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Tradition, Creativity, and Polyculturalism in the Lives and Work of Musicians from Latin America, the Caribbean, and the United States

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Tradition, Creativity, and Polyculturalism in the Lives and Work of Musicians from Latin America, the Caribbean, and the United States

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Ethnomusicology

by

David Fernando Castañeda Jr.

2021

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Tradition, Creativity, and Polyculturalism
in the Lives and Work of Musicians from
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David Fernando Castañeda Jr.

Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnomusicology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2021

Professor Steven J. Loza, Chair

In the wake of an ever-expanding global network, attention is often focused on cultural intersections and juxtapositions set in motion by financial or technological interests. Relying on frameworks that place people and societies into binary (e.g., oppressed and oppressor, influenced and influencer, etc.) or hierarchical relationships (e.g., First World and Third world, developed and developing, etc.) (Appadurai 2004 and Benítez-Rojo 1996), scholars in the humanities and social sciences continue to grapple with the ramifications of rapid inter-cultural processes active across the globe

(Emielu 2018, O' Brian 2018, Nooshin 2018). Hierarchical and hegemonic frameworks fail to account for the reciprocal nature of inter-cultural exchange occurring within such frameworks. With respect to Latin American music, such intra-hierarchical exchange has been ubiquitous, constant, and necessary for the development of a plethora of musical genres across Latin America and the United States (Rondón 2008; Loza 1999; Sublette 2004; Fuentes 2003; Grosfoguel and Georas 2001). In the last fifty years, these interactions have been exacerbated by the speed at which technology makes inter-cultural interaction ever more instantaneous, pervasive, and intensely creative in contemporary contexts. How might a methodology focused on exchange between musicians in Latin America and the United States yield a more nuanced understanding of inter-cultural dynamics in a contemporary context?

Utilizing ethnography focused on musicians who have forged careers from the confluence of disparate musical genres, this project explores the relationship Latin American musicians share with each other and with musicians in the United States as a means to better understand inter-cultural dynamics within a network consisting of multiple cultures, situated within different nations, and in diverse socio-economic standings. The result will be a study aimed at understanding how individuals consume foreign cultural influences by grounding themselves in familiar cultural realities, how

polycultural identities are forged in such a process, and how this process is crystallized in the music of select artists from Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Untied States.

The dissertation of David Fernando Castañeda Jr. is approved.

Ali. J. Racy

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Allen F. Roberts

Steven J. Loza, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles
2021

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To my interlocutors, incredible artists who've shared their lives, work, time, memories, and music with me.

To my teachers, who've shown me the importance of music in the world and its power to change lives for the better.

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To my dissertation committee, for your time and the opportunity to work with scholars and performers of such exceptional caliber.

To my family.

Thank you

Vita

Education

2019	C. Phil., University of California, Los Angeles, Ethnomusicology
2017	M.A., University of California, Los Angeles, Ethnomusicology
2015	M.M., California State University, Los Angeles, Afro-Latin Music Masters Thesis: "Salsa: A Stylistic Approach."
2013	B.A., University of California, San Diego, Music (Jazz Composition & Arrangement) (Cum laude & Departmental High Distinction)

Fellowships, Scholarships, Honors and Awards

2021	Herb Alpert School of Music Student Opportunity Fund
2020	Herb Alpert School of Music Program Support Scholarship
2019	UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Grant
2019	Guillermo E. Hernández Memorial Scholarship
2019	Elaine Krown Klein Scholarship
2019	UCLA Herb Alpert School of Music Gluck Fellowship
2017-2018	UCLA Herb Alpert School of Music Scholarship
2017	Graduate Summer Research Mentorship, UCLA
2017	Department of Ethnomusicology Spring Scholarship, UCLA
2016-2017	Clifton Webb Scholarship
2016	Graduate Summer Research Mentorship, UCLA
2015	Cota-Robles Fellowship, UCLA
2013 & 2014	Parker Scholarship, CSULA
2012 & 2013	Jazz Society of Lower Southern California Award, UCSD
2012	Erion/Laidlaw Scholarship, UCSD

Academic Employment

2017-2020	Instructor–University of California, Los Angeles • Ethnomusicology 91Z/161Z - "Afro-Cuban Ensemble"
2017	Instructor–University of California, Los Angeles • SSA 2017 M108A - "Music of Latin America and the Caribbean"
2016-Present	Graduate Teaching Assistant–University of California, Los Angeles • Ethnomusicology 5 - "Music Around the World" / History 8A - "Colonial Latin America" / World Arts and Cultures/Dance - "Art as Social Action" / Ethnomusicology 106B - "Contemporary North American Indian Music" / Ethnomusicology 50B - "Jazz in American Culture: 1940s to Present" / Ethnomusicology 50A - "Jazz in American Culture: Late 19th Century through 1940s" / Ethnomusicology M108A/ Chicano/a Studies - "Music of Latin America and the Caribbean Isles"

Teaching Experience & Guest Lectures

2014-2015	Music Instructor at the Lincoln Height Arts Academy (Community Arts Program K-12)
2013-2014	Music Instructor at A.P.C.H. ("A Place Called Home") (Community Arts Program K-12)
2013-Present	"*La Musica Latina*: Exploring Cultures of Latin America Through Music" – Guest Lecture | Professor K. Kenyatta, MUS 8, "American Music"
2009-Present	Private percussion instructor and clinician

New Media Professional Experience

2021	Host and Narrator | "Science of Sound" Video Series – The Musuem of Making Music
2021	Music Researcher, Music Producer (Logic Pro X), Video Editor (Final Cut Pro) | *Si Yo Fuera Una Canción* podcast
2020	Host, Interviewer, Video Editor, Audio Editor | *people + art* podcast

Languages

Spanish: High level reading, writing and speaking.

Portuguese: Intermediate-level speaking, reading, writing.

Conference Presentations

2018 Society for Ethnomusicology, Southern California and Hawaii Chapter (SEMSCHC) at Pomona, CA

- "Polyculturalism in Practice: Producer, Educator, and Musician, Kamau Kenyatta"

Publications

2019 "Axé Bahia: The Power of Art in an Afro-Brazilian Metropolis [exhibition review]." *African Arts* 522.

Discography

2020	*Kate's Soulfood* – Allan Harris | Percussion
2019	*A Woman's Story* – Paulette McWilliams | Percussion
2019	*The Elegant Sadness* – Kamau Kenyatta | Percussion
2018	*Daneen Wilburn* – Daneen Wilburn | Percussion
2016	*Spirits of Rebellion: Black Cinema at UCLA* (soundtrack) Zeinabu Irene Davis (Dir.) | Percussion
2016	*Gregory Porter: Don't Forget Your Music* (soundtrack) Alfred George Bailey (Dir.) | Percussion
2014	*Veranda* – Joe Garrison and the Night People | Percussion

Introduction: Fear, Illness, and Division

At the writing of this introduction, some 200,000 deaths have been associated with the novel coronavirus that has swept the nation in 2020. The earliest reported incidents of the virus by Chinese health officials were some 44 cases of an aggressive pneumonia of unknown cause diagnosed between December 12–29, 2019. The first lives officially claimed by the virus were Chinese, in January 2020, but the virus would quickly slip though the containment measures set in place on air travel by the end of that same month. By January 21st the United States would recognize its first case of COVID-19 and by February 6th, its first death. As March opened, the virus had already shut down the city of Wuhan, China and was taking similar effect in Italy. Images of medical professionals in masks, gloves, and full hazmat suits–things now all too familiar–pervaded news reports as the virus spread quicker than predicted. Scientists and politicians attempted to calm the nation with assurances that the United States wouldn't see the death in streets, overflowing hospital waiting rooms, and mass graves that were being shown in Wuhan, Lombardy, and Tehran. The WHO would officially declare the outbreak of COVID-19 as a global pandemic on March 11th, with President Donald Trump declaring a national emergency on the 13th. For those here in the United States, this was the beginning of the end for many things, but perhaps most of

all, it was the beginning of the pandemic as we would experience it. Very quickly the American way of life would be halted, and soon after that, the very fabric of American society, would too be tested. It wasn't clear at the start of the pandemic, but COVID-19 would serve as catalyst for the reckoning of old, deep, and pervasive traumas.

Lockdowns, Food lines, Anti-Mask Protests, and the Race for a Vaccine: COVID-19 in the United States

By mid-March, California had issued it's official "Safer at Home" order, with the nation watching in horror as hospitals in New York City overflowed, calling-in cooling trucks for their overwhelming dead. Media outlets began reporting on the most heartbreaking effect of the COVID-19 epidemic: death by video call. Due to anti-contagion efforts, family members were not allowed into hospital rooms where those dying from COVID-19 were being treated, forcing many to share their loved-ones' last minutes via FaceTime. These anti-contagion efforts would also take the form of President Trump and his Coronavirus Task Force's "15 days to Stop the Spread" which was announced on March 16th. This campaign was meant to serve as a nation-wide effort, relying on leadership by local governments, for slowing the spread of the disease. The initial fifteen days was quickly expanded to thirty days as the numbers of new cases reported rose to over one thousand per day in the Unites States by April 1st.

Due to curfews or mandates, the economy began to grind to a halt, and with that, came the unprecedented unemployment numbers. As many were asked—and forced—to stay at home, the United States would see its fastest increase of unemployment in recorded history. It would jump ten percent—about twenty three million Americans or fourteen percent of the country—from March to April alone. As the end of March drew to a close, Congress agreed on a historic two trillion dollar relief package—officially named the Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security (CARES) Act—meant so serve as a life-line for the country. This relief package provided a one-time payout to all tax-paying citizens, the implementation of the Paycheck Protection Program meant to secure furloughed jobs and save small businesses, an increase of unemployment insurance and an expansion of eligibility, and other funds as a means to provide short-term assistance to state governments. Unfortunately, the implementation of the relief package was fraught with inefficiency, and in retrospect, would be seen as a flagrant example of the inefficacy that would become characteristic of the Trump administration's handling of the pandemic. While many did receive their one-time payout (that maxed-out at $1,200 dollars), and many received their expanded unemployment benefits, media outlets reported on multi-million dollar corporations receiving relief aid meant specifically for the small

business. President Trump himself asked for Harvard University–which holds an endowment of about forty billion dollars–to return some nine million dollars in relief aid. While it was later revealed that Harvard did not ask for the funds outright, they had been allocated to the university under the Higher Education Emergency Relief Fund, itself being a part of the CARES act. Similar instances of such allocation outside of education made headlines, such as the upscale restaurant chain Ruth's Chris Steak House receiving twenty million in small business PPP loan. The restaurant chain later announced they would return the loan after 260,000 people signed a petition in opposition of their decision to utilize the funds. This is all while millions of families crowed streets and clogged avenues as they queued up by the thousands at food banks across the country.

By the end of April, the country found itself desperate: Citizens were urged to stay in their homes, many of whom losing their jobs as business deemed "un-essential" were forced to close down. As the country watched the daily White House Coronavirus briefings, many would listen to reports from lead scientists, government officials, and President Trump himself often contradict each other, as well as contradict the mandates set forth by local governance. As people tried to endure, a sense of dread seemed to permeate the country. The only things known for certain

were that thousands of people were dying everyday and there was no end in sight.

