… But I hope, with all the talking people hear, they start moving toward this kind of…knowing that there is some hope for them. To become a musician, you start this, you do this, you do this, you do this, and you eventually could become part of a group like that and you could travel and do stuff like that. So to me it's important for the young ones to understand that there's an avenue, you know? (Obando 2007).

Obando's wish has, indeed, caught on with many younger punta rock musicians, like the aforementioned Dangriga singer Vida. As live performers, they crave adoring audiences of the size attracted by the likes of North American performers Celine Dion and Michael Jackson, and are willing to embark upon world tours to procure such audiences and the substantial income they generate. However, these musicians appear disinterested in non-Garifuna, non-Afrodiasporic, and non-Latin American cultural expressions and values. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, Vida himself noticed, and spoke out against, older Garifuna in Dangriga shunning the courting of outsiders by younger punta rockers; however, he also dismisses the possibility of an educational give-and-take between himself and these outsiders in favor of the mass audience and dollars they provide him as a touring performer. In this way, Vida exhibits a very traditional Garifuna conception of group-outsider relations, highlighting the fact that welcoming audiences on a global scale does not necessarily indicate or require cross-cultural openness on the part of performers, just as consuming world music often retains a level of ignorance as a form of escape (discussed in chapter 2).

On the whole, negotiation with the Global North remained quite traditional among the Garifuna musicians I observed and spoke with in 2007, with even regular touring members of the

Collective still willing and able to compartmentalize differing audience expectations. As discussed in chapter 6, Honduran Garifuna Aurelio Martinez creates as many albums and performs as many concerts for Garifuna and Garifuna-American communities as for world music audiences (if not more), as a matter of principle; likewise, the majority of current Garifuna Collective leader Lloyd Augustine's performances are community-oriented concerts and festivals held throughout Belize (albeit mostly in Hopkins and Dangriga). Moreover, the late Andy Palacio bracketed off the world music industry as a conglomerate of "cartels" and "machines" (Palacio 2007b). In other words, a separate peace still maintains between their informal and contractual business deals.

A Tale of Two Organizations: the Music Industry Association of Belize (MIAB) and the Punta Rock Music Association (PRMA)

Anthropologist Sarah England discerned two competing views on how Honduran Garifuna should negotiate their minority status within the country. Within the Garifuna village of Limón, England worked with two community organizations, Comité Pro-Electrificación and Iseri Lidawamari (New Dawn), that represent *superación* (progress, getting ahead) and *desintegración* respectively. She describes the differences in these views as follows:

> As Iseri Lidawamari members often argue, they [Honduran Garifuna] are discriminated against *por ser negro y por ser pobre* (for being black and poor). Their solution is to attack discrimination on the two fronts of race and class. One way to do this is through a re-emphasis on ethnic solidarity, cultural autonomy, and economic self-sufficiency through agricultural production. Yet in many ways Iseri Lidawamari's discourses of ethnic autonomy and economic self-sufficiency do not correspond to the practical experience of many Garifuna and their family members who have achieved upward mobility through migration [to New York City] and are now able to consume at Honduran middle-class levels. The main foe, as members of Pro-Electrificación see it, is the lack of individual motivation to work *within* the system, not *against* it. For them, the primary strategy for *superando sus condiciones de vida* [transcending their life

> conditions] continues to be hard work and achieving success within the class system and the national educational system, not what they perceive to be the 'ethnic separatist' politics of Iseri Lidawamari (England 2006: 176).

The New York-based Comité Pro-Electrificación is committed to raising enough money to connect Limón to the national electricity grid in order to allow for such conveniences as televisions and refrigerators and for the creation of small businesses. Iseri Lidawamari is an agricultural cooperative located near Limón committed to the "communitarian self-sufficient production" formerly at large on St. Vincent and in early Central American settlements and also to cultural consciousness-raising (ibid.: 150). While one group imports wholesale the dominant development model[185] promoted by the Honduran government and international organizations like the World Bank and the IMF—whereby the standard of living is improved "through infrastructure related to hygiene, education, consumption, and industrial production,"—the other group heavily critiques this model and calls instead for forms of production indigenous to the Garifuna. Despite their surface polarity, however, one can discern crucial linkages between these positions. For one, neither group supports the expropriation of land from Honduran Garifuna communities via the unscrupulous business practices undertaken by private investors with the assistance of government officials in the name of agribusiness and tourism. Moreover, Iseri Lidawamari foregrounds cultural autonomy within their narrative of the Garifuna past, while omitting the migration and wage labor taken for granted by the Comité Pro-Electrificación as "an integral element of Garifuna history and culture" (ibid.: 183). In doing so, Iseri Lidawamari

[185] England uses the term "dominant development model" to refer to an approach to development favored by First World international organizations since the 1960s that favors expanding industrialization and consumption (England 2006: 156; Escobar 1995). Since the 1990s, this model has encompassed development strategies such as "the globalization, privatization, [and] technification of production, and the neoliberal ideologies of the free market" (England 2006: 159).

strategically voices the discourse regarding "minority cultural situations" found within First World human rights and international aid organizations, not only depicting these groups' ways-of-life as uniform, largely unchanging, and tied to territory, but also embracing the pro-community sustainable development model that operates *within*, rather than counter to, the dominant development model. As England notes,

> As groups such as Iseri Lidawamari become connected to these transnational networks of aid organizations, NGOs, and so forth, they draw on these global discourses and are simultaneously constructed and constructing themselves into 'global structures of common difference, which celebrate particular kinds of diversity while submerging, deflating, or suppressing others' (Wilk 1995: 118). Thus, in the cultural history Garifuna activists often present, their ancestors were natural conservators of the land and their communities were reservoirs of precapitalist social relations that were rooted to territory, all of which are familiar tropes in indigenous organizations and international documents such as Convention 169 of the ILO [International Labour Organization] (ibid.: 185).

Thus, for *both* groups, not just the Comité Pro-Electrificación, cultural assertion is mitigated by compromises with the larger national and transnational milieux in which Garifuna operate as a minority, despite the difference in the types of compromises made.

In Belize, two organizations exist that reflect the national priorities of Garifuna musicians: the Music Industry Association of Belize (MIAB) and the Punta Rock Music Association (PRMA). The priorities of MIAB and PRMA respectively echo the emphasis upon nationwide values of Pro-Electrificación and the pro-cultural agenda of Iseri Lidawamari. MIAB is a small organization of local music association heads that represents the Belizean music industry as a whole, while PRMA—one of these associations—has traditionally promoted Garifuna musical styles nationally with an emphasis on Dangriga musicians, reflecting the hometown base of the organization. Following England's example, I will proceed to examine

how both organizations diverge and converge in their advocacy on behalf of Garifuna popular music. Exemplifying the aforementioned "globalization response," MIAB requests assistance from governmental Cabinet members with developing a competitive national music industry by way of a limited membership base, largely undereducated members, and a small pool of decision makers. Like MIAB, PRMA promotes a sustainable livelihood for musicians; however, its officers disagree on the mission and membership base of the organization, representing a difference in perspective among Dangriga's punta rockers and their professional networks. One viewpoint foresees the expansion of the purview of PRMA to include any up-and-coming Belizean musician from any culture group, following MIAB's model of national unity. The other favors an increasingly international audience and versatile repertoire for established punta rock musicians, following the model embodied by the Garifuna Collective. These perspectives, however, do not constitute a binary opposition on the ground: most Dangriga-based musicians adopt one attitude or another on a case-by-case basis, rather than as an essential position. More importantly, they reveal room for divergent opinions at the level of a grassroots music organization.

MIAB (the Music Industry Association of Belize)

Stonetree Records president Ivan Duran formed MIAB in 2002 as the umbrella organization for Belize's music associations. In 2007, MIAB contained approximately 400 members and nine of the country's twelve music associations, including PRMA, the Belize Music Agency (BMA), Singers and Players of Instruments (SPI), and United Belize Artists (UBA). In 2003, MIAB sponsored the country's first annual music industry conference in

December, known as "Music Week" in subsequent years,[186] comprised of panel discussions working toward creating an infrastructure for a national music industry. During this inaugural conference, Board members delineated three specific goals: "to provide a viable music market, improve the industry to compete internationally, and protect music from copyright infringement" (www.belizemusic.org, Accessed 12 March 2009, currently inactive). That same year, Prime Minister Said Musa created the National Institute of Culture and History (NICH), replacing the Belize Arts Council as the umbrella organization for the arts in Belize (www.nichbelize.org). NICH officers mediate between MIAB and Cabinet ministers, among their duties, and have funded Music Week every year since its formation. Until 2008, NICH was headed by Yasser Musa, the Prime Minister's son and Public Relations Officer for the PUP (People's United Party). Also until 2008, MIAB was headed by Duran, who is good friends with Yasser.[187] Once the country's General Elections brought the UDP (United Democratic Party) to power in February 2008, MIAB entered a phase of inactivity lasting until 2010, and another from 2011 to 2016.[188] Prime Minister Dean Barrow replaced Yasser Musa with Diane Haylock at the helm of NICH upon taking office on February 7, and she remains president as of 2016 (Ramos 2008).