“Say His Name”: George Floyd, Police Brutality, and a Global Response to Injustice

On May 25th, the country watched in horror as media outlets ran bystander-footage of George Floyd dying at the hands of police officer Derek Chauvin and three others in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Chauvin kneeled on Floyd’s neck for eight minutes, effectively strangling him, as his three supporting officers watched and bystanders shouted. Minneapolis was the first city to see the eruption of riots that same night, as protesters took to the streets only hours after Floyd was killed. Those still out on the street by the night’s end were met with police officers in riot gear, but eventually overtook the police, looted businesses, and destroyed Minneapolis’s Third Precinct. The protests and riots quickly spread across the nation, then across the globe. Floyd’s name became a rallying cry against police brutality and racial injustice. Protests and outrage eventually lead to the arrest of officer Chauvin and his accomplices, but not after countless more instances of police brutality were televised in riots across the country.

As the demonstrations continued after Floyd’s death, a sinister interplay was slowly, but surely, noticed. The protests in George Floyd’s name were widely

associated with the BLM (Black Lives Matter) movement, its leaders often being the official organizers for the demonstrations that took place during the day. As night fell, these protests often became violent as the looting of businesses and destruction of private and public property became common. BLM protestors began to discourage this behavior and actively identify individuals who came to the protests with such intent. Protests quickly became battleground sites for conflict along ideological and political lines. Groups like the Proud Boys and the Anti-Fascists ("Antifa") representing the most fringe, violent, and problematic factions of United States' political ideologies created some of the most concerning issues at the demonstrations and protests. All the while horrendous instances of police brutality were captured on film across the country, which only lead more outrage, fear, and violence across the United States.

George Floyd's murder would not go unnoticed, causing an uproar against racism and injustice across the globe. Floyd's name was chanted in the streets from Atlanta, to London, and Brazil. These protests also became violent in some cities, while in others they served as silent vigils and moments of reflection. Though he did not know it, Floyd would serve as uniter for those across the globe, bringing many together during the height of an international pandemic. Murals would be painted in Floyd's name, stories in magazines and newspapers written, all pointed at the deeply

rooted, recurring cancers of this nation, their ramifications, and the lives they've taken in their wake.

Research Methods (During a Pandemic) and Interlocutors

It was in this uneasy, unprecedented time that this research project took shape. Originally, this project was to include several months in three principal locations in Latin America and the United States: Havana, Cuba; Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; and New York City, New York. Time spent conducting fieldwork in these places were to be supplemented by additional interviews and research conducted in Los Angeles, California. Room and board was purchased, interviews with interlocutors were confirmed, and the first flight that was to begin fieldwork—LAX to Havana—was already pre-checked as then-President Trump issued a declaration of national emergency. What followed was a cascade of travel bans, restrictions, and lockdowns, enacted not only across the United States, but also across Latin America and Europe as leaders in other countries followed suit (if they hadn't already). With one press conference, the entirety of fieldwork plans set in place for this project were destroyed.

Because several of the interlocutors confirmed for this project were over the age of fifty, attempting to complete fieldwork became impossible: while I was willing

to risk my own well-being to complete this project, risking my interlocutors' lives by potentially bringing the virus from an airport to their doorstep was out of the question. I also found myself without a home in Los Angeles as my apartment had already been re-leased, so I had to quickly leave Los Angeles for the Bay Area, California. It goes without saying that I found myself in a place of panic, worry, and frustration. These feelings began to deepen as I reached out to my friends—many of whom are artists and musicians—and the interlocutors for this project. As the world buckled down against the virus, all entertainment ceased for risk of becoming "super-spreader events" for the many that would attend. For musicians—as well as all who support entertainment in venues across the globe—this meant far more than the frustration I was feeling: it was a halt to their way of life. Their livelihoods were taken from them, through no fault of their own, indefinitely. The arts across Latin America and the United States were paused, which meant—at least for the time being—so was this project.

By April 2020, I became adamant about completing this project, especially as technological solutions to the lockdowns became ubiquitous. Perhaps the most widely used of these was the Zoom teleconferencing application, but others like FaceTime and WhatsApp were also utilized. I quickly found myself completely reorienting

fieldwork methods, instead opting for interviews conducted remotely. Because each of these musicians had access to a capable device and a stable internet connection, I was able to conduct interviews with each of the interlocutors that originally agreed to this project. These focused interviews were supplemented with extensive bibliographic and musicological research conducted in Los Angeles prior to the implementation of the lockdowns in California. Each of the interlocutors presented in this project was chosen not only for the impact of their work, but also for their positions in the many cultural, musical, and societal spaces they occupy. Each artist, through their experiences as a person and musician, affords a unique perspective that is vital for understanding how processes of globalization are affecting an individual's relationship with cultures both familiar and foreign. Further, because the ages of each of the interlocutors vary widely—the oldest being seventy-two and the youngest being twenty-nine—it allows special attention to be paid to the role of modern technologies (e.g., social media) as it affects the formation of careers and impacts these inter-cultural relationships.

These dynamic relationships were the focus of this project from its inception. As a performer of a variety of Latin American and North American genres, there was an always an acknowledgment and respect for the interconnectedness and mutual

cross-germination of cultures as they pertain to Latin American and North American musics. As a researcher, however, I began to notice these musics were more often presented as homogenous entities, belonging to distinct, monolithic cultures. There was an apparent “grey area" here between the music as it was being made and how it was being researched and presented in scholarly work. The literature, however, was indispensable in understanding how these musics fit into society, how they serve the communities that consume them, and how processes like globalization can affect the formation of these musics and their distribution worldwide. Utilizing my professional network, I sought out artists that epitomized this “grey area,” that is, the disconnect between the literature and the music. The result was the formation of a committee comprising of the following six interlocutors: Etienne Charles, Miguel Zenón, Joyce Moreno, Daymé Arocena, Ed Motta, and Lupita Infante.

These individuals all were born in different places in Latin America and United States, into different socio-economic strata, and into various cultural backgrounds. Ranging from Trinidad and Tobago to Los Angeles, California, every artist featured in this project is not only culturally dynamic, but is also an international success. From Joyce Moreno, who has collaborated with the likes of Milton Nascimento and Vinicius de Moraes, to Lupita Infante who recently has won a Latin Grammy nomination for

her debut album *La Serenata* (2019). As I compiled this group of interlocutors, it was equally important to reflect the experience of woman artists, each who have risen to the top of their respective musical fields. Lastly, it was also important to choose artists who were active in analyzing the societal effect of their artistic output on their own communities, as well as the global community. Each of the artists—who will introduced at length in their respective chapters—see their music as more than mere entertainment, but rather as a way to comment, reflect, and impact the global community. Conducting this project with these incredible artists was extremely meaningful and incredibly humbling. I fully understand that these musicians were some of the best at their craft in the world, and to be able to share their thoughts, their lives, and their work in this project was a privilege in every resect of the word. This project is the culmination of over fifteen years spent studying the musical traditions of the United States and Latin America, both as a professional musician and scholar.

Review of Literature

Ethnomusicologists have paid special attention to globalization since the turn the twenty-first century. The discipline has remained heavily influenced by cultural

anthropology, often borrowing theoretical frameworks based on interpretive methods solidified in the late-twentieth century. These models have not remained stagnant, but rather have undergone augmentation to account for an acknowledgement of the complex, multi-faceted nature of life in a growing global community. As exemplified by the lives and careers of those studied in this project, this global community continues to become ever more interconnected as individuals look "outward" for inspiration and look "inward" for grounding. Here "outward" refers to those sights, sounds, ideas, languages, foods, religions, and traditions that are unfamiliar and "inward" refers to those things that are familiar, known, and at times taken for granted in one's lived experience. Of course, this relationship is not linear and sometimes takes the opposite route. As was the case with Ed Motta, individuals may look "outward" first, only to look "inward" later. The point, then, wouldn't be in where exactly they were looking, but in the fact that they are looking and listening in the first place. To use Etienne Charles's words, it is important to notice how normal it has become to eat from the "many fruits available in the garden" that we've all had a hand in tending (Charles 2020).

As Diana Crane outlines in "Culture and Globalization: Theoretical Models and Emerging Trends" (2002), these models underwent expansion to account for facets of

the human experience previously unaddressed (e.g,. class, gender, race, and age) and particularly, how these facets have been affected by media and capitalist exploitation across the globe (Crane 2002:10). Perhaps most influential in this sense has been Ajun Appadurai, proposing frameworks extremely helpful in understanding how rapid processes of globalization are being experienced by communities in transition. In "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Economy" (1990), Appadurai proposed five "scapes" that flow across national boundaries: 1) ethnoscapes; 2) mediascapes; 3) technoscapes; 4) finanscapes and; 5) ideoscapes (1990:334-335). Framing his essay around a central problem of contemporary global interaction—which Appadurai sees as being "tension between cultural homogeneity and heterogenization (1990:332)—these scapes are meant to outline just how global capitalism antagonizes this tension. Particularly, that global flows occur "in and through the growing disjunctures between ethnoscapes, technoscapes, finanscapes, mediascapes, and ideoscapes" (Ibid.). The dissonance caused by these disjunctures is enabled by what Appadurai refers to as deterritorialization. On this, he writes:

> Deterritorialization, in general, is one of the central forces of the modern world, since it brings laboring populations into the lower class sectors and spaces of relatively wealthy societies, while sometimes creating exaggerated and intensifies senses of criticism or attachment to politics in the home-state. . . . At the same time, deterritorialization creates new markets for film companies, art impresarios and travel agencies, who thrice on the need of the

> deterritorialized population for contact with its homeland. . . . It is this fertile ground of deterritorialization, in which money, commodities and persons are involved in ceaselessly chasing each other around the world, that the mediascapes and ideoscapes of the modern world find their fractured fragmented counterparts. (Appadurai 2002:339)

Appadurai continues by utilizing marxist concepts (e.g., "production fetishism" and "fetishism of the consumer") to elude to the exploitation of individuals from various positions on socio-economic strata across the globe, by commodity producers and those who control global mediascapes (i.e., advertising companies, global corporations, etc.) (Appadurai 2002:342). Ethnomusicologists have, in turn, used these ideas to analyze musics of cosmopolitan and diasporic communities. Martin Stokes, with respect to the meaning that music can hold in such communities, argues that "music is socially meaningful not entirely but largely because it provides means by which people recognise [sic] identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them" (Stokes 1994:5). Key to this meaning is Stokes's definition of ethnicity, which relies on the recognition of the familiar against the foreign, and the boundaries between them:

> Ethnicity is perhaps the more problematic word. Ethnicity is 'an arguable and murky intellectual term' . . . , but one which nonetheless continues to be useful for a variety of reasons. . . . Ethnic boundaries define and maintain social identities, which can only exist in a 'a context of opposition and relatives'. . . . The term ethnicity thus points to the central anthropological concern with classification. It allows us to turn from questions directed towards defining the

> essential and 'authentic' traces of identity 'in' music (a question with which much nationalist and essentially racist folklore and ethnography is explicitly concerned) to the questions of how music is used by social actors in specific local situations to erect boundaries, to maintain distinctions us and them, and how terms such as 'authenticity' are used to justify these boundaries. (Stokes 1994:6)

Stokes strives to explain what is, essentially, a debate of the *emic* and *etic* perspectives in contemporary ethnography. That is, how can the researcher define a concept equally problematic as it is beneficial (e.g., ethnicity) in the aim of describing the grainy boundaries—loosely based on race and ethnic heritage—that often define communities across the globe. For Stokes, this conceptualization of ethnicity provides a quick—albeit admittedly problematic—solution to defining this all important facet of any immigrant experience. As immigrants self-organize into groups, which most often are based on ethnicity, they do so because of their ability to "articulate differences between self and other" (Ibid.). Music, then, can be associated with these groups and even be made "emblematic of national identities in complex and often contradictory ways" (Stokes 1994:13). This can be the case even when music is used within ethnic groups, to separate sub-groups within a given ethnicity:

> Rapid but highly selective mobility is capitalist economies, and their hegemonic ideologies make class relationships difficult to see. Looking at the relationship between 'American' and 'Mexican' identities in Texas . . . distinction between *orquesta* and *conjunto* amongst Mexican migrants marked the difference

> between Mexicans who had adopted the dominant ideology of assimilation into the American melting-pot, and those who did not. (Stokes 1994:19)

Pivotal in the issue of ethnicity is identity, which is another topic that has been the focus of many contemporary ethnomusicological studies. Thomas Turino, in his article "Identity and the Arts in Diaspora Communities" (2004), defines identity as "the representation of selected habits foregrounded in given contexts to define self to oneself and to others by oneself and by others" (Turino 2004:8). This would echo similar definitions proposed by Umaña-Taylor and others studying the ERI (Ethnic and Racial Identity) model in minority youth, placing importance on how an individual sees themself in relation to both the in-group and out-group (i.e., inward vs. outward). Turino continues by asserting that "group identities are the foundation of all social and political life" (Ibid.). For scholars like Turino, identity is the foreground on which music, and all other cultural behavior that is to be interpreted, rests. Moreover, individuals are not tied to only one group, but instead can inhabit many groups simultaneously. On this, Turino writes:

> From feminist theory, along with scholars particularly interested in ethnicity and class, it became clear that individual subjectivity and identity comprised a variety of nodes or intersections of multiple socially emphasized categories– gender, class, ethnicity, nationality, age, religion, occupation, and so on. It has become common to insist that all relevant nodes be considered when trying to understand a given subject position. In post-structuralist work, the fluidity and contingent nature of identity is highly emphasized.

> Artists consciously use explicit indices of carious social groups to construct icons or models of new hybrid diasporic identities. . . . Put another, there are signs that stand for certain subject or cultural positions that organically emerge from the very position they signify. (Turino 2004:9)

Summarizing the popular perspectives of contemporary cultural anthropology, Turino summarizes the concept of intersectionality, which is the ability for an individual to inhabit multiple "socially emphasized categories" (Ibid.). In the contemporary era, and because of the rate at which different cultures are becoming juxtaposed though technological means, these artistic products become ever more hybridized. That is, they become reflective of the unique blend of cultural influences present within each individual. This is a characteristic that can be recognized in all of the artists's work presented in this study, each occupying a different socio-economic, national, ethnic, musical, and cultural space.

As opposed to complete hybridization, reconstructions of the homeland—that is, the construction of an imaginary of the homeland—also often takes place among diasporic communities and artist of those communities. In *The Making of Exile Culture: Iranian Television in Los Angeles* (1993), Hamid Naficy explores the construction of an imaginary, and profound longing, among Iranian exiles in Los Angeles:

> Syncretism involves impregnating one culture with the contents of another in order to create a third, stable culture while hybridity involves an ambivalence

> about both of the original cultures, thereby leading to creation of a slipzone of indeterminacy and whiting postionalities.
>
> The dominant culture does not interpellate the exiles unproblematically. Host-exile power relations produce psychological and ideological ambivalences that, when unresolved into syncretism, can lead to defensive hybrid strategies of disavowal, self-deception, fetishization of the homeland, nostalgic longing, and chauvinistic nationalism.
>
> Fetishization in exile results when the exiles invest heavily in the construction of certain . . . images of homeland and the past while knowing deep down that those are forms of disavowal, or of partial representation, because they are fixed and frozen. (Naficy 1993:127)

As opposed to the self-identification of an individual with a particular diasporic community or ethnic group, Naficy sheds light on the experiences of individuals removed from their homeland, the resulting coping mechanisms involved, and their cultural ramifications. In Naficy's work with Iranian exiles, the result of such forced migrations out of Iran resulting in the construction of a complex national imaginary, but one that was "fixed and frozen" (Ibid.). This imaginary was then fetishized by the exiles, producing a strong nostalgia for a homeland that no longer exists. Utilizing Naficy's work, the argument could be made that it never existed, at least not in the way the exiles' remembered it (i.e., constructed it). It is this construction—or imaginary—that is praised, longed for, and in effect, fetishized.

Anthony Alessandri provides yet another perspective in his article "'My Heart is Indian for All That': Bollywood Film Between Home and Diaspora," wherein he explores the relationship between diasporic Indian communities and the Bollywood industry. On the topic of nostalgia and the homeland, Alessandri writes:

> Despite the physical distance from South Asia, despite the material traces of other countries the mark the diasporic subject, a connection is made to a fixed and frozen version of "India" via the imagination. This affective, romantic, metonymic connection becomes a consolation for the real, natural separation from the homeland. (Alessandri 2001:317)

The homeland, as elaborated by Alessandri, is substituted for an imaginary, at least in the minds of individuals in diasporic communities. It is this imaginary that also supports the Bollywood industry globally. Finally, it is also this imaginary that becomes the focus of nostalgia: For Alessandri, this process is one that makes the imaginary *the homeland* for many that find themselves in diasporic communities across the globe. As was evident in Naficy's work, this tripartite relationship between the individual, nostalgia for the homeland, and the constructed reality is often reflected in the art, literature, music, and films of diasporic communities. In Alessandri's work, Bollywood then returns these sentiments to the diasporic communities themselves in the form of narratives and entertainment. While Alessandri is careful to not cast diasporic communities solely as consumers, but also

as “producers” of this media (2001:318), problematic relationships that prove to exploit nostalgia held by diasporic communities do exist and continue to be exploited across the globe.

Exploring Cultural Dynamism: Multiculturalism and The Rhizome

The wide range of perspectives into issues of globalization, diaspora, race, ethnicity, and identity reviewed here can be recognized as sharing one fundamental presupposition: Cultural groups are differentiated by clear lines of demarcation (e.g., race, behavior, beliefs, etc.) and it is at the juxtaposition of these groups with others–be it through forced migration, voluntary migration, economic interaction, and the like–that issues arise. Yet, in contemporary contexts, these cultural groups and the lines that differentiate them continue to blur, now more than ever as a natural outcome of everyday life. Indeed people have moved across the globe for much of human history, but it is the ease and speed at which information and ideas can travel great distances in an instant (given particular technological advancements such as the internet, computer, smartphone, etc.) that fundamentally changes the way individuals can understand themselves and understand each other within an ever-expanding global network; this intrinsically and necessarily mandates a revision of the

theoretical toolkit in which inter-cultural interaction is understood, as well as a revision of the idea of culture itself as a largely homogenous entity, to be demarcated against others.

Utilizing Simon O'Sullivan's argument for a "rhizomatic approach" to culture studies proves useful in creating a theoretical foothold into this issue. Central to his article, "Cultural Studies as Rhizome–Rhizomes in Cultural Studies" (2002), O'Sullivan calls for a different "geometry" to culture studies, one in which "*movement* takes precedence over stasis and definition" (2002: 81)[1]. O'Sullivan argues for a rhizomatic approach:

> The rhizome is anti-hierarchical and a-centred. . . .The rhizome precisely fosters transversal, even *alogical*, connections between heterogeneous events. No longer a field of culture distinct from nature, indeed, no longer a realm of theory distinct from its object; and no longer the work of politics separated from the practice of art. Instead we have a continuous open system, with multiple entrance ways, of contact and communication between different *milieux*. Cultural studies could be understood as precisely this programme [sic] of *geometry*. Here cultural studies becomes a *map* - a strategy for reconfiguring our experiences. Thinking cultural studies as rhizome involves an affirmation of the former's *inter*disciplinary, or even *trans*disciplinary function; it removes blockages and opens us up to other adventures, other voyages. . . . An escape root/route from fixity and stasis. (2002: 84)

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[1] O'Sullivan's work is built upon concepts developed by Gilles Delueze and Felix Guattari (Delueze and Guattari 1988 and 1994; Deleuze 1995). Both Delueze and Guattari argue for a movement towards "multiplicity" as opposite to a finite, positivist view of reality (O'Sullivan 2002: 86). This multiplicity emphasizes "determinations, magnitudes, and dimensions" (Deleuze and Guattari 1988: 8), which within the context of culture studies can serve to reconfigure the individual/group relationship.

O'Sullivan has been quoted at length to show the emphasis he places on the fluidity of exchange and decentralization. The rhizome serves as a tool by which to envision such "a-centered" exchange, with connections running in multiple directions, to and from multiple points. The "milieux"—which in O'Sullivan's work represents points of knowledge—can be utilized within the context of this project, to create an image of a culture (and potential inter-cultural exchanges) as fluid, dynamic, and unorganized. The rhizome, then, can connect multiple milieux, producing "transversal, even *alogical*, connections" (2002:84). The rhizomatic view—applied directly to inter-cultural dynamics—is one that is sensitive to the aggregate nature of culture, and the fluidity with which these cultures interact with one another. This multiplicity taken as a matter of fact in the rhizomatic perspective serves to more completely reflect individuals who are simultaneously invested in multiple cultural realities. The rhizomatic perspective, however, falls short in describing exactly what these lived experiences and cultural realities might look like in the real world.

Along with these macroscopic considerations, frameworks were developed to address how individuals living in cosmopolitan environments address the existence of a plurality of cultures and cultural groups in one social space. Resting on perspectives sensitive to the many cultural groups to which a single person may belong, scholars

began to develop a perspectives aimed at examining an individual's ability to exist in multiple cultures at once:

> A multicultural approach uses several disciplines to highlight neglected aspects of our social history, particularly the history of women and minorities. Concepts of race, class, culture, gender, and ethnicity are the driving themes of a multicultural approach which also promotes respect for the dignity of the lives and voices forgotten. By closing the gaps, by raising consciousness about the past, multiculturalism tries to restore a sense of wholeness in a postmodern that fragments human life and thought." (Trotman 2002:ix)

Inherent in this approach is the recognition of a "dominant" culture, global center, first-world, third-world, Other, and the like. All of which create a hierarchy–much like the kind O'Sullivan was moving away from–that can intrinsically affect inter-cultural exchange. Multiculturalism serves as a means to push "neglected" aspects of any shared history into focus, allowing–in theory–for greater cultural sensitivity and respect. Yet, central to multiculturalism is the codification of a culture, such that it may be differentiated and contrasted from others, which as O'Sullivan has shown, is inherently problematic. As beneficial as multicultural approaches have been in illuminating neglected histories, issues arise when it is used to understand the fluidity and dynamism in any inter-cultural relationship.