[186] Since 2003, Music Week has also included concerts and Awards Ceremonies. In 2007, for instance, MIAB allocated one day for Belizean musicians to record for free in a designated recording studio within their district under the supervision of MIAB personnel; prizes were given for Best Recording and Best Song.

[187] See Footnote 3.

[188] As former MIAB Board member Tim O'Malley presciently remarked to me on June 21, 2007, "It doesn't seem like MIAB is really…it's not burning its tires on the way to wherever it's going [laughs]. It kind of stalled out…I mean, it's good because it's still there, it still does what it's doing. Music Week still goes on. I don't doubt that that will continue, so long as NICH funds it. Because, if NICH doesn't fund it, there's no Music Week. If UDP wins, chances are lower that they'll get funded…because it's Yasser [Musa], you know? It's Yasser that's doing all that" (O'Malley 2007).

Figure 7.3 Belizean Music Icons roundtable, Music Week 2007, House of Culture, Belize City, Belize, May 15, 2007. From the left: Andy Palacio, Tony Wright, Bredda David Obi, Chico Ramos, Gregory Vernon (facilitator). Photo by the author.

MIAB represented an effort to unify musicians under the aegis of a national institution as a way of ensuring their livelihoods. According to accounts from music association representatives and veteran musicians in 2007, musicians had long pieced together gigs and created recordings on their own as peripheral, "weekend" sources of income only, unable to perceive a benefit to organizing collectively. For example, during the "Belizean Music Icons" roundtable discussion as part of Music Week 2007, Andy Palacio described being a "one-man show" during his early years as a punta rock artist, doing his own publicity, songwriting, arranging, instrumentation, and backing vocals (Frishkey 2007a). One reason for this might be a sense of segmentation among Belize's numerous ethnic groups, an idea forwarded by Gina Scott, a Kriol and the former music representative of the Belize Arts Council. She cited this as the primary reason why the radio show "Village Life," broadcast on the national station LOVE FM

and devoted to personal interest stories, suffered from lack of interest (Scott 2007). Another reason is an historical lack of continuity between government administrations in Belize, resulting in regular changes to government programs and organizations (as described in the previous paragraph).[189]

In addition, violations of the country's copyright laws, including rampant CD piracy[190] and the refusal of television and radio stations to pay musicians royalties for broadcasted song clips, have proven a major obstacle to their ability to make a living wage as musicians, as discussed in chapter 5. For instance, few musicians—including Central America's top punta rocker, Supa G from Dangriga—receive money from royalties and album sales, earning their income predominately from live shows, often as many as four per weekend (Hixson 2007). Another obstacle related to consumption has been the growing popularity of karaoke in Belize in the last twenty years, which, according to Duran and SPI representative Emerson Guild, has adversely affected job stability and quality for Belizean musicians (Frishkey 2007b; Guild 2007).

[189] As Emerson Guild, representative of Singers and Players of Instruments (SPI), decried in writing, "Finally, how do we protect what the artist wants because whatever laws or programs or practices the current managers make in good faith, a subsequent manager (new monarch) can and does change, discard, repeal, or do whatever it likes no matter how much of the artist's money, time or efforts that were expended" (Guild 2007).

[190] According to a 2006 report on trade and development challenges among the cultural industries of the fifteen-country Caribbean Community (CARICOM), a loophole exists in current Belizean legislation that enables "duty free importation of equipment that has been bought for the specific purpose of pirating music," such as "blank CDs and recording devices" (Nurse 2006: 50). The report also states that MIAB sought in 2006 to be recognized by the government "as the authorized agency to vet the importation" of such equipment (ibid.: 50). Steps have been taken by local business owners as well; for instance, the owner of Val's Internet Café and Laundry Service in Dangriga (named Donna) omitted CD-burning capability on her public computers deliberately for this reason (Donna 2007). Moreover, promotional flyers for concerts often decry piracy; on the flyer for the Garifuna Collective homecoming concert in Dangriga on July 14, 2007 following their world tour, a line of text at the bottom reads "Beware of Bootleggers! Support Yu Own!! BUY ORIGINAL!!!"

With all of these divisive influences at play, MIAB Board members quickly learned that, to get what they wanted, they had to come to a consensus about what to ask for and prioritize accordingly (Frishkey 2007b). This approach quickly bore fruit. One outcome of the initial 2003 conference was a proposal to the Cabinet requesting that the duty be lifted from imported musical instruments; the Cabinet complied within a matter of months. Music Week 2007 resulted in six such proposals, including duty exemption for all equipment to be used in national recording studios and Cabinet investigation into unpaid royalties for songs used in radio and television broadcasts (idem.).[191]

As a witness to the panel on "The Current State of Belizean Music" during Music Week 2007, however, it struck me that this ability to act swiftly with concrete results was contingent upon the small size of the body of decision-making music association representatives present[192] and also upon Duran's close relationship to the Musa family that rendered NICH automatically amenable to MIAB's proposals.[193] Despite the participation of representatives to only five of

[191] The six proposals are as follows: 1) Duty exemption for all equipment to be used in national recording studios; 2) A statement from Cabinet ministers supporting a government mandate that Belizean radio stations devote 10%-20% of each hour of their daily broadcasts to Belizean music; 3) Assistance from Cabinet ministers in enforcing copyright laws by investigating the uncompensated usage of Belizean artists' music in radio and television broadcasts; 4) Six NICH-sponsored educational workshops per year, beginning with two workshops in Dangriga in the next fiscal year organized by the Punta Rock Music Association (PRMA); 5) Joint MIAB-BTB (Belize Tourism Board) sponsorship of an online guide to Belizean live music and musicians; and 6) 2007 budget approval of those music festivals most conducive to the presentation of original Belizean music, which would be provided in a list compiled by MIAB (Frishkey 2007b).

[192] Those present include Emerson Guild (SPI), Al Obando (PRMA), James Sanker (BMA, MIAB vice-president), Jackie Castillo (BMA artist), "Bredda" David Obi (UBA), Ivan Duran (MIAB president), Greg Vernon (MIAB Resource Center, panel facilitator), Michael Stone (director, Latin American Studies Center, Princeton University), Kim (MIAB secretary), Ashley Jennett (MIAB secretary), and Amy Frishkey (Stonetree/MIAB intern, panel transcriber).

[193] Duran was direct with me about NICH's partiality. As he put it, "They're more proactive...at least they have a lot more to show than the [Belize] Arts Council previously...some for the better, some for the worse, I think. They're a little bit more politicized than the Arts Council used to be, and that is always a bad thing. And, you know, the more money you have, the more power you have, and the more power you have, the more you're leaning to use it in favor

Belize's twelve music associations in the panel, Duran asked that they brainstorm upon a list of proposals to send to the Cabinet, stressing the power of MIAB letters to NICH to get things moving (as with the aforementioned 2003 duty exemption proposal).[194] I drafted this list from the panel minutes at Duran's request. Stating that "a few good people can make a difference," Duran agreed with Kriol UBA (United Belize Artists) representative David Obi that MIAB's energies should currently be directed toward getting a music industry infrastructure in place *before* addressing the issue of membership, although Obi went on to say that greater unity between the associations would likely occur once musicians were more knowledgeable about how music industries work. When Duran pointed out that "not all musicians know they shouldn't be paying a tax on recording equipment," Kriol SPI representative Emerson Guild responded by proposing a MIAB membership drive and center for drives in order for the organization to have "real advocacy power." He asserted the truism that "information is not reaching people that need service" and that MIAB could educate people on issues in order to ensure that all of Belize's musicians were benefiting from MIAB's proposals to the Cabinet via NICH. Michael Stone, director of the Latin American Studies Center at Princeton University at the time, concurred that MIAB could serve as a valuable resource for musicians in this manner. Duran then pointed out that MIAB has 400 members nationwide already and that "the membership issue could come into play if we need some kind of support later on…if MIAB starts to get questioned. If no one feels

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of your people or your party. So in that regard, NICH has tread a fine line, and I personally am not very sure that it has been impartial every time" (Duran 2007a).

[194] During the panel, Duran complained that a certain representative did not appear as he had promised. At the same time, Music Week was not well-publicized. Gina Scott, who runs the Belize School of Music in Belize City where Music Week was held, was frustrated that Duran informed her at the last minute; she wanted to tell her students so that they could attend (recall that Scott is the former music representative of the Belize Arts Council, which was supplanted by NICH in 2003) (Scott 2007).

[the] need to fight for something, there is nothing else to do." He did not feel the need to seek out more members and "rally the troops," since Said Musa's administration had been open to all MIAB proposals up to that point. However, we must consider the fact that the organization may have been able to weather the change in administrations in 2008 if a greater diversity of viewpoints had been illuminated via a larger and better-represented membership base (Frishkey 2007b).