A Fluid and Chaotic Alternative: Polyculturalism

As a reaction, polycultural approaches have been developed meant to address this dissonance between multiculturalism and interculturalism. In his 2002 publication *Everybody Was Kung Fu Fighting: Afro-Asian Connections and the Myth of Cultural Purity,* Vijay Prashad argues for a more fluid approach to understand contemporary inter-cultural dynamics, one that *assumes* the complexity and impurity of any culture due to processes of organic–and inevitable–inter-cultural exchanges and synthesis.

> Polyculturalism, unlike multiculturalism, assumes that people live coherent lives that are made up of a host of lineages–the task of the historian is not to carve out the lineages but to make sense of how people live culturally dynamic lives. Polyculturalism is a ferocious engagement with the political world of culture, a painful embrace of the skin and all its contradictions. (Prashad 2002:xii)

This is reflected in research presented by Hao et al. in which they argue for polyculturalism over multiculturalism to analyze inter-cultural exchange within the context of contemporary globalization discourse:

> Polyculturalism posits that the relationship between individuals and cultures is partial and plural, cultural traditions are interacting and continually evolving systems, and individuals engage with and are shaped by more than one culture. Unlike multicultural psychology that focuses on how bicultural individuals switch between different cultural frames (and thus do not experience direct juxtaposition of different cultures at the same time), polycultural psychology recognizes the coexistence of cultural traditions and the possibility to

> recombine different cultural elements to generate hybrid cultures. This perspective captures the inter-cultural dynamics in rapidly globalized environments. (Hao et al. 2016:1258)

Research presented by Hao et al., show the importance that polycultural perspectives play in inter-cultural dynamics. As scholars and educators, it behooves researchers to develop a sensitivity to the plurality of cultures that can exist in one individual. In acknowledging this, a more nuanced understating of cultural groups' relationship to one another—stretching across national, economic, and cultural boundaries—can be appreciated. This dynamic relationship presents itself in the work of artists across Latin America and the United States—like those presented in this study —and by examining it, scholars in the humanities and social sciences can expand pedagogies and methodologies to include polycultural sensitivities. In so doing, anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, sociologists and the like can foster an understanding that will promote a mutually informed, culturally sensitive, and progressive global community into the twenty-first century.

Etienne Charles: A Dialogue in Sight, Sound, and Story

Etienne Charles
(Photo: Michigan Radio 2019, June 20)

I see carnival as this mass dialogue that society has with its present and its past at the same time. A lot of people might not even know that's what's going on, but that's the beautiful thing about the continuum: It's based on something that happened a long time ago, and even though it evolved through art, it still ties back to the original. So just by that happening, people are able to learn, to teach, and to express as a result. That's why for me the album was so powerful– going through that process . . . The music came out very easily; all of these influences coming together, and understanding the stories, and understanding why things were the way they were.

–Etienne Charles (2020)

Hailing from Trinidad and Tobago, Charles was steeped in folkloric and popular styles on the islands since his childhood. Born in 1983 into some four generations of prominent musicians only helped his musical development. He first learned *cuatro*[2], then made his first professional recording in his father's steel-pan band Phase Two

[2] The *cuatro* is a chordophone used across the Caribbean, smaller than a Spanish six-string guitar in construction, and most often features four strings that are plucked with the hand. Variations of the *cuatro* can be found across the Caribbean and Latin America, thus distinction must be made between the older style of *cuatro* that features four strings and variations, such as the widely used Puerto Rican *cuatro*, which usually features ten strings in five courses.

Pan Grove, then settled on trumpet in his adolescence. After moving to the United States, Charles would aim his study of music to the jazz idiom, earning his Bachelor of Arts from Florida State University, as well as a Master's of Music from Juilliard. He released his debut album *Culture Shock* in 2006, the same year he won the National Trumpet Competition in the Jazz Division. Since then, he has released some five more albums, has toured extensively, and has collaborated with artists such as Wynton Marsalis, Roberta Flack, and Benny Golson. In addition to performing and recording, Charles serves as Associate Professor of Jazz Trumpet at Michigan State University.

Carnival, Calypso, and Kaiso-Jazz

Situated in the eastern most stretch of the Caribbean islands, Trinidad and Tobago lies just 6.8 miles from the north-eastern coast of Venezuela. It originally was well populated by the Arawak peoples, who tilled the fertile Trinidadian soil until they were purposefully mis-identified for Caribs by the Spanish, and thus became targeted for slaving raids (Romero 2002: 1016). The Carib people, by contrast, were expansionist and had already colonized modern-day Brazil, Venezuela, and the Lesser Antilles by the time of the European contact (Ibid.). The Arawaks feared the Caribs, and as if foreshadowing the future of the New World to come, became some of the

first people to be exploited, massacred, and decimated by the European colonial powers. The Spanish were the first to lay claim to the islands, but failed to properly develop long-lasting cities during the sixteenth century. By the 1630s, the few Spanish colonies that had been attempted and failed drew the eye of Dutch settlers who took over the island in 1637, illegally but with impunity. The island of Tobago, conversely, had been first colonized by the Dutch in 1629, but it too saw European colonial powers struggle to establish permanent cities. The island would see near constant warfare during the eighteenth century and the Third Anglo-Dutch war, briefly coming under British, French, and even pirate control.

Officially, Trinidad and Tobago were controlled primarily by Spanish and British, Dutch and French colonies, as well as trade, were ubiquitous in the area. In an attempt to develop the island of Trinidad, the Spanish crown lured settlers with the *Cedula of 1783*, officially offering "10 quarries [approximately 30 acres] with an additional 5 quarries for each slave imported into the island" to white settlers and "half the entitlement of land given to whites" for "free black and free colored" settlers (Campbell 1980:36). The result was a large migration of French plantation owners to the island in the eighteenth century and the establishment of a strong French presence on the island. It should not go unappreciated that the *Cedula of 1783* came

just a few years before the French Revolution (1789-1799), with the resulting unrest in France causing many settlers previously living in French Caribbean like Martinique, Dominica, and St. Lucia to look just farther down the Antilles to Trinidad. These French plantation owners also brought slaves, many of which African, but some also indigenous.

The British crown became fixed on Trinidad by the close of the eighteenth century, culminating with an invasion that resulted in a capitulation to the British without combat. The Treaty of Amiens in 1802 officially recognized Trinidad as a British colony, as well as quelled much the conflict between the French and the British. Trinidad, home to the Arawak people, later taken by the Spanish, home to Africans, Dutch, French settlers, was now under British control. It would be British law that instituted the abolition of slavery in 1838, causing an influx of Indian, Chinese, and Portuguese indentured servants in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Because many of the newly freed Africans refused to continue work on plantations, there was a deliberate effort "by plantocracy to reduce labour costs as well as to re-establish some degree of labour control on the plantation" (Reddock 1986:27). These indentureship contracts were highly exploitive, often becoming pseudo-slavery after many Indians servants had already been moved to the island by

the British government. After complaints by the plantocracy, even return passage to India was revoked, with the British Crown offering land instead (Reddock 1986:38). Many of these Indian immigrants refused to stay on the island, however, and as the Trinidadian plantation economy failed, the British crown merged the island with Tobago in 1889. Thus, the islands of the Trinidad and Tobago became linked as can be seen today.

Like other Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the new world, musical traditions developed by Africans and their descendants were actively targeted by colonial officials for fear of uprising and revolt. Because this fear persisted amongst the colonial powers in Trinidad and Tobago, membranophones played with the hands (i.e., drums) were outlawed in the late eighteenth century and social gatherings were strictly regulated:

> Dancing and drumming were seen as pagan or immoral and as potentially dangerous as a rallying point for slave revolts. Drumming was outlawed . . . in Tobago in 1798. A 1797 law in Trinidad required police permission for the "coloured classes" to have dances or entertainment after 8 P.M., and slaves could not even apply for such permission. (Aho 1987:29)

These measures were bitterly resisted by both African and East-Indian Trinidadians, resulting in “several violent clashes between the police and . . . Indians and those of African heritage, over the use of drums in religious and social

observances" (Aho 1987:30). The most violent of these clashed resulted in deaths of both police officers and citizens. These clashing also spilled into the carnival parades that had been practiced since the colonial era on the island. These festivities were previously seen as creolized interpretations of the European traditions practiced by the European themselves, giving "little or no credit . . . to the thousands of Africans who settled in the colony as enslaved men and women to fill the coffers of their European overlords with wealth arising from the production of sugarcane, coffee, and cocoa" (Liverpool 1998:25). Indeed, the French colonists did hold festivities during pre-lent Christmas, bringing over these traditions from Europe to the island of Trinidad during the eighteenth century. The Spanish also celebrated, even instating a law that mandated "Carnival in Trinidad during the period of enslavement was to be celebrated on the three days prior to Ash Wednesday" (Liverpool 1998:27). Under the British, however, these festivities were more strictly regulated, which included the stripping of rank held by "coloured militia officer" and being "assigned to guard the houses of white officials" during this time of celebration (Liverpool 1998:29). This created a stark difference in carnival celebrations on the island between the Europeans colonists, the "freed-coloreds," and the Africans: namely, "like the whites, the free-coloureds followed the traditions of their respective nationalities . . . but

carried out only French, Spanish, and English dances" (Ibid.). The Africans, however, took to the streets and plantations, creating the beginnings of what is recognized as carnival today:

> Before 1838, whenever sugarcane fires broke out on an estate, the enslaved Africans were sent to put them out. After the Africans were freed in 1838 . . . they reenacted this event by making believe they were putting out fires. . . . This event became known afterward as the *Cannes Brulees* (French for "cane burning"), and was said by Fraser to be the origin of the Africans' *kalenda* and Carnival. A planter in 1881 writing to the Port of Spain Gazette confirmed [a] fire drill and ritual on the estates, and added that whites, besides dancing . . . pretended [to be] *Negues Jardin* [...] and with torches and drums [pretended] to represent what did actually take place" . . . . "the drivers cracking whips and urging with cries and blows (as written by Fraser) were part of the Africans' masquerade, and might have been the freed Africans ridiculing the planters. To this day the Jab Jabs (Devil Devils) still crack their whips as was done by the Africans in former times. (Liverpool 1998:30)

It should be remembered that during the period of enslavement, Africans and Afro-Trinidadians were not allowed to celebrate with Europeans colonists, save for the *kalenda* or stick fight. During these rituals, music (in the form of chanting in call-and-response fashion) accompanied dance-fights wherein practitioners wielded wooden sticks. The songs sung were satirical, full of double-meaning, meant as an opposition and resistance among Africans:

> For the Africans, however, the *kalenda* seemed to represent a psychological release of tensions: frustration engendered by domination, and violent expressions of anger directed from below at the repressive white system of

> control and political organization that had eliminated many other African forms of expression (Liverpool 1998:32)

These songs—with their double-meaning and satire—would become a foundational part of *calypso* music, "a tradition of social criticism, satirizing everything from government, racial prejudice, and ethnic stereotypes to gender and sexual repression" (Riggio 1998:8). Calypso—the music of carnival—became more than music for entertainment, but rather a commentary of the lived experiences on the islands of Trinidad and Tobago. By the end of slavery, both the carnival and *kalenda* traditions had been firmly developed on the islands and would serve as catalyst for the economic struggles that manifested during the mid-nineteenth century.