As a result of Duran's prevailing stance, MIAB achieved beneficial results for Belizean musicians but cannot properly be called a representative organization. As Guild acknowledged, MIAB cannot faithfully represent musicians unless these musicians have enough of a sense of personal agency to participate in their respective associations (Guild 2007).[195] According to Obi and PRMA president Al Obando, this has already begun to happen within their own associations (Frishkey 2007b). In the meantime, a situation existed within MIAB, in 2007, where a few spoke for many, creating a large likelihood of misrepresentation. In a written statement to panel participants, Guild pointed out a "visible bias that some of our artists enjoy over and over again, to represent Belize in the arts internationally" that disallows group consensus and a concern with the "common good" above individual agendas (Guild 2007). Here, he is likely alluding to Andy Palacio's long-standing exposure within the world music industry and the success story of *Wátina*, released earlier that year. Thus, while several Belizean musicians view this success as finally transforming the possibility of music careers into reality, others see it as an instance of using privileged connections to transform one particular take on, and approach to, Belizean

[195] This includes the MIAB music association heads who did not attend the Music Week panel. To his credit, Duran postponed the submission of the six proposals to the Cabinet until later in the year so that he could meet with these five remaining leaders.

music and Garifuna music into the primary narrative by which non-Belizean audiences understand these musics.

PRMA (the Punta Rock Music Association)

Ivan Duran's dissemination of pre-release promotional hype for *Wátina* from world music industry tastemakers helped to revitalize the association representing Garifuna music to MIAB, the Punta Rock Music Association (PRMA) based in Dangriga. Formed in 2000, PRMA had lain dormant since 2001 until a series of three meetings took place in November 2006. During the Music Week 2007 "The Current State of Belizean Music" roundtable, PRMA president Al Obando reported that the impetus for reviving the organization at that time was a new consciousness among punta rock musicians of the need for cooperation, after the "go-it-alone" approach of the last five years failed to further their careers in the ways they desired. All of the PRMA officers with whom I spoke agreed that PRMA gained new relevance with this shift in perspective from competition to cooperation and to musicians pro-actively organizing on behalf of their vocation. As PRMA vice-president Allan Castillo put it, "Times have changed, especially between the studios in Dangriga. [There is] not as much sense of ownership over recordings as there is an emphasis on the quality of recordings" (Castillo 2007). Moreover, PRMA secretary Kevin Martinez told me that, as manager of Supa G and his band Daynjah Zone, he was seeing musicians becoming "more punctual, more involved with their own performances…giving them their all." Thus, all three officers saw "industry level things" happening for PRMA musicians in the near future (K. Martinez 2007).

Concurrently, punta rock musicians were writing more songs to record and perform: following the neo-traditionalist lead of the Garifuna Collective, some PRMA artists began making paranda albums in 2007. In fact, Ivan Duran directed the Canadian non-profit organization Sound Alliance—dedicated to preserving acoustic traditional musics via audio and video recordings—to PRMA in May 2007, resulting in recording sessions throughout June for: 1) a paranda compilation album featuring Dangriga punta rockers Supa G, Reckless, and Nuru; and 2) Supa G's solo paranda album *Yurumein* (the Garifuna term for St. Vincent). With PRMA artists now in a prime position to serve as role models, officers also concur on the need for educational outreach into schools and collaborative outreach to punta rock musicians working in Los Angeles (home of the largest Belizean Garifuna community in the U.S.). For instance, PRMA president Obando spoke with MIAB president Duran about initiating NICH-funded educational workshops for MIAB in Dangriga, based on Dangriga musicians' overwhelmingly positive response to the idea (Frishkey 2007b).

On most other topics, however, consensus has eluded the post-2006 PRMA officers. Allan Castillo (vice-president), for instance, would like to see PRMA's newfound sense of cooperation extend not only to punta rock musicians working in Los Angeles for half of the year but also to non-Garifuna musicians nationwide. He stated, "We always hold ourselves open to work with any genre of music and find a way for blending, through people like [Kriol singer] Leelaa Vernon…trying to represent Belizean culture [too]" (Castillo 2007). Castillo also expressed this nationalist take on PRMA's future in his bold claim that "PRMA is the future of the music industry in Belize" that prevents the industry from committing repeated errors, leaving one to wonder if he intends for PRMA to eventually supplant MIAB and, perhaps, fill the

association's gaps in representation (idem.). Relative to Castillo's generalist approach, Kevin Martinez (secretary) and Al Obando (president) have concerned themselves with clearly delineated and quickly implementable strategies for musicians from the largely Garifuna urban community of Dangriga. While Castillo regards every Belizean musician who plays in a "major" band to be a member of PRMA, Martinez claimed that not many people in Dangriga, let alone Belize as a whole, even know about PRMA and expressed the hope that the 2007 collaboration between Sound Alliance and Dangriga punta rockers—which he personally mediated—would bring the organization more exposure and membership (K. Martinez 2007). Martinez also regularly takes it upon himself to remind both PRMA musicians and officers of their long-term goals and to hold them to their commitments; for instance, he pushed Castillo to call PRMA meetings while Obando was on tour with the Garifuna Collective during the summer of 2007, and declined an invitation for Supa G and Daynjah Zone to perform at the first "Cultural Sunday"[196] in Dangriga on July 22, 2007 because they would not have had a chance to rehearse before the show (idem.). Martinez agrees with Castillo that, despite the association's name, punta rock musicians are more versatile than the style they are known for; unlike Castillo, however, he views the organization as promoting these musicians specifically, almost all of whom are Garifuna (idem.). In another departure from Castillo's vision of PRMA as representing all Belizean musicians, Obando announced at the Music Week 2007 roundtable that PRMA is comprised of mostly Dangriga musicians (Frishkey 2007b).

[196] The National Garifuna Council established "Cultural Sundays" in Dangriga in 2007, featuring weekly Sunday performances of traditional and popular Garifuna music and dance.

In addition to differences of opinion among PRMA's decision makers regarding the organization's scope and jurisdiction, two of them—Castillo and Obando—are music veterans and, as such, operate counter to the prevailing ethos of cooperation among younger musicians, in their daily capacities as producers, engineers, and musicians. Because of this, they send a contradictory message as role models. Like Ivan Duran, Castillo typically takes over a year to complete production on an album and prefers to control all aspects of production.[197] Obando has served as the sole live sound engineer for Dangriga concerts since 1989, in addition to being the most sought-after engineer for recorded sound in the country (Obando 2007). Hence, the problem of isolationism among punta rockers in the past was due not only to competition for CD sales and live audiences among younger musicians—the reason expressed to me by PRMA's officers—but also to an implicit guarding of expertise on the part of local sound designers thirty years of age and older.

Summary

The primary concern of MIAB has been the establishment and sustenance of a national music industry that can compete within the global market. A 2006 CARICOM (Caribbean Community) report on trade and development within the culture industries of its constituent countries conveyed MIAB's intention to enact measures that would fortify record sales abroad for Belizean musicians in the near future (Nurse 2006: 50-1). Regarding Garifuna popular music, therefore, the focus of MIAB has been this music's circulation and reception beyond Belize. That this would be a top priority for MIAB is not surprising: from its beginnings, the organization has

[197] For example, his production of a recent album by veteran punta rocker Mohobub took three years to complete (Castillo 2007).

been funded and supported by an internationally oriented political party (PUP) and headed by an advocate for the world music industry (Ivan Duran). As a fortuitous result, some Garifuna musicians, namely the members of the Garifuna Collective, have benefited greatly from MIAB's mission and policies.

MIAB president Duran expressed opinions to me in our interviews that support a "trickle-down" scenario, where Belizean musicians benefit and learn from the example of the self-starting culture brokers among them. Regarding Andy Palacio and the Garifuna Collective, this approach indeed worked: the *Wátina* phenomenon not only fostered pride among younger Belizean Garifuna in culture-specific traditions and expressive styles but had the effect of motivating musicians from all over Belize to unite in order to make the country's fledgling music industry work for them. Therefore, MIAB has relied upon the international success of a select group of musicians to realize its goal of bringing external attention and support to this industry. A major drawback of this approach, however, is the presence of resentment within a significant portion of MIAB's membership over the appearance of elitism and misrepresentation. As discussed earlier, many feel that MIAB leaders push forward their personal notions of success and promote certain individuals without listening to, or truly knowing, the full range of member perspectives.[198]

Although PRMA is identified by a music genre that has served as a powerful symbol of Garifuna identity since Belize's independence from Great Britain, a minority view within the association is that PRMA should transcend party politics and cultural/ethnic divisions and

[198] Furthermore, many dissidents are Kriol, potentially revealing prejudices against Garifuna that prevailed among Kriols in Belize as late as the 1990s.

instead embrace unity among all Belizean musicians, thus opening its doors to musicians beyond Dangriga. Vice-president Allan Castillo, for instance, believes that "musicians have a more universal and flexible orientation" than non-musicians and also implied that this course for PRMA would give MIAB much-needed competition (Castillo 2007). The majority of PRMA officers, however, purport to represent musicians from the association's hometown of Dangriga, the birthplace of punta rock and the largest Garifuna community in Belize; in so doing, they act as a protectorate for Garifuna popular music specifically. Since the world music success of Andy Palacio and the Garifuna Collective, president Al Obando and secretary Kevin Martinez have demonstrated commitment to helping garner Dangriga's punta rock stars with national and regional clout—Adrian "Doc" Martinez, Lindsford "Supa G" Martinez, Felix "Reckless" Flores, and Lloyd Augustine, in particular—success beyond Belize's neighboring countries, as these musicians follow Palacio's lead to foreground paranda and other traditional styles in their work.[199] As of 2007, however, PRMA did not have a unified front regarding their definition of membership, nor a specific collective plan in place for gaining members. As articulated by Adrian Martinez, PRMA's first choice as president during the November 2006 meetings, in 2007, "…the way it is right now, I don't see an integration within the organization. I don't even hear about the organization right now too…I don't know if they're still meeting or not meeting" (A. Martinez 2007).