When oil was discovered in 1857, it signaled a change in the island's economy and musical culture that would take affect some sixty years later. As oil production became a major export, the proliferation of large, fifty-five gallon oils drums became near ubiquitous in cities like Port of Spain, Trinidad. Because British governance feared uprisings, drums were outlawed. The *kalenda* was originally "accompanied by drumming until drums were effectively banned in carnival in 1884, at which point bamboo instruments were substituted" in ensembles called "Bamboo Tamboo" (Dudley 2003:14). These ensembles consisted of hollow bamboo staves (used as idiophones) which "were struck against each other, with sticks, or against the

ground," and were organized into four musical roles: the boom, chandler, fuller and cutter. It would be in out of the Tamboo Bamboo ensemble music that the steel drum would be developed (Aho 1987:30), becoming the musical epitomization of carnival in Trinidad and Tobago.

> Steel drums are called steel pans or just "pans" in Trinidad and Tobago. Beginning in the 1930s, they were created and refined in the poorer sections of Trinidad's capital, Port of Spain, by young men of African heritage with little formal education or musical training. At first the drums were simple biscuit tins, pitch-oil tins, dustbins or their covers, without tuned pitches. Gradually, through experimentation and refinement, pitches were added by pounding in and out on the top surface of the drums, and drums of varying depths were created to produce different ranges. (Aho 1987:27)

Understanding why early interpretations of carnival history attributed the celebrations to the European colonists allows the truth of the matter to surface: the carnival as it is recognized today on the islands are very reflective of the African experience on the islands; a representation of the the creole lived experience from the colonial era to the modern day. Further, at just about every point in its development, those forced into slavery on the islands used the tradition as means to resist and to create. This is true even during British colonial rule, when laws became ever stricter, that is, increasingly more prejudiced against those African descent. Even to the modern day, carnival musicians and those developing *kaiso* and *kaiso*-jazz—calypso music mixed with jazz influenced—pay homage to African heritages in the music:

> The call-and-response song, the chants, the *kalinda* dance, the drumming, the stickfight itself: each of these is African-derived. The Hausa word "*caiso*" [also Kaiso] was used to describe the form which in the 20th century became known as calypso. And calypso is more in the tradition of African performance, with its satiric and direct attack on authority. (Riggio 1998:15)

For musicians like Etienne Charles, the music cannot be separated from this history, mainly because the history is an active one: it is a "mass dialogue that society has with its present and its past at the same time" (Charles 2020). The carnival itself has and continues to serve as one of these dialogues, pushing dancers, musicians, and participants to understand the past, critique it, re-live it in the present, in order to change the future. From its cosmopolitan beginnings in the colonial era, the islands of Trinidad and Tobago have served as host for Indigenous, Spanish, Dutch, French, African, and British peoples, creating a national culture that is reflective of all of these influences in music, tradition, and flesh. For Charles, music is about reflecting these facets in harmony, rhythm, dance, and performance; to have that dialogue continuously and to share it with those from the islands and abroad.

Rhythm, Tradition, and Aesthetic Cognition in "Jab Molassie"

Charles's 2019 album *Carnival: The Sound of a People, Vol. 1* was conceptualized with the express intent of reflecting the many influences musical, ethnic, and cultural

that make up Trinidadian carnival music. Using funds from a Guggenheim Fellowship Charles won in 2015, he conducted research in Trinidad following the history as well as the musical development of tradition. Charles aimed to "write a suite about carnival" wherein he would "take the sounds, take the rituals, put music–put [his] own sounds–blending it" and "shedding light on the things that [would] speak strongly to us a people" (Charles 2018). In so doing, he created an album that featured original recordings of some of the most fundamental elements of the carnival tradition, including the *kalenda,* the Tamboo Bamboo, and the sounds of the steel instruments before they were made into pan (i.e., steel tins and sheets). Charles, however, looked beyond music alone to realize this carnival suite. Because so much of carnival is experienced in sight and touch, as well as with sound, Charles made it a point to include as much of this as possible for live performances. This included distinctly Trinidadian instruments like the steel tins, as well as archetypical characters such as Jab Molassie (figure 1):

> Carnival is not just about sound; every sound is a sight, there's a dance, there's a movement, there's a story, there's a history. I started using visuals . . . because it's the only way to really understand the scope and the multidimensional effect of carnival; you have to be in the moment and the visuals help to create the moment. (Charles 2020)

One aspect of this multidimensional effect can be noticed in masquerades, bringing to life the many folkloric, metaphorical, and supernatural characters in carnival tradition. Researchers point to the trans-Atlantic slave trade and the forced migration of Africans into the New World, as many would remember "the harvest in Africa, which was usually accompanied by masking and masquerades" (Liverpool 1998:34). These characters began to reflect their experiences in the New World, their challenges, their fears, all as a moment of respite through the inhabiting of another being. In this way carnival became not only celebration, but also social commentary, and critique:

> A third group of traditional masquerades make their appearance, coming in small organised bands. They are among the oldest costumed characters, some of whom are still found in the carnival today. . . . They consist of a variety of Devils: Jab-Jabs with their cracking whips; Jab Molassi or molasses devil that conjures up the dark days of work in the sugar mill; the Devil or Dragon Band with its Imps, Princes, and multi-headed Beast. Then there are Wild Indians and Fancy Indians, Clowns and Bats, Midnight Robbers with their bombastic utterances, Singing Minstrels, Sailors and Marines, and others. Each of these traditional masquerades carries a history of its own that is related to some aspect of island life. (Hill 1985:15)

Of these, Charles paid special attention to Jab Molassie (also spelled Jab Molassi), using the character as the inspiration for a composition on *Carnival: The Sound of a People* (2019). Jab Molassie is performed by "covering the entire body, including face and hair, with originally molasses, and now mud, tar, and/or

Figure 1. Etienne Charles performing live at the Broad Stage, with Jab Molassie performance (The Broad Stage 2019).

grease" (Martin 1998:227). In modern interpretations, the body is covered in blue paint and "wears briefs . . . running shoes and lasciviously gyrates to tin drums" (Ibid.). While the story behind Jab Molassie varies slightly between tellings, he generally seen as anti-authoritatian, fighting against the colonial powers and enslavement. In the most brutal tellings of the lore, Jab Molassie was originally an enslaved African that was thrown into a pit of molasses by the plantation owner and left to burn alive; he remains covered in molasses in interpretations as a reminder of his horrific demise.

Musically, Jab Molassie is typically presented alongside tin drums, which are steel tins (most often for paint or oil) that were repurposed as idiophones during carnival. The rhythms played on these tin drums are driving and syncopated (as can

be seen in figure 2). Charles took these ostinatos and used them as the primary rhythmic foundation for his composition “Jab Molassie.” He then began to layer on more contemporary influences onto the tin drum ostinatos, such as the drumset (played by Obed Calvaire) and the conga drums. Charles then expanded the composition harmonically, creating a composition that follows a loose jazz form, that is, comprising of a head, interlude, and solos. While there are recapitulations of the compositional material, the recorded performance imparts a feeling of continuity, improvisation, and repetition such that summarizing it as “AABC,” for example, would not fully reflect the performers’ and composer’s intent. This is due in part to the continuous tin drum rhythms that can be heard throughout the track; the recording begins with them, features them, and ends with them. Further, the voices of the performers yelling–just as would be done by the Jab Molassie performers during carnival–can be heard during the percussion soli sections, as well as in the start and end of the track. A structural timeline of "Jab Molassie” has been provided in figure 3 presenting these elements in text.

Charles's interpretation of Jab Molassie, both in recording and in live performance, reflects the Trinidadian carnival tradition as well as Charles’s own work as a composer and trumpet player steeped in the jazz idiom. Instead of seeing these

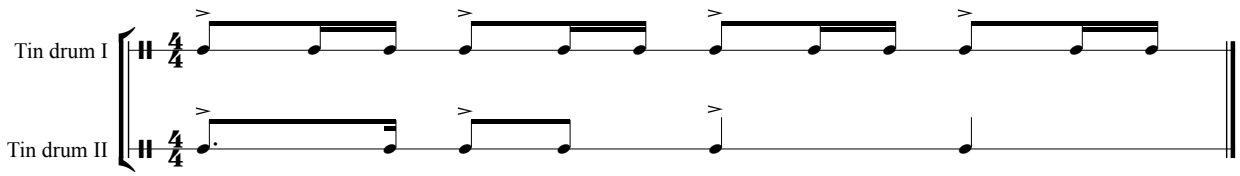

Figure 2. A reduction of rhythms played on steel tin drums.

two elements as distinct and separate, Charles sees them as existing in the same continuum; forms of expression that are open and ready for study and reinterpretation:

> It's interesting because we live in a globalized world; we're the products of centuries of migrations. A genre is a creative concept just like a race is a creative concept. The only reason why people think about "mixing things" is because people see things as different, for whatever reason: to sell, to let the masses be able to categorize . . . But for me, I don't think in those terms. When it comes to music, I just listen to music. If it's something I can draw from, I draw from it. It's as if someone has a garden: which ever fruits grow, those are the ones that you eat. So I think like that: different things come in and some things stick. Then I might study them, try to extract from them, and before I know it that becomes a part of my sound. I think a lot more musicians are thinking like that now; they've been thinking like that for centuries. (Charles 2020)

Dr. Steven Loza, has taken aim at similar processes active in contemporary reinterpretations of a Mexican *son jarocho* in Los Angeles during the 1990s. Loza closely followed members of the popular Chicano rock band Los Lobos as they studied, performed, and taught *son jarocho* music and dance across Los Angeles as a way to connect with their Mexican cultural heritage. Loza describes this process as

“Jab Molassie” — A Structural Timeline

0:00–0:14	Voices speaking and preparing tins
0:14–0:19	Tin rhythm enters
0:20–0:30	Drumset enters
0:30–0:32	Bass, electric guitar, and piano enter
0:32–1:03	Trumpet, tenor saxophone, and percussion enter
1:04–1:05	Repetition of lead melody
1:40–1:40	Lead melody ends, solos begin (over tins/drumset/perc.)
1:40–3:00	Trumpet solo (over tins/drumset/percussion)
3:00–3:51	Tenor saxophone solo (over tins/drumset/percussion)
3:51–4:06	Tins, drumset, and percussion soli
4:06–4:29	Ensemble interlude
4:30–5:45	Recapitulation of lead principal melody (ensemble)
5:45–5:45	Tins, drumset, and percussion soli (over guitar, piano, bass)
5:45–5:51	Drumset enters soli (over guitar, piano, bass)
5:51–5:51	Tins, drumset, and percussion soli (over guitar, piano, bass)
5:51–7:04	Voices increase in volume over soli
7:04–7:23	Tins soli with voices
7:23	Track end

Figure 3. A structural timeline of “Jab Molassie”

follows:

> When confronted with the imposition of dominant cultural practices, the marginalized segments of a macroculture may develop any number of syncretic cultural practices that function to integrate mutually contradictory ideological spheres. One way in which such integration can and frequently does manifest its presence is through music, visual art, and other expressive modalities. In the case of Los Lobos' reinterpretation of the son jarocho and other musical genres, one might suggest that dissatisfaction with Anglo-American cultural and social institutions in the lives of California Chicanos led to the eventual formulation of a collectively resistant aesthetic system. This system can be considered syncretic to the extent that it demonstrates both the cultural and stylistic effects of mainstream musics on Chicano taste, and also the presence of stylistic formulations which derive from musics not associated with the North American mainstream. The Chicano movement of the early 1970s, therefore, both "fed into" and was "fed by" cultural enterprises such as those epitomized by Los Lobos. The stronger sense of identity, social power, and cultural legitimacy achieved in the wake of the Chicano movement among Mexican Americans was accomplished in large part through a collective process of musical appropriation and reinterpretation. . . . It is in the processual interaction of what are commonly referred to as "tradition" and "innovation" that one can perceive the constantly evolving dimension of expressive culture. . . . It provides, for me, a representation of the whole process of development of a new, or emergent, aesthetic. The effect of this processual complex might referred to by the term "aesthetic cognition." (Loza 1992; 193)

For Loza, the arts allow a prospective into the pressures active on individuals within a given society. Within respect to his study, these pressures manifest as an overwhelming incentive for the immigrant populations and their families—in this case, those of Mexican heritage—to assimilate into the dominant “Anglo-American” culture. This incentive creates a friction, with what often manifests within diasporic

communities as a longing to connect with and to maintain the mores, practices, forms of expression, ideologies, and customs from which they hail. There is also often a resistance to those pressures of assimilation and conformity, that is reflected in other aspects of the diasporic experience (i.e., the political, social, religious, and moral). Within a musical context, that friction acts as an impetus for artists to blend aspects of the dominant culture with their inherited culture, or in other words, a "reinterpretation" of the old with respect to the new. The product such reinterpretation is what Loza refers to as "innovation." In this sense, the term "innovation" does not refer to a hierarchical structure of aesthetic value, or a qualitative statement of the impact that an artistic output may have on an idiom, but rather to the production of a novel art form that relates to a tradition with respect to the lived experience of those living in the contemporary era.

For Loza, this is the genesis of new idioms, new sounds in music, new trends in fashion, new ideas that sweep societies; this friction is the mother of artistic invention, what he refers to as "aesthetic cognition"(Loza 1992; 193). This process, shown in figure 4, is by definition messy and chaotic. In fact, the more one follows these patterns into the musical history of the Americas and the Caribbean, the more this story becomes one of resistance, perseverance, and survival. With respect to the

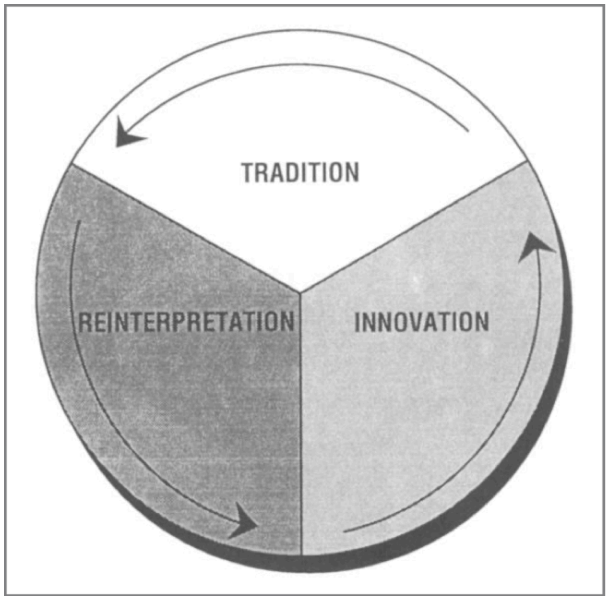

Figure 4. Loza's depiction of "aesthetic cognition," the process of traditional practices being reinterpreted, leading to innovation, and repeating (Loza 1992; 193).

musics born out of the forced migration of millions of Africans across the Atlantic, who were then forced into slavery, subjugated for hundreds of years, and later "freed" into societal systems of oppression, that art serves as testament to the resiliency, resourcefulness, and creativity of those who bore it and those who keep it. The confluence that resulted from the catalyst that was the colonial era produced a shared, pan-American experience. This experience, which is rooted in the juxtaposition of the European, the Indigenous, and the African, set the stage for the plethora of arts that are today studied and performed across the globe.

To return to Charles' work, we can see aesthetic cognition active in real-time: as Charles pays homage to the traditions of Trinidadian carnival, reinterprets them

through his own lens and approach, he innovates the tradition, keeping it “alive” and relevant to the lived experiences of those living now. Further, as Trinidadians continue to keep carnival musics and traditions on the island, blending them with their own lived experiences—which continue to be saturated with sights, sounds, and ideas originating outside of the island—they too will play an active role in its reinterpretation and innovation. Chaotically and unceasingly, the processes inherent in Loza’s model are the same processes that keep musics from only existing in recording, scholarly analysis, or print. To borrow the words of Grammy Awarding winning producer Kamau Kenyatta with respect to jazz, “to be traditional, is to be innovating” (Kenyatta 2017). For Charles, the result is something more meaningful than dance music alone, something reaching far deeper into history and further into the future. For Charles, aesthetic cognition at work in carnival music is a way to dialogue with the past in the present, in order to shape the future. In other words, by learning the histories of those who persevered and how they did so, paying homage to them with new rhythms, sounds, instruments, and melody, we can create community, and build a world in which we all can thrive.

Miguel Zenón: Balance in Harmony, Rhythm, Tradition, and Innovation

Miguel Zenón
(Photo: The Chicago Tribune 2019, September 18)

What you're describing now . . . someone like Etienne [Charles] or Yosvany [Terry] . . . there's a certain amount of research involved. It's almost like you dig so much deeper into the root of the information, that it really translates into the music. I think that's the main difference, between this music twenty years ago and this music now: Musicians just go so much deeper into the research that the product is much more balanced—it's much more rooted.

—Miguel Zenón (2020)

Saxophonist, composer, and band leader Miguel Zenón has risen to the top echelons of contemporary jazz performers, fluidly moving between jazz and Caribbean genres with a characteristic efficiency, precision, and artistry. Born in San Juan, Puerto Rico in 1976, Zenón has made a name for himself as an exemplary saxophonist first studying classical saxophone under Angel Marrero, then later focusing his efforts on improvisation and jazz. In 1996, Zenón moved to Boston to study at the Berklee College of Music, marking the beginning of an illustrious career

wherein he has collaborated with the likes of Antonio Sanchez, The SFJAZZ Collective, The Pat Matheny Group, among many others.

In recent years, Zenón has turned to Puerto Rican folkloric traditions as inspiration for some of his most innovative and challenging albums. This is project focuses on just one of these albums, but there have been at least four albums that pay homage directly to Puerto Rican artists, repertoire, musical traditions, and culture, all distilled through Zenón's sophisticated and imaginative compositional style. Zenón has also taken to fusing ethnography directly with his compositions, the likes of which can be heard in his 2014 release *Identities are Changeable,* where interviews were digitally layered onto recorded performances of compositions written to reflect the dual-identities of "Nuyorican" (Puerto Ricans living in New York) individuals. In addition to being a Grammy Award winning artist, Zenón is also a Guggenheim and MacArthur fellow.

As an educator, Zenón makes a point to give back to his own community, realizing a program that uses "culture as a way of connecting with people and to make cultural activity available to anyone" (Zenón 2020). This program—which Zenón called *Caravana Cultural*—consisted of bringing performances to rural and metropolitan spaces on the island of Puerto Rico, as well as collaborating and showcasing promising

young artists in those communities, during those performances. *Caravana Cultural* had been providing annual performances for twelve years before hurricane Maria devastated the island in 2017. Zenón had planned to restart the program in 2020, but was forced to postpone once again due to the COVID-19 lockdowns.

Zenón is firmly in many cultural realities at once, as can be appreciated in his musical, intellectual, and educational bodies of work. These spaces do not impede one another, but rather serve to constitute Zenón's artistic approach to making music, and understanding its effect on peoples' lives locally and globally. To begin exploring Zenón's work and artistic approach, however, there must first be a direct challenge to the conventions that continue to classify his work as "Latin jazz." The ramifications of this seemingly innocuous term run much deeper than music alone, referencing colonialism, race, and a cultural insensitivity that must be addressed.

Challenging "Latin Jazz" and Moving Beyond "Lemon Meringue Pie"

Multi-instrumentalist and band leader, Mario Bauzá once described his music as "lemon meringue pie:" "jazz on the top, and the Afro-Cuban rhythm on the bottom" (Latin Music USA; 2009). Shortly after Bauzá left Havana for New York City in 1930, he would begin working with several jazz icons, such as Chick Webb, Cab Calloway, and Dizzy Gillespie, to name only a few. It would be amongst these

musicians that Bauzá would sharpen his arrangement technique and solidify the beginnings of what would later be recognized as “Latin jazz." Bauzá’s founding of Machito and his Afro-Cubans in 1940 juxtaposed big band jazz harmony, arrangement style, and presentation, with Afro-Cuban folkloric musical influences, instrumentation, and performance practice. The result was an infectious dance music that took New York City by storm. It was Bauzá’s aim from the inception of the orchestra to blend these types of music directly: “jazz on top, Afro-Cuban rhythm on the bottom”(Latin Music USA; 2009).

It should not be overlooked that Bauzá’s deliberate inclusion of “Afro-Cuban” in the band’s official title was groundbreaking in and of itself. During this time—twenty years prior to the passing of the Civil Rights Act in 1964—those of African descent were treated as second-class citizens, if not targeted directly. Musically speaking, the contributions of those of the African diaspora in the Americas and the Caribbean were widely ignored, discredited, if not deliberately misconstrued. Bauzá openly crediting his Afro-Cuban heritage in compositions, instrumentation, lyrics, and band-name would serve as a socio-cultural foothold which would be used for generations of musicians after him. It should not be taken for granted, however, the tremendous risk of personal and professional harm that Bauzá undertook in such a decision. It

nonetheless inspired others to point to the roots of the music—the Afro-Cuban peoples, their histories, and culture—openly and unapologetically. Others would follow in Bauzá's footsteps, pointing and paying homage to other communities of the African diaspora in the Caribbean and Latin America, sharing those histories, those cultures, and those musical traditions. In this way and many others, Bauzá's work remains relevant even to this day.

Bauzá's decisions and work as bandleader marked the beginning of what musicians, scholars, and aficionados often refer to as "Latin jazz" in the United States: jazz harmonies, arrangement, and improvisational technique blended with folkloric and popular musical traditions from various Latin American cultures. The problem here, however, lies in the term "Latin jazz" and its pernicious tendency to homogenize, while simultaneously pointing to nothing, nowhere, and no one. To speak of Bauzá's work is to acknowledge specific musical traditions, cultures, communities, their juxtapositions with others, and the products that came from that confluence. Specifically, this would be the Afro-Cuban experience on the island of Cuba, those histories, those forms of expression and how they manifested musically during the early twentieth century in New York City through Mario Bauzá. A term like "Latin jazz" does nothing to reflect any of these things. Further, it neglects the

cultural, ethnic, and spiritual heterogeneity of the New World—North America, South and Central America and the Caribbean—as an intrinsic and defining characteristic. To speak of Latin music homogeneously is to misunderstand some of the most fundamental aspects of the people themselves, and of course, their music. A dismantling of the term and the ramifications of its utilization is a necessary step for delving deeper into any one musical tradition.