[199] Augustine and Flores have performed as the duo "Lloyd and Reckless" since the early 2000s (and as solo artists since then) and also as members of the Garifuna Collective on *Wátina* and in the Belizean inaugural and homecoming concerts of the Collective's 2007 world tour. As discussed in chapter 6, Augustine has gone on to lead the Collective following Andy Palacio's death in January 2008 and has recorded two paranda-oriented solo albums since 2007.

In closing, the development plans of both MIAB and PRMA include a notable lack of transparency and, also, the desire to expand music audiences beyond regional boundaries. Many of their member and potential member musicians have not been educated about the benefits of organizing on their own behalf, and those who have begun to do so (especially among Dangriga's punta rock musicians) find it difficult to arrive at the consensus necessary for moving an agenda forward. Moreover, it appears that just as many Belizean musicians are unaware of the existence these organizations as aware. Leaders of both organizations have enjoyed freedoms that allow for independent action and have proved reluctant to give up that privilege, even while making calls for unity and cooperation among younger musicians. The Garifuna Collective has embodied these conflicts well, as a mixture of men and women from different towns and countries with different educational levels led by people with histories of highly individual routes to fame. Thus, while there is no shortage of advocacy for Garifuna popular music in Belize, its success in the world music market enabled by this national level of support remains, despite the equivalence-building rhetoric, contingent upon elitist and exclusionary politics in keeping with both the country's history of multiculturally based and class-based social segmentation and also with the dominant model of development writ global since the 1990s.[200]

UNESCO's Designation of Garifuna Language, Music, and Dance as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity

This chapter thus far has addressed conflicting narratives among Garifuna commercial musicians as primarily manifested in *group* dynamics, from the Garifuna Collective performing

[200] As discussed in chapter 5, Honduras and Guatemala have not been able to sustain national music industries; thus, Garifuna popular music is largely mediated by the Belizean music industry (Garifuna World Music) and by grassroots networks based in New York and Los Angeles (punta rock).

group to musicians' associations. Dialogues within these groups have mediated differences arising from what Garifuna anthropologist Joseph Palacio has recognized as three contemporaneous "cultural spaces" for Central American Garifuna of the twenty-first century, as he has observed in Belize: 1) originary villages; 2) urban areas as larger Garifuna communities and sites of relocation from villages; and 3) the global level of NGO-driven cultural preservation, crystallized in UNESCO's program to preserve intangible cultural heritage throughout the world (Palacio 2005: 105).[201] For the most part, villages remain "physically and socially excluded" within their countries, as in the past, and are partially reliant upon remittances by men and women working in national and foreign cities. However, the *chugú* and *dügü* ancestor commemoration ceremonies prompt the return of kin living elsewhere for their duration, as discussed in chapter 3. This continual revitalization of the villages demonstrates their position as bastions of "traditional rituals and values" where all Garifuna are welcome irrespective of which village in Central America they are originally from (ibid.: 108-11); as such, villages serve as the home base anchoring the diaspora. Urban communities, like Dangriga and to a lesser extent Belize City, are of mixed ethnicity to some degree and contain largest numbers of Garifuna (Dangriga the largest number in Belize, as previously mentioned); however, Garifuna generally fall within the lower strata of academic performance and socioeconomic level in these locales (ibid.: 112-17). Nonetheless, cultural activism rose from urban spaces with the formation of

[201] UNESCO stands for the "United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization." UNESCO was founded on November 16, 1945, on the premise that "Education, Social and Natural Science, Culture and Communication are the means to a far more ambitious goal: to build peace in the minds of men." Regarding "Culture," UNESCO prioritizes "promoting cultural diversity, with special emphasis on the tangible and intangible heritage," "cultural policies as well as intercultural and interfaith dialogue and understanding," and "culture industries and artistic expressions" (UNESCO Web site, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=6406&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html, Accessed 7 July 2009).

intercommunity organizations that led the way in establishing "a pan-Garifuna culture [or political presence] throughout Belize" that "won the respect and admiration of Belizeans," such as the National Garifuna Council (NGC) formed in 1981 that has since overseen the Garifuna Settlement Day celebrations throughout the country.[202] It is within this milieu that punta rock emerged as but one example of experiments with Garifuna traditions undertaken across various artistic forms like painting, poetry, theatre, and folklore (ibid.: 118). The third cultural space emanates from such global cities as Paris (the headquarters of UNESCO) and encompasses much of the world music community, given the focus on intangible cultural heritage—including rituals, festivals, story-telling, language, music, and dance—and its role not only in cultural preservation but intercultural exchange.

Priorities, economic modes, communication styles, and visibility vary between these spaces enough to account for some of the tensions discussed in this chapter; for example, one could say that elderly women and men such as Garifuna Collective members Sofia Blanco and Paul Nabor represent village space, punta rock musicians like Vida and Felix "Reckless" Flores represent urban space, and internationally oriented culture brokers like Andy Palacio and Aurelio Martinez represent global space. However, moving regularly between these spaces is also endemic to the Garifuna way-of-life (*Garifunaduáü*); as Joseph Palacio notes,

> Contextual multiplicity is appropriate for the Garifuna, since extensive travelling, settling, and moving again have been historical characteristics associated with them, even before their ancestors migrated from South America to the Eastern Caribbean […] The geographic multiplicity—in terms of both permanent relocation and short term migration that we are seeing among them at the beginning of the 21st century—is the continuation of a tradition spanning for more than 2,000 years. […] the three spaces that I describe in this paper are contemporaneous, integrated, and together project the composite of their

[202] See chapter 3 for more information on the NGC.

> cultural identity. […] the extent of their ability in the past and present to synchronize daily actions across different places and cultures is rarely found among indigenous and other peoples in Belize and other parts of the Central America-Caribbean subregion (ibid.: 106-7).

As a result, while any one Garifuna could best represent one of these spaces, particularly the first two, he or she usually has some degree of familiarity with all three. For instance, while many musicians in villages and urban communities may not be deeply knowledgeable about the mechanizations of music industries or familiar with MIAB or PRMA,—perhaps most representative of global space—many have heard about the UNESCO declaration of Garifuna music, dance, and language as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity and are familiar with at least a few of its results, such as the establishment of the Gulisi Garifuna Museum in Dangriga.

The successful attempt of Garifuna to garner recognition from UNESCO of their language, music, and dance in 2001 merits discussion as an example of what this third space requires of villages and urban communities. As will become apparent, fostering international appreciation for cultural expressions provides both a starting and ending point for addressing village and urban social deprivations on a national scale.

UNESCO began accepting applications for its new distinction, "Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity," in 2000. UNESCO's 1972 World Heritage Convention had resulted in the designation of World Heritage Sites as masterpieces of "tangible and monumental heritage," but this prioritized northern hemisphere cultural expressions to the exclusion of the intangible heritage predominating in the southern hemisphere. To rectify the situation, "UNESCO's General Conference adopted resolution 23 which created the distinction

of Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity [what I will henceforth refer to as "MOIHH"] at its 29th session in November 1997" (Cayetano and Cayetano 2005: 231). The Executive Board adopted the regulations for the distinction in 1998. One of these regulations was that every two years, beginning in 2001, UNESCO would draw from submissions by its member states a set of cultural expressions and/or spaces[203] to receive the MOIHH distinction (Seeger 2009: 112-114). After 2003, UNESCO ceased acceptance of submissions for the distinction. Since then, the cultural expressions and/or spaces distinguished as MOIHH have been incorporated into the "Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity" (ibid.: 112, 114).[204]

Candidatures could be submitted either by a member state, as a national submission, or by multiple member states as a multi-national submission "when a form of cultural expression or cultural space crosses political borders" (Cayetano and Cayetano 2005: 233). The selection criteria established by the Executive Board in 1998 stipulated that the cultural expression(s) or space(s) under evaluation must: 1) demonstrate "outstanding value as masterpieces of the human creative genius"; 2) "give wide evidence of their roots in the cultural tradition or cultural history of the community concerned"; 3) demonstrate "their role as a means of affirming the cultural identity of the peoples and cultural communities concerned, their importance as a source of inspiration and intercultural exchange and as a means of bringing peoples or communities closer

[203] According to Roy and Marion Cayetano, the MOIHH distinction "honors popular and traditional expressions such as languages, oral literature, music, dance, games, mythology, rituals, customs and craftwork skills. It also honors cultural spaces and places where popular and traditional cultural activities take place in a concentrated manner (sites for story-telling, rituals, marketplaces, festivals etc.) or on a regular basis (daily rituals, annual processions)" (Cayetano and Cayetano 2005: 232).