An often underemphasized aspect of any history of the United States, Caribbean, and Latin America, is that cross-germination is a principal characteristic of the musics and cultures found therein. Many scholars have expounded on the collision of Indigenous, African, and European societies during the colonial era, recognizing it as the basis for the cultural and ethnic makeup present across the New World today (Ortiz 1947; Benítez-Rojo 1996; Loza 1993; Murphy 2006; Kelley 2012; Schweitzer 2013; etc.). Such a blending did not end with independence from the European colonial powers, but instead has continued and only hastened its pace across ever-changing national boarders that have only recently stabilized. Music often passed to, from, and between Latin America, the Caribbean, and the United States by way of traveling musicians, sheet music, trade, and those displaced by conflict or the hope for a new start in another country. These modes of transmission were later

amplified and accelerated by technologies such as the record player, radio, airplane, compact disc, and most recently, the internet. The case has been that popular musics in the United States, the Caribbean, and across Latin America did not develop in mutual exclusion, but rather in tandem, and often in direct relation to one another. Nineteenth-century New Orleans, much like Havana and many other port cities across the Caribbean and Latin America, served as catalyst for such a confluence of culture and music:

> French opera and popular song and Neapolitan music, African drumming . . . Haitian rhythm and Cuban melody . . . native creole satiric ditties, American spirituals and blues, the ragtime and popular music of the day – all these sounded side by side in the streets of New Orleans and blended in the rich gumbo of New Orleans music. (Lomax 2001: 78)

It is with such an understanding that the term "Latin music" should be understood for what it is: problematic, in and of itself. Similar to the short hand usage of "Latin tinge" (Fernandez 2006: 61), "Latin music" should be seen as a particularly pernicious–albeit ubiquitous–example of musical synecdoche. To return to Bauzá's work, he was aiming specifically to blend Afro-Cuban rhythms directly with big-band jazz harmony, arrangement technique, and orchestration. There wasn't anything "Latin" about Bauzá's music beyond the fact that Cuba is very much a part of "Latin" America. Bauzá's music was not a reflection of all of Latin America, but rather a

focused blending of select musics from his native Cuba and the United States. Bauzá's music could certainly be "Latin jazz," but so would the *bossa nova* of Antonio Carlos Jobim and João Gilberto, and so would the later music of Argentinian tango *bandoneon* player and composer Astor Piazzolla, the same would be true for Trinidadian pianist and bandleader Clive "Zanda" Alexander's Kaiso Jazz. In this case, it would be more productive to ask what *isn't* "Latin Jazz" as opposed to what is.

Bauzá resented the term, preferring to refer to his music as "Afro-Cuban jazz" (Cumbo 1993). Similarly, the term "cubop" is often used to describe the music that came out of the collaboration between Dizzy Gillespie and Cuban *conguero* Chano Pozo. Pozo met Gillespie through Bauzá, and it was in compositions like "Manteca" (written by Pozo and arranged by Gillespie) that a reflection of Bauzá's creative approach could be clearly noticed: jazz—in this case, bebop—on the top, with Afro-Cuban rhythm on the bottom. Once again, though, the music was very Cuban, and very jazz, but not "Latin."

The point here lies in the fact that positioning "Latin" music as an entity in and of itself, apart from other musics of the New World, and as a product of "Latin" peoples, does nothing in the aim of fully appreciating it's human origins or better understanding the music. Bauzá's work, then, becomes more than just the start of

“Latin jazz," but rather one event in a long line of musical processes that were active before he ever put pen to manuscript paper. Process that are active today in the work of musicians like Miguel Zenón, Etienne Charles, Daymé Arocena, Ed Motta, Lupita Infante, and Joyce Moreno, for example. Further, a categorization like “Latin” music does close to nothing to reflect such a rich tapestry of cultural heritage, and musical synthesis in the musics of the aforementioned artists and countless others.

Understanding the Roots: A Move Away from the “Latin” in “Latin America”

Now would seem an appropriate opportunity to challenge the notion of “Latin America” itself, seeing as it serves only to veil a more nuanced understanding of the way in which musics move across, between, and out of the American continents and Caribbean. When merchant Amerigo Vespucci wrote of his expeditions in Central and South America, European cartographers had not yet come to the realization that there were in fact two landmasses that lay between them and the Pacific Ocean. In 1501, Vespucci described these lands as a “New World” and confided that he believed he had not made landfall on islands, but in fact on a new continent. Vespucci at that time, was in fact on South American soil, claiming what would become Brazil for the Portuguese crown. These thoughts recorded in his letters were later published in his

Mundus Novus (1503), and as Vespucci's reputation as a navigator for the Spanish and Portuguese crowns made his writings highly regarded in Europe at the time, became widely disseminated and consumed across the "Old World." By the 1530s, the Latinization of Vespucci's name–*America*–had become synonymous with these new lands, and the title of his book–"New World"–would become a short hand for North America, South America, and the Caribbean.

By the opening of the nineteenth century, these new lands had developed sovereign nations out of the carnage, genocide, and exploitation that was the colonial period in the New World. One such nation was Mexico, a former Spanish territory, but now budding economic power which found itself in a period of socio-political growth. It would be a French economist Michel Chevalier in 1834, fresh out of a six month imprisonment for spreading the tenets of Saint-Simonianism, who would introduce the concept of a "Latin race" to Mexican intellectuals. Chevalier's agenda was to lay the groundwork for a strong economic and political allegiance with France, while at the same time creating a rift between Mexico and select nations in Europe. His approach was a pseudo-linguistic one, arguing that Mexicans and the French shared a common cultural ancestor in the Romans, and that both nations were in fact "Latin." In his *Society, manners and politics in the United States; being a series of letters on North*

America (1839), Chevalier extrapolated a difference between the people of "Teutonic, Slavic, and Anglo-Saxon Europe" and that of "Latin" Europe (Chevalier 1839); that is, that there must exist immutable religious and cultural differences between the German, Russian, and British peoples of Europe against those from from Span, Italy, and France. Therefore, strong relations with Anglo-Saxon Europe—and its progeny the United States—would prove insensitive to Mexico's own ethnic and cultural heritage. A strong allegiance to France, however, would prove more harmonious due to innate and inherited socio-cultural similarities. Unfortunately, history would not reflect such a harmony, as France later invaded Mexico (of which Chevalier was in favor), leading to the Second Franco-Mexican war in 1860. Nonetheless, Chevalier's ideas caught on and took root, creating a conceptualization of "Latin America" that has persisted to the modern day.

The fact that Chevalier's ideas were accepted and promulgated by Mexican intellectuals speaks to a desire to create a distinctly Mexican national and cultural ethos apart from that which was inherited from Spain. The ramifications of this conceptualization, however, have been far reaching, pervasive, and confusing. Today someone who is Mexican would most likely identify as "Latin American" or *Latino/a/x*, but that same person would be hard pressed to recognize a Brazilian as a *Latino/a/x*.

Perhaps the Brazilian would argue that the Mexican is in fact “hispanic” (someone from Spanish speaking Latin America) while the Brazilian is *lusófono (*a Portuguese speaking person), but they both might be *Latino/a/x*. While both the Brazilian and the Mexican might identify as hispanic, *lusófono*, or *Latino/a/x*, they would not see someone from Trinidad and Tobago as hispanic, *lusófono*, *Latino/a/x*, or being part of Latin America at all. The *trinni* (i.e., someone from the islands of Trinidad and Tobago) would most likely identify as someone from the Caribbean, while a Venezuelan living in Macuro (a mere ten miles from the coast of Trinidad and Tobago), very well might accept all of the above.

Culturally speaking, there is more that would connect all of these individuals than would separate them. The Old World colonial powers of England, Spain, France, and Portugal left their mark across the Caribbean, North, and South America, the likes of which can be recognized in countless New World countries. The confluence of the Indigenous, European, and African manifested in a spectrum of custom, religion, cuisine, and tradition, all of which marked by a particular syncretism unprecedented in human history. While the Old World had served as catalyst for a similar confluence of people and cultures since time immemorial, the pace by which it happened in the New World made it special: where in the Old World there were millennia, in the New

World there were only centuries. In many ways the processes set in motion some five hundred years ago have never stopped, which is in part the reason for the wide array of musical genres that are practiced, studied, and disseminated across the New World today. For an ethnomusicologist, the lines that divide these cultures, countries, and traditions begin to blur as common themes are noticed across peoples who have all shared in such similar histories of colonialism, exploitation, annexation, conflict, perseverance, resistance, and syncretism. This is not to argue that the histories and lived experiences across the New World are *identical*, but rather to propose an approach to understanding the Americas and the Caribbean as places of fluidity; a particularly beautiful chaos that challenges these lines erected by politics and commerce irreverently, incessantly, and intrinsically.

The solution, then, is to look toward "Latin America" and the New World with a particular sensitivity and understanding. A sensitivity of the syncretism and confluence of flesh and tradition as intrinsic qualities active in the cultures, ideologies, and expression that have developed from the North to the South of the New World. An understanding that the lines that parcel out the New World should be challenged by way of history, song, and story. To borrow from Zenón once more: To understand the New World is to understand its "roots" as dynamic, alive, and profound.

Balance: Miguel Zenón's "¿Qué Será de Puerto Rico?"

Zenón's *Esta Plena* (2009) can be recognized as a modern reflection of Bauzá's initial vision: A strong juxtaposition of jazz and folkloric influences. The difference, though, is the manner in which Zenón focuses the scope of such a juxtaposition. For example, *Esta Plena* doesn't feature Cuban folkloric music like Bauzá's work did, but rather features distinctly Puerto Rican folkloric musics like the *plena* and *bomba*. As is the case in Cuba, the island of Puerto Rico has served as host for the development of many folkloric musics, developing during the colonial era and continuing to be practiced today. Perhaps most noticeable about this album was the way that these folkloric musics were expressed within a jazz idiom. It should be made clear that there does exist an undeniable difference between folkloric musics and musics of the jazz idiom in the contemporary era. The difference lies in the intent of the music: The jazz approach can be recognized as one of exploration and challenge, grounded in individuality; Folkloric musics are communal, inclusive, and reflective of lived experiences specific to a particular socio-cultural group. Where the jazz improvisor endeavors to express themself through a mastery of their voice, folkloric musicians

endeavor to hear a chorus of voices sing with them a story with which all are familiar. Jazz has touched so many musics across the globe because its tenets allow for great conformity of systematic approaches to improvisation, individual expression, compositional technique, harmonic structure, and virtuosic technicality. Folkloric musics, conversely, have often served as fountains of inspiration because of their inherent "human" quality, that is, the stories and histories that make up their character, uniqueness, sound, and meaning. This is not to say that the jazz idiom is devoid of such qualities, but rather that the tradition of innovation so central to the jazz idiom has produced a music that is decentralized, detached to any one group, and amorphous. It is for this reason that it is easier to refer to jazz as an idiom—that is, an approach to creation and expression with particular techniques, traditions, and mores—than to call it a music in and of itself. Much like "Latin music," asking what *isn't* "jazz" in the contemporary era becomes more helpful than attempting to narrow down what it actually is. Because of these qualities, the idiom's greatest strength is in its propensity to widen the language and possibilities of musical expression. This distinction is paramount in understanding how reflecting folkloric musics within a jazz idiom has become more profound and nuanced, and how this can be noticed in work like that of Zenón's in *Esta Plena*.