[204] UNESCO Web site, www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00103.

together, and their contemporary cultural and social role in the community concerned"; 4) "provide proof of excellence in the application of the skill and technical qualities displayed"; 5) "affirm their value as unique testimonies of living cultural traditions"; and 6) "be at risk of disappearing due either to a lack of means for safeguarding and protecting them, or to processes of rapid change, urbanization, or acculturation" (ibid.: 233-34).

As a vice-president for the UNESCO national commission for Belize, Garifuna anthropologist, linguist, and educator Roy Cayetano learned in late 2000 of the opportunity to submit the candidature file. He was able to assemble a team of three members from the National Garifuna Council (as president of the Council) and three members of the Department of Culture to complete the file by the first of the year. He and his brother Marion coordinated the team's efforts, whereby the NGC members undertook the written portion of the file and the Department of Culture members—including Andy Palacio—created the required video documentary. Of the many possible cultural expressions and spaces (Garifuna Settlement Day celebrations, for instance), the team prepared an entry for Garifuna language, music, and dance. As Roy and Marion Cayetano explained, "We believed that these three components of the Garifuna culture were critical to their survival in bridging the chasm between their original island homeland [St. Vincent] and their continued existence in Central America" (ibid.: 245). In an e-mail correspondence, Marion Cayetano expanded upon this published statement:

> Language is critical to the cultural identity of a people and it is a reflection of their way of life. Language changes as the things that matter to people changes including land and sea, both of which are essential to the garifuna identity. […] Garifuna music is about us and the life we lead. A lot can be gleaned about Garifuna people through their music. This is not to understate the value of land, but our language is how we share who we are with others and among ourselves (Cayetano 2009).

The Garifuna language was an especially important component of the candidature file for its small-scale usage, unique features, and endangerment: only members of the Garifuna diaspora speak it, it contains significant gender differences, and youths twenty-something and younger are mostly illiterate in the language. In the area of music, the file highlighted punta rock for its addition of electric instruments "giving it a universal appeal" (Cayetano and Cayetano 2005: 238). Finally, the regional popularity of the *punta* dance accompanying the punta rhythm received special attention in the file (ibid.: 238-9).

Joseph Palacio described the 2001 Proclamation, the successful culmination of these efforts, as "a validation of the cultural revitalization that the Garifuna had been doing in their combined rural and urban spaces" (Palacio 2005: 119). As Michael Stone (2008) notes, manifestations of this revitalization from 1998 to 2008 have included a wellspring of documentaries[205] on Garifuna music, culture, and ritual, as well as a central topic of this dissertation: "the emergence on the world-music stage of such prominent Garifuna musicians as Belizean cultural ambassador Andy Palacio (1960-2008), and Aurelio Martinez, who is also the first Garinagu elected to the national congress in Honduras" (ibid.: 223). Joseph Palacio observed that the Proclamation testifies to a strong network of Garifuna leaders linking Belize, Honduras, and Guatemala, which was crucial to the compilation of photographs, audio recordings, audiovisual recordings, and other documentation required for the candidature file

[205] These include *The Garifuna Journey* (1998) produced by Andrea Leland and Kathy Berger; *The Garifuna: An Enduring Spirit* (2003) produced by Robert Flanagan and Suzan Al-Doghachi; *Play, Jankanú, Play: The Garifuna Wanáragua Ritual of Belize* (2007) produced by Oliver N. Greene, Jr.; *Trois Rois! Three Kings of Belize* (2007) produced by Katia Paradis; and *Garifuna Drum Method* (2008) produced by Emery Joe Yost and Matthew Dougherty (Stone 2008: 221).

(Cayetano and Cayetano 2005: 245). It also demonstrates the NGC's and Department of Culture's mastery of the technical language and categorical conceptualizations guiding the work of international NGOs like UNESCO (Palacio 2005: 119).

But expressions of cultural heritage, while crucial to the maintenance of Garifuna identity over time, are also contingent upon village and urban spaces hard-pressed within their national environments. Joseph Palacio relayed that the Belizean government soon followed the Proclamation with the construction of the Gulisi Garifuna Museum in Dangriga and assistance with punta celebrations as part of Garifuna Settlement Day activities,[206] yet these actions pale in urgency compared with the circumstances of rural isolation and urban blight in Belize that he described or the land theft plaguing Honduran Garifuna villages that I describe in chapter 3 (ibid.: 120). As he perceives the situation,

> People cannot project their arts, if they live in isolated rural communities with minimal opportunities of economic livelihood. Similarly in the urban areas, they are too preoccupied warding off the problems of urban blight to engage in cultural expressions to any meaningful degree. Given the crucial role of the village as the incubator of indigenous Garifuna culture, its survival is directly related to the survival of the culture, as we know it today. […] This paper has…shown that their social and community development problems need a parallel stream of attention that their culture has received (ibid.: 120-1).

[206] More recent preservation efforts prompted by the Proclamation include the establishment by the National Garifuna Council in 2007 of the aforementioned "Cultural Sundays" in Dangriga. It also led to the recent completion of a regional Garifuna language retrieval program funded by UNESCO, through which the NGC developed language teaching materials and completed an inventory of Garifuna culture that included music and dance (Cayetano 2009). Most Garifuna culture brokers believe that the Belizean government and the NGC had "not kept up with the comprehensive focus of UNESCO, which includes preventing the erosion of the language and folklore, preserving the dances together with the technology needed to work on the several accessories, costumes, and so on" (Cayetano and Cayetano 2005: 230, 249-50; Palacio 2005: 120). This circumstance following the Proclamation compelled the Cayetano brothers to publicize it via an essay titled "Garifuna language, dance, and music: a masterpiece of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity. How did it happen?," which appears in *The Garifuna: A nation across borders* (2005, Cubola Productions). It is also likely that the critical attention that the *Wátina* album garnered in Europe, England, and North America in 2007 galvanized further actualization of the Proclamation.

Here we can begin to discern the role of the "growing [Belizean] Garifuna intellectual middle class"—comprised largely of educators and civil servants—brokering cultural representation and public policy with First World NGOs and culture industries on behalf of their diaspora (Izard 2005: 187). Although the proclamation of Garifuna language, dance and music as a MOIHH is currently listed as multi-national (Belize, Honduras, Guatemala, and Nicaragua) on UNESCO's website for intangible cultural heritage,[207] the candidature file was submitted by the member nation of Belize even though a multi-national submission was an option. Marion Cayetano admitted that his candidature file committee did approach the other countries about preparing the file together and making a joint submission but ended up having to proceed alone in order to meet the deadline. The committee wanted to capitalize on the fact that Belizean Garifuna *en masse* currently experience a level of national integration and respect that Garifuna in other countries do not; as Cayetano put it, "The Government of Belize was prepared to support the submission and the National Garifuna Council was prepared to spearhead the process" (Cayetano 2009). Once the committee submitted the candidature file, "Belize's permanent delegation to the UNESCO lobbied for support from the delegates of Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua," which they eventually received (Cayetano and Cayetano 2005: 249). This support rendered the submission not solely *for* Belize, even though it was made *by* Belize. Nonetheless, the Belizean emphasis on language, music, and dance for the candidature, even for the sake of ceasing their diminution, reflects the relative security of Garifunas' status as Belizeans and also of their villages and urban spaces despite the problems attending these locations. Honduran Garifuna, on the other hand, tend to view the exploitation of their lands along the Bay of Tela by tourist

[207] UNESCO Web site, http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?RL=08

industry developers as just as dire a situation as the loss of language, music, or dance, if not more. According to Benita Diego from the Honduran Garifuna community of San Juan, "The utmost peril against the Garifuna people today is the loss of our land" (Rodriguez 2008). Garifuna activist Alfredo Lopez from Triunfo de la Cruz concurs: "All this privatization is illegal, and if it continues – we are going to die as a people. To lose our land, is to lose everything. We are in a struggle for our life and we will do what it takes to defend ourselves" (Ryan 2008). Supporting their concerns is the fact that dügü—the ceremony traditionally most central to Garifuna identity performance—are dependent upon the return of transmigrants to the Central American villages, most of which are located in Honduras.[208] Thus, truly multi-national collaborations in the bid for international support could provide a representation of threats that balances between, and exposes the interrelationship of, those facets of Garifuna cultural reality commonly grouped within the category of "aesthetics" and those commonly grouped within the category of "economics."

Summary

In this chapter, we can discern two ways in which Garifuna popular music musicians in Central America represent cultural unity: 1) *symbolically* via the Garifuna Collective, a multi-national group; and 2) *selectively* via local and national music and cultural organizations (MIAB, PRMA, and the National Garifuna Council), where a few speak for many in order to present the

[208] In fact, the dügü qualified as a cultural space meriting the MOIHH distinction. According to Marion Cayetano, the candidature file committee recognized this and identified dügü as a future submission within the file (Cayetano 2009).

unified view necessary for formulating and implementing public policy. The first is the ideal promulgated to foreigners, but the second comprises ground-level reality.

This reality differs according to national priorities in particular. In Belize, social segmentation and the post-millennial elitism of the Musa and Barrow administrations have contributed greatly to the social exclusion of Garifuna villages and urban communities that has kept the majority of musicians in the dark regarding the benefits of a local music association, a national music industry, or a UNESCO declaration. The Honduran status quo is even less sympathetic to their Garifuna minority: the state-sponsored multiculturalism in place since the 1990s still normalizes the *ladino* experience and regards the cultural expressions of ethnic groups as valuable to the extent that they attract tourism (Anderson 2009: 104-137). Moreover, government-sanctioned expropriation of Garifuna and indigenous lands by private investors, encouraged by a "third party" provision to the national property law that went into effect in 2004, constitutes a significant challenge in addition to pressures toward upward mobility as a way of earning national respect (ibid.: 148-150).[209] As a result, Honduran Garifuna tend to be more concerned with political mobilization than with intangible cultural heritage. As discussed in chapter 3, Guatemala's one sizeable Garifuna community, Labuga (Livingston), does not represent a major concern for Guatemalans on a national level, but its capacity for drawing tourism has fostered a national and local emphasis on intangible cultural heritage. Finally, Garifuna descendents in Nicaragua residing near the Atlantic coast, as in the village of Orinoco, are learning about their lost cultural heritage for the first time, with the help of Belize's National

[209] Article 97 of the law states that "The third party who has a property title in lands of these peoples [Indigenous and Afro-Honduran peoples] and who has had and possessed the land covered by that title has the right to continue possessing and exploiting it" (Anderson 2009: 149; República de Honduras 2004: 42).

Garifuna Council (Cayetano and Cayetano 2005: 241; Izard 2005: 182-3). In terms of Garifuna popular music, these national differences translate into serving the Garifuna Nation via a primarily Belizean agenda, since it is in Belize where Garifuna music-making is most likely to be taken seriously as a form of livelihood at present.[210] As a result, only Belizean Garifuna musicians have *music* associations working on their behalf, and neoliberal exploitation of Honduran Garifuna is only a peripheral part of the cultural narrative performed by the Garifuna Collective, despite the significant presence of Honduran Garifuna musicians within the group.[211]

Conclusion

As discussed in chapter 2, a persistent discourse of the world music industry is to define "authenticity" as postcolonial musical rebellion from the Third World, particularly from Africa-descended artists and traditions. Placed in the larger context of the British, European, and North American culture industries, "authenticity" sells peoples, places, and products, usually through an appeal to rootedness or "tradition." What aspect of a commodity to authenticate, however, is subject to debate by the occupants of the place, members of the culture, and promoters of the tradition/style/genre commercially represented. As Abrahamson puts it with regard to locales, this often requires

> some manipulation or reinvention of…history that will leave some locals feeling left out of the public representation of that place. [For example], farmers, unemployed laborers, and others may feel that the selling of an industrial museum in their city presents an

[210] That said, the rise of Honduran Garifuna musician Aurelio Martinez on the world music circuit beginning in 2004, and his mentoring by world music superstar Youssou N'Dour via the Rolex Mentor and Protégé Arts Initiative from 2008 to 2009, may be paving the way for other Garifuna musicians in the country to pursue a career in commercial music.

[211] This manifests in a single song from the *Wátina* album titled "Miami," a Garifuna community on the Tela Bay of Honduras that has lost the majority of its land to tourist development. I discuss this situation in chapter 3.

> inauthentic cultural representation, or at least one that seriously departs from the meaning of the place that they share (Abrahamson 2004: 37).

As we have seen, musicians' encounters with this "externally defined ethnicity" as Richard Adams calls it, bound up in authenticity, have initiated sometimes heated discussions about how Garifuna should define themselves for the new millennium (Adams 1989). Popular music performers in their 30s and 40s extol the virtues of showcasing their potential for artistic diversity—having moved from a more pop-oriented genre to more traditional ones and continuously toggling between the two—while simultaneously striving to assert the uniqueness of Garifuna culture on the world stage, thus embodying hybridity and essentialization at once. That said, the variety of Garifuna musical output is on the rise in the wake of the Garifuna Collective's albums, as heard in Lloyd Augustine's solo work especially (discussed in chapter 6), slowly but surely showcasing the wealth of possibility hinted at for Garifuna popular music within the multi-national, multi-generational, multi-gendered, and multi-stylistic ideal performed by the Collective.

Chapter 8:
Conclusion

"The active seeking out of recordings, of bringing musicians across borders, of engaging in dialogues with other enthusiasts, can in a modest way pose a challenge to the music industry labels that are used to classify creativity, divide living culture and separate social experiences. Much of this industry still involves the circulation of music as a commodity but it is moved in a way that deploys a different type of logic, emotional investment and pluralizing knowledge to that found in much of the institutional industry. It points to more than a strictly instrumentalist and economic logic. […] the logic here foregrounds music as a form of intercultural communication and information. It suggests a discursive practice that does more than convert us into markets and hints of an alternative cultural logic moving across existing commercial categories and corporate structures. Alone this may do little to change the corporate system of musical production, but it might take a few bricks out of the walls which divide us." – Keith Negus, *Music Genres and Corporate Cultures* (1999)

"[The 1893 World's Columbian Exposition] Chicago suggested that wherever we traffic in the world, there are those market informants who understand the commodity premise and are prepared to authenticate their cultures accordingly. As economic man overspreads the globe, the market vision prefers these 'reasonable others,' eroding peripheral lives." – Curtis M. Hinsley, "The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893" (1991)

Study Summary

The arc of Garifuna popular music, starting with punta rock and culminating in Garifuna World Music (for now), has moved from the concern of its originators with local and regional appeal to global appeal and from a community-oriented approach to cultural and linguistic preservation to an international NGO-oriented one. In the course of this movement, a plurality of voices narrowed to a few with a singular artistic vision, realized not only with governmental support based on friendship ties but also by a set of industry discourses informed by the notion of "genius" still echoing (faintly) through Continental and North American thought. The "outside" recognition that *Wátina*, Ivan Duran, the late Andy Palacio, and Aurelio Martinez received from the world music industry inspired mostly male musicians in Belizean Garifuna home

communities to investigate traditional genres further (since mostly women generate them), to engage their African heritage musically by listening to continental African commercial artists, and to express their concerns and frustrations lyrically. In short, it opened up for these musicians what music-making could mean, especially in the wake of Palacio's 2008 death which transformed him from a somewhat marginalized culture broker to a respected gubida who was called home.[212] It has led to continued opportunities for Duran and Martinez within the world music community: as of this writing, Tobagonian calypso star Calypso Rose's album *Far from Home*, produced by Duran, just won the WOMEX award for 2016,[213] and Martinez performed at the WOMAD festival for the second time (first in 2011), and recorded at Real World Studios for the first time, in Wiltshire, England in 2015. The Garifuna Collective has toured North America and Europe several times since the release of *Wátina*. Garifuna-American communities proudly cite Garifuna World Music artists and recordings as examples of tradition in action. In sum, outside affirmation has boosted intra-group confidence, providing the sense that Garifuna have a voice that is registering at great distances and being considered with due seriousness.

All of that said, this phenomenon has left the home community-wide commitment to machularadi, the land claim struggles of Honduran Garifuna, the daily routine and commitments of women, and the continued restriction of dügü to the home communities and performance

[212] As Ons Barnat observed, "Ainsi, beaucoup de jeunes musiciens garinagu (comme Desaree Diego et Joshua Arana) considèrent aujourd'hui la vie et le combat politique et artistique d'Andy Palacio comme un réel exemple à suivre, de par sa perseverance à vouloir faire entendre au plus haut niveau les préoccupations de son people." (Thus, many young Garinagu musicians (like Desaree Diego and Joshua Arana) now regard the life and the political and artistic struggle of Andy Palacio as a real example to follow, due to his perseverance in making the concerns of his people understood and heard at the highest level.) (Barnat 2013: 103).

[213] The album is described on the WOMEX website as follows: "Already being compared to Cesaria Evora and Miriam Makeba, her new status on the international scene is unprecedented" (https://www.womex.com/virtual/maturity_music/calypso_rose_5/far_from_home, Accessed 5 September 2016).

frequency relatively untouched. The longevity of Garifuna existence as a minority within nation-states birthed time-tested strategies for maintaining cultural poise and practice in the numerous faces of numerous others. From a Garifuna perspective, such negotiations are all of a piece and held at arm's length.

Garifuna Popular Music Revisited (and Reintegrated)

In this study, I have examined the relationships and contrasts attending Garifuna popular music genres' orientation to outsiders. One genre appears to cater in part to an Afrodiasporic cosmopolitanism (punta rock) and another more fully to a Euro-Anglo one (GWM) (Anderson 2009: 32). Moreover, these constructions revolve around differing attitudes toward tradition among Garifuna home and abroad, by age, and by gender.

GWM is a largely successful display of activism by middle-aged punta rockers to encourage youths' reconnection with tradition in the home communities, even while youths still enjoy punta rock as a nightclub, after-hours experience. Tellingly, GWM thus far is a product of Garifuna living primarily in home communities, championed by Garifuna-Americans as an "authentic" cultural production for that reason. Like traditional genres, GWM is devoted to social commentary, with tracks decrying international politics ("Tio Sam," from Aurelio Martinez's *Laru Beya*), land privatization ("Miami," from Palacio's album with the Garifuna Collective, *Wátina*), and language and culture loss ("Ámuñegü," also from *Wátina*). It dovetails with the nationalist, culturalist agendas for which Bob Marley set the standard within the world music industry that followed his stardom. It is "roots" music as conceived in the U.S. and British

folk and blues revivals of the 1950s and 60s and renewed in world music in the late 1990s by the *Buena Vista Social Club* album.

Punta rock, like many Afro-Caribbean and Latino popular music genres, takes its cue from developments in 1980s digital music technologies. It still revs up the dance floor, but its indigenous elements—punta and paranda rhythms, oremu melodies, prevalence of the Garifuna language—make it a point of cultural pride, demarcating Garifuna territory among African Americans in the U.S. Since the release of *Wátina*, it has included social commentary within its purview as well. As U.S. popular music becomes more Caribbeanized, seen in the recent popularity of Rihanna, Nicky Minaj, Shaggy, Jason Derulo, and OMI, the possibility of a punta rock song charting in the States moves closer to reality. For instance, Belizean punta rock star Lova Boy was counseled by U.S. hip hop star and mogul Jay Z in 2012 to make it big in Belize before trying to break into the U.S. market (Cannick 2011).

The more adult-oriented GWM answers to the predominately male Euro-Anglo, hip-derived, leisure-class fascination with "authenticity" via continental "Africanness," while the more youth-oriented punta rock discernably draws from Afrodiasporic heritage (Trinidadian soca, Jamaican reggae, U.S. R&B and pop). The first genre calls attention to the status quo of long-standing cultural traditions while the second accentuates the Africa-descended minority experience, in its plethora of variations, which has defined modern times worldwide. In short, the Garifuna popular music field serves as a meeting ground for multiple projects, all in the name of preserving "tradition" while also rendering it translatable to powerful interests. Interestingly, this is a move that has characterized the culture from the beginning, vis-à-vis the French and British colonial presence on St. Vincent.

Sacred and Secular in Garifuna Popular Music

With the creation of Garifuna World Music, Andy Palacio inserted himself into the practices of elders that eluded him in childhood, having attended relatively few ancestor propitiation rites growing up. The neo-traditionalist route of this genre intersects with the road to widespread recognition already forged for world music artists, which allowed Palacio in later years to connect with international audiences more as a representative of Garifuna culture than of Belizean popular music as when he was known for punta rock.

While it is common for international recognition to raise the profile of cultural minorities within their home nations and diasporas, the circumstance of a popular music icon like Andy Palacio passing away at the height of his achievements has special significance against the backdrop of Garifuna worldview. Ancestor veneration allows Palacio's Belizean peers to comprehend his transition at a fairly young age (47) into a guiding ancestor spirit as an extension of his lifelong role as a mediator between the familiar and the foreign once-removed from quotidian concerns and local happenings, as if gubida had decided that his earthly work made him worthy to do their work from beyond. Therefore, his celebrity as a world music artist one day might establish cosmopolitan cultural brokerage as a correlate to gubida intervention for younger generations—particularly those in the U.S. with a tenuous connection to the home communities—with popular music blurring the line between sacred and secular.[214] Although this

[214] In 2013, Lauren Poluha observed the performance of Palacio's song "Ámuñegü" ("In Times To Come"), the closing track on *Wátina*, in a lemesi mass at Holy Family Catholic Church in Hopkins Village, Belize. This song has been performed at the church since the release of the album in 2007. She describes the function of music in lemesi not only to evoke tradition but also to "comment on negotiations of community and ethnicity that are currently underway through the integration of new songs and efforts to involve Garifuna youth in services" (Poluha 2015: 210-213).

phenomenon, if it came to pass, may draw the disdain of Garifuna purists as it is performed under colonial-inflected commercial auspices, it could become an increasingly powerful way to traverse national and generational divides within the Garifuna diaspora and stands out to me as a fascinating subject for further study.

The Sustainability of the Commons in a Neoliberal Age

The "charter city" experiment on Honduran Garifuna land discussed in chapter 3 indicates a growing threat to any self-sufficient group that refuses to answer to nation-states, to national and multinational corporations, or to culture industries. There is also the related phenomenon of former industrial cities being revamped by private interests, what Mark Abrahamson calls the "globalization response," discussed in chapter 7 (Abrahamson 2004: 4). Regardless of the extent to which residents of the global South and East participate in capitalism and embrace sustainability, they suffer acutely from environmental racism via corporate profiteering. At the same time, groups within the global North and West strive to effect commons-oriented lifestyles; for instance, the current U.S. comedy sketch show *Portlandia,* broadcast on the Independent Film Channel, both affirms and pokes fun at such attempts, while Austinite Dan Del Santo's 1983 "world beat" term celebrated not just infectious beats from primarily African-derived and Latin American musical fusions but also a "utopian multicultural social vision, prescribing the breaking down of cultural and economic barriers that separate the world's peoples" (Klump 1999: 7). These phenomena beg the question, "Do only the economically and socially privileged have the luxury to realize pioneering ideals, while others are expected to conform to their bidding?"

To take an example of sustainability measures related to music, Music Crossroads is an NGO initiated in 1995 by Jeunesses Musicales International (JMI), headquartered in Bruxelles, Belgium, to "assist in providing relevant music education" in five Southern African countries (Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe). Its purpose is to provide "the basic tools which, combined with the necessary talent, personality and perseverance, can enable young people [18-30 years old] to pursue a professional music career on local, national or international levels" (http://www.music-crossroads.net/about/values/, Accessed 30 July 2016). *The Music Crossroads Academies project begun in 2012 resulted in academies that opened the following year in Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.* While the core of the curriculum in these academies is based on "African and Africa-descendent music," it was nonetheless mediated by Euro-Anglo musical concepts and administrative structure. As described on the Music Crossroads websites for the Malawi and Mozambique academies,

> We also provide background to our practical music classes with modules like music theory, rhythmic reading and writing, harmony, and keyboard harmony. (http://www.music-crossroads.net/academies/mc-malawi-academy/, http://www.music-crossroads.net/academies/mc-mozambique-academy/, Accessed 30 July 2016).

In addition, the Malawi academy offers "workshops and seminars in sound technology, event planning and management, stage performance, band management, music business and management, and ensemble performances" in order to provide "solid training in music production" (http://www.music-crossroads.net/academies/mc-mozambique-academy/, Accessed 30 July 2016). In this scenario, similar to that of GWM, youths are taught that being able to make a sustainable living as a musician rests on "international" (in other words, European, U.K., and/or U.S.) attention and approval, interpolated by a specific definition of musical competency

and of music itself.[215] As far as Music Crossroads is concerned, academy students must be brought into the fold of this realm of musical meaning through outside efforts.

Merging the commercial and the creative toward the end of sustainability is an act championed by UNESCO. The organization rightfully supports using local channels for properly compensating artists for their work, according to national copyright laws (http://en.unesco.org/creativity/creative-economy-report-2013#content, Accessed 30 July 2016). At the same time, the driving force of the commercial tends to be expansionary enclosure, elegantly theorized in Anthony McCann's work (McCann 2004). He defines enclosure as "an expansionary social dynamic symptomatic of and constitutive of accelerative commodification of everyday life"; he goes on to explain commodification as arising from "a particular character of social relationship, one dominated by a general expectation that uncertainty can be eliminated," resulting in "power strategies of 'closure' and 'separation' in the way that we make sense of our experience" (ibid.: 10-12).[216] As McCann would argue, it eventually stops being enough to be able to secure a livelihood in the arts; once this happens, artists are often pushed to penetrate ever-new markets in order to maximize their profitability.[217] While this endeavor can encourage personal best and flexibility, it can also encourage a domination mentality and introduce the specter of inadequacy, eclipsing the notion that the "music industry" brand of sustainability is a choice.

[215] Recall Ivan Duran's description in chapter 7 of most Garifuna musicians as having "a limited scope of music" because "they don't have a a formal education in music" (Duran 2007c).

[216] In turn, McCann understands "closure" as "the discursive elimination of variables" and "separation" as "the discursive establishment of difference as separateness" (McCann 2004: 12).

[217] He claims that expansionary enclosure "is often misrecognized for growth" and that "the increase of resources is therefore often seen not as an indication of accelerative commodification, which it may be, but as a positive sign of economic health" (McCann 2004: 14).

What is interesting in the Garifuna case, and world music in general, is the championing of cultural distinction as a way to champion difference but also as a counter to total flexibility, one that insists upon recognizing cultural or group boundaries. These boundaries exist the world over, and we appreciate the diversity they create in the world; among Garifuna themselves, however, tension exists at times between looser and stricter interpretations of traditional practices. You have those wanting to demonstrate how Garifunaness can be viable in multiple contexts and those—often elders—who fear the loss of continuity in the face of too much Otherness. Mediating these concerns is Garifunas' positioning within modernity through the ages, beginning with their formation on a European colony, which prepared them well for neoliberalism's manifestation of capitalism as ubiquitous and deeply penetrating. Having negotiated Euro-Anglo encroachment for centuries, and with the proliferation of Garifunas' extracultural visibility/audibility and of cultural pride within Garifuna-American communities especially, their cultural force has only grown in proportion to the challenges.

Culture Preservation via Exceptionalism

Despite the danger to the commons that commodity fetishism poses, it nonetheless contains the power to deflect audience attention from sacred cultural practices like dügü. The work of exceptional Garifuna like Andy Palacio, Aurelio Martinez, and Paul Nabor bridges these worlds , appending their cultural preservation project to world music industry tropes already in place, such as "Afro-authenticity" and "struggle." They provide cosmopolitan audiences with traditional sounds—but not *too* traditional—in order to pique international interest in their culture in the hope of attaining monetary investment while also protecting the parts of that

culture that have withstood the tests of time and migration. As Latin American music scholar Michael Stone eloquently summarizes in an essay on world music mediation of Garifuna music:

> Artists may gain an opening by co-producing, with non-traditional audiences, an inviting new groove locale, pursuing a process of strategic anti-essentialism that opens ground for common understanding, even as it masks aspects of cultural identity and political history too volatile to bear direct expression (Stone 2006: 79).

Andy Palacio impressed the world music press as a "reasonable other"—to return to the Curtis Hinsley quote at the start of this chapter—to the degree of their granting him authority as a culture broker that had overshadowed creative endeavors more locally, communally, and personally oriented—such as from Felix "Reckless" Flores, Supa G, Sofia Blanco, and countless others—for audiences beyond the diaspora. Similarly, Englishman Thomas Young's 1847 account of a dügü performance in Honduras displays a delight in the use of English dishware and tablecloths and the abundance of food offerings to gubida and living participants. Stone notes that this synthesis of "traditional forms" with "borrowed elements" by Garifuna exhibits "a guiding strategic anti-essentialism among a subordinate people versed in the uncertain politics of cultural diplomacy" that Europeans and British like Young, in turn, "read as a deferral to their ideological authority and material dominance" (Stone 2006: 66-68).

Palacio's interviews with journalists, as in my initial interview with him on May 18, 2007, found him sticking to world music's most treasured storylines, using the manner of speaking with which they were most comfortable. But the succinctness of his answers and the pronounced formality accompanying his famed congeniality hinted at a strongly-held belief in an irrevocable limit to which outsiders could understand his people, even as he remained simultaneously a recognized exception among Garifuna and a champion for Belizean Garifuna

first and foremost. Such moments of reserve, of tacit critique, bear the trace of a more intense feeling of cultural belonging than his often "worldly" manner indicated. This manner is directly related to the transnational orientation that has enabled Garifuna autonomy for over four hundred years.

The Contributions of this Study to Ethnomusicology

Garifuna World Music is a genre category that I devised in order to pinpoint a particular set of musical practices and a singular vision driving them. In contrast, acoustic-guitar oriented music made by Garifuna is regarded by Garifuna as paranda, a traditional genre descriptor that has expanded to operate similarly to the "folk" label in the U.S.

How does my definition of GWM and explanation of it *as* a genre expand understandings of genre in popular music studies and ethnomusicology? I have not seen many instances of ethnomusicologists creating a genre from the music they study as a type of explanatory model; David Brackett defines genres as "ways of categorizing popular music so as to create a connection between musical styles, producers, musicians and consumers," whereas I used it as a way to make sense of an existing connection (Brackett 2002: 66). At least in this case, doing so gets to patterns that "local" subsummation of music within the paranda genre category does not account for. Garifuna are, indeed, expanding what paranda means, which has a special benefit for younger musicians who are coming to it for the first time *through* GWM's use of it as an aesthetic basis. But some songs that they include under the "paranda" umbrella is also strongly responding to world music industry ideology, evident in their exhibition of a specific set of

characteristics, and the recognition of this phenomenon is what motivates my granting it a separate genre designation here.

If we look at similar phenomena in other genres, where musicians innovating traditional forms are consciously adapting their sound to gain entry into the world music industry, which trademark musical gestures are likely to get them there? I discussed specific production techniques, like softening musical features assumed to be unfamiliar to audiences with "soothing" timbres and repetition, which producers employed in the 1990s and early 2000s for artists re-releasing albums on the Real World label. In 2007, the musical gestures adopted in the Garifuna albums Ivan Duran produced since *Wátina* worked splendidly and are likely to work well for other musicians today. They draw heavily from the African diaspora (Afrobeat guitar, Afro-Cuban clave, a reggae lilt, blues guitar riffs), often employ lyrics commenting on the practices and/or effects of "coloniality,"[218] and use the best sound technologies to bring "classic" styles to life. My study offers world music industry research a new direction that refines our understanding of this industry's uniqueness: to see if and how these characteristics play out in other world music-oriented genres.

By recasting world music in terms of this uniqueness, tracing it back to the assumptions and desires of a small group of British roots rock enthusiasts discouraged by the rise of 1980s synth pop and approaching it as just one of the popular music industry's many boutique subcultures, I place the world music category's fast-paced growth in the ensuing years in its proper perspective. Anchoring my examination of the world music industry in an ethnography of

[218] Ramón Grosfoguel claims that the concept of coloniality "allows us to understand the continuity of colonial forms of domination after the end of colonial administrations, produced by colonial cultures and structures in the modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world system" (Grosfoguel 2013: 73).

a genre crafted in accordance with its recent ideals adds a more nuanced and focused analysis of these ideals than we have seen from previous studies in ethnomusicology and related fields (Aubert 1992; Buchanan 1997; Erlmann 1996; Fairley 2001; Feld 1994, 2000a, 2000b; Frith 2000; Garofalo 1993; Guilbault 1993, 1997, 2001; Jowers 1993; Lysloff 1997; Meintjes 1990; Taylor 1997, 2000, 2001; Théberge 1997, 2003).

My work also adds a new case study to ethnomusicological literature devoted to the topic of authorship and ownership in song creation, addressed by Anthony Seeger in the early 1990s (Guy 1999; Johansson and Berge 2014; Manuel 2010; McCann 2004, 2001; Seeger 2004a, 2004b, 1992; Solis 2004). It discusses processes by which, according to Peter Manuel, "oral traditions…evolve into or become absorbed into commercial popular musics, entailing new conceptions of and a new prominence of the 'song' and its individual composers, and new notions of ownership as embodied in copyright" (Manuel 2010: 106). But I have also provided an important example of how cultural attitudes toward song creation—in this case privileging reception over conception and sharing over saving—can mitigate this sort of Euro-Anglo mediation. In addition, the traditional paranda genre serves as an example—alongside music of the Amis of Taiwan discussed by Nancy Guy—of a pre-existing emphasis upon individualism in an oral tradition upon which an equivalence with western notions of authorship has been built (Guy 1999).

Drawing upon Nolan Warden's synthesis of treatments of the term "identity" in ethnomusicological literature, I offer a theory about the relationship between group identity and "culture." As discussed in chapter 1, Warden highlights identity's strategic performativity, which I posit comprises the conscious aspects of culture, whereas unconscious aspects still guide

behavior, are still identifiable as "cultural," and are most likely to be identified as such by outsiders. Using the emergence of Garinagu as a distinct culture as my basis, I also theorize that cultures in general tend to be generated by moments of rupture that lead to the public assertion of experience, an identity claim that has to potential to grow into habits and customs that become transmitted.

Lastly, through my detailed examination of Garifuna popular music, I have provided ethnographic evidence for the general proposition suggested by Timothy Taylor that "binary oppositions are by far the most salient means by which modern western bourgeois subjects made, and continue to make, conceptions of racial, ethnic, and cultural difference" (Taylor 2007: 9). My discursive analysis reveals a world music producer's understanding of his endeavors—as well as the reception of these endeavors within the world music industry—according to just such a dichotomizing framework.

The Garifuna, through their trajectory over time, have many lessons for us in our attempts to understand the role of music in social life and the global spread of the music industry.

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