Where Bauzá aimed to layer the two musics–his infamous “lemon meringue pie”–Zenón has aimed to weave the two, producing a music that is firmly rooted in, and expresses, both jazz and Puerto Rican folkloric musics. In the case of Zenón’s work and compositional style, Puerto Rican folkloric musics aren’t just referenced, but rather are expressed in rhythm, harmony, and compositional structure. Taking “¿Qué Será de Puerto Rico?” as an example, Zenón’s utilization of the *plena* as compositional anchor and musical point of departure can be appreciated. A structural timeline of the composition can be seen in figure 5. It should be noticed that in this composition, Zenón juxtaposes two principal musical idioms: contemporary jazz and traditional Puerto Rican *plena*. However, unlike Bauzá’s direct approach, Zenón’s is more subtle: Zenón utilizes what will be referred to here as “spaces," which will be defined in terms of their pragmatic application in the following analysis. Zenón’s approach is to juxtapose these two spaces, slowly blending the two over the course of the eight minute recording. By the end of the composition, Zenón proceeds to fuse these two spaces, producing what is referenced here as *plena*-jazz.

It should be noted that for the purposes of this analysis, the term “space” is meant to refer to the implementation of a musical aesthetic within the parameters of a given composition, instrumentation, or performance. To be clear, a “space” is not a

“¿Qué Será de Puerto Rico?” — A Structural Timeline

0:00–0:13	Introductory refrain and chorus–*plena*
0:13–0:19	Enter percussion and chorus–*plena*
0:19–0:27	Enter Bass
0:27–0:39	Enter ensemble–*plena*-jazz
0:39–0:27	Pregón #1–*plena*-jazz
0:52–1:05	Chorus–*plena*-jazz
1:05–1:18	Pregón #2–*plena*-jazz
1:18–1:31	Chorus–*plena*-jazz
1:31–1:44	Pregón #3–*plena*-jazz
1:44–1:57	Chorus–*plena*-jazz
1:57–2:10	Pregón #4–*plena*-jazz
2:10–2:22	Chorus–*plena*-jazz
2:22–2:26	Interlude
2:26–2:52	Bass soli [no band]
2:52–4:15	Saxophone solo–jazz
4:15–4:22	Percussion & Drumset soli–*plena*
4:22–4:37	Coro/Pregón–*plena*-jazz [full band]
4:37–4:42	Saxophone & Piano interlude [no band]
4:42–4:56	Coro/Pregón–*plena*-jazz [full band]
4:56–5:00	Saxophone & Piano interlude [no band]
5:00–5:10	Coro/Pregón–*plena*-jazz [full band]
5:10–5:15	Interlude
5:15–6:56	Drumset Solo [no band]
6:56–7:24	Percussion & Drumset Trade Phrases–*plena*-jazz [no band]
7:24–7:38	Coro & Saxophone solo–*plena*-jazz [full band]
7:38–8:00	Outro Fanfare–no meter

Figure 5. A structural timeline of “¿Qué Será de Puerto Rico?”

physical location–as in a venue or place–but rather a moment, a manifestation constructed between musicians, and within the context of the performance; it is fleeting, fragile, and masterful in execution. In this way, operating within a "space" is very much related to operating within a "flow state"[3], that is, a "highly coveted yet elusive state of mind that is characterized by complete absorption in a given task as well as by enhanced skilled performance" (Cinnamon et. al. 2012: 7). However, where "flow" is achieved within oneself, "spaces" are achieved in groups: A "space" is the collective intent, transmitted via musicians' creative choices, to communicate an agreed upon musical aesthetic.

The decision to use "aesthetic" and not "style" was deliberate, as the former more closely reflects the aim of the musicians while playing in spaces, while the latter often refers impotently to anything from technique to whole genres of music. Here, the term "aesthetic" is meant to refer to all of that which is near-intangible in any musical performance: the traditions, ways of life, experiences, and history that inform a performance of that genre of music. A practitioner may spend years studying a genre of music, focusing their attention on proper execution of rhythms, passages,

[3] A flow state is a "highly coveted, yet elusive state of mind that is characterized by complete absorption in a given task as well as by enhanced skilled performance" (Sinnamon et. al. 2012: 7). While flow has been examined within the context of sports performance, it remains a widely understudied topic with regard to musical performance (Bakker 2004; Bloom and Skutnick-Henley 2007; MacDonald, Byrne and Carlton 2006; Sinnamon et. al. 2012).

techniques, and theory. That performer may even master those aspects of that music, becoming adept at playing within that *style*, but they can still be missing the *essence* of that music, and will fail in producing a complete recreation of that music. A composition, for example, can be played in the Cuban *guaguancó*[4] style—with correct rhythms, instrumentation, solo phrases, etc.—but it can still lack the rawness, the grittiness, power, and aggressiveness that is characteristic of *guaguancó* music. As many *rumberos* (musicians who play *rumba*) would say, those intangibles are learned *en la calle* ("on the street")—that is, by living—and is instantly recognizable to musician, musicologist, and passerby alike. Aesthetic more completely refers to the tangible (i.e., the theory and method of a music) as well as these intangibles that are necessary for any complete presentation of music within a given genre.

Returning to Zenón's "¿Qué Será de Puerto Rico?," three distinct spaces can be recognized: the *plena* space, the jazz space, and the *plena*-jazz space. What can be appreciated here is Zenón's deliberate use of spaces as tool to develop the

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[4] The Cuban *guaguancó* is a folkloric music which constitutes part of the *rumba* complex. This art form, consisting of both music and dance is, as David Peñalosa puts it, "the quintessence of Cuban rhythmic sensibility and has influenced both the translated African drumming traditions and the popular dance music created on the island" (Peñalosa 2010: xiii). Rumba, a term used to describe a complex consisting of the sub-genres of *yambú* (the slowest genre), *guaguancó* (usually played at a fast tempo), and *columbia* (the fastest of the three and only to be primarily in triple meter and danced exclusively by men). While guaguancó and columbia both feature the use of congas, the yambú usually features the use of cajones. All rumba features singing in choral-refrain structure, along with dance as major facets of the musical idiom.

composition over the course of its eight minute length. The *plena* space is one that primarily features instrumentation and characteristics typical of the music as it is found in its traditional setting. The jazz space takes shape in this composition as a point of departure harmonically, but retains the aesthetic set in the beginning of the track; this is most noticeable in the drumset pattern. The *plena*-jazz space takes shape as a blending of both the *plena* and jazz spaces; *plena* instrumentation and lyric is fused with Zenón's compositional and technical virtuosity. What begins as a very typical example of the *plena* idiom is then expanded, developed, and made into something new; a music that is not simply the layering of many different musics, but rather a blending of those musics, with the sum total manifesting as a reflection—not simply a juxtaposition—of its parts. Musical transcriptions, presented as reductions of the performances recorded by Zenón and his ensemble are provided in the following figures.

The Puerto Rican *plena* is a folkloric music that primarily features three small, single-headed drums called *panderetas*. These drums are played with one hand, while being held with the other. *Panderetas* accompany singing, usually structured in choral-refrain relationships. The most stable and recurring rhythmic ostinatos are played by the *pandereta seguidor* and *punteador*. These patterns are complemented by a

continuous and free accompaniment on the *requinto,* most often consisting of short solo phrases in response to sung melodies and at the will of the percussionist. This is all held together by the *güicharo*, which plays a continuous pattern that outlines the half-note pulse. A transcription of these patterns, as would be performed in a traditional setting, is provided in figure 6 below.

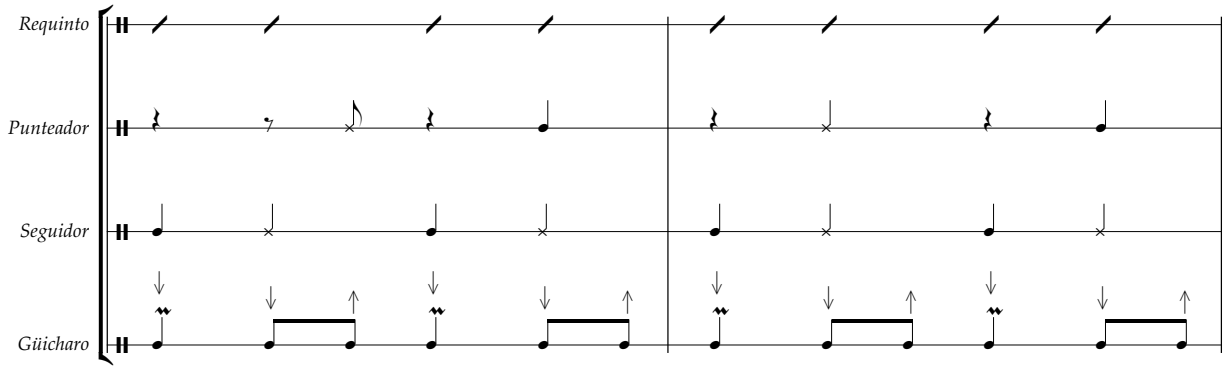

Figure 6. Puerto Rican *plena* patterns for the *pandereta requinto, punteador,* and *seguidor,* with *güicharo*.

Zenón begins "¿Qué Será de Puerto Rico?" by firmly establishing the *plena* as the foundation for the composition, featuring *panderetas* along with lead singer and chorus for some nineteen seconds of the recording (presented in figure 7). Zenón then begins to create the *plena*-jazz space by layering in the rest of his band, layering in through-composed unison lines and harmony atypical of traditional *plena*. Zenón's approach is one that is firmly rooted in the jazz approach, and as such, challenges paradigms and expectations even in within this folkloric setting. As can be seen in

figure 8, Zenón writes in 9/4 meter, which deviates far away from the common 4/4 meter often found in *plena*. Moreover, the harmony is not the typical dominant (V) to minor tonic (i) relationship often heard in *plena* repertoire, but rather is related by tritones (i.e., A minor to Eb, Db to A minor). Connecting this departure back to the *plena* first introduced in the composition is the drum-set pattern, which maintains a strong locomotive energy through constant use of sixteenth-note subdivision on the ride cymbals and *plena*-inspired phrases (also referred to as "comping") on the snare drum. The ride cymbal most directly references the *güicharo* pattern, while the snare patterns can be understood as loosely based around the solo phrases of the *requinto*. Henry Cole—the musician playing drums on this and many other of Zenón's recordings—is also someone whose playing is very much informed through study of Puerto Rican folkloric musics. Cole's creativity, musicianship, and knowledge of the *plena* is what makes him able to create a drum-set accompaniment that can so efficiently fit into 9/4 meter something that also so clearly refers back to folkloric music, tradition, and the *plena* aesthetic. Zenón departs from the very traditional introduction and repeating chorus sections in the *plena* space with this jazz space only once in the recording.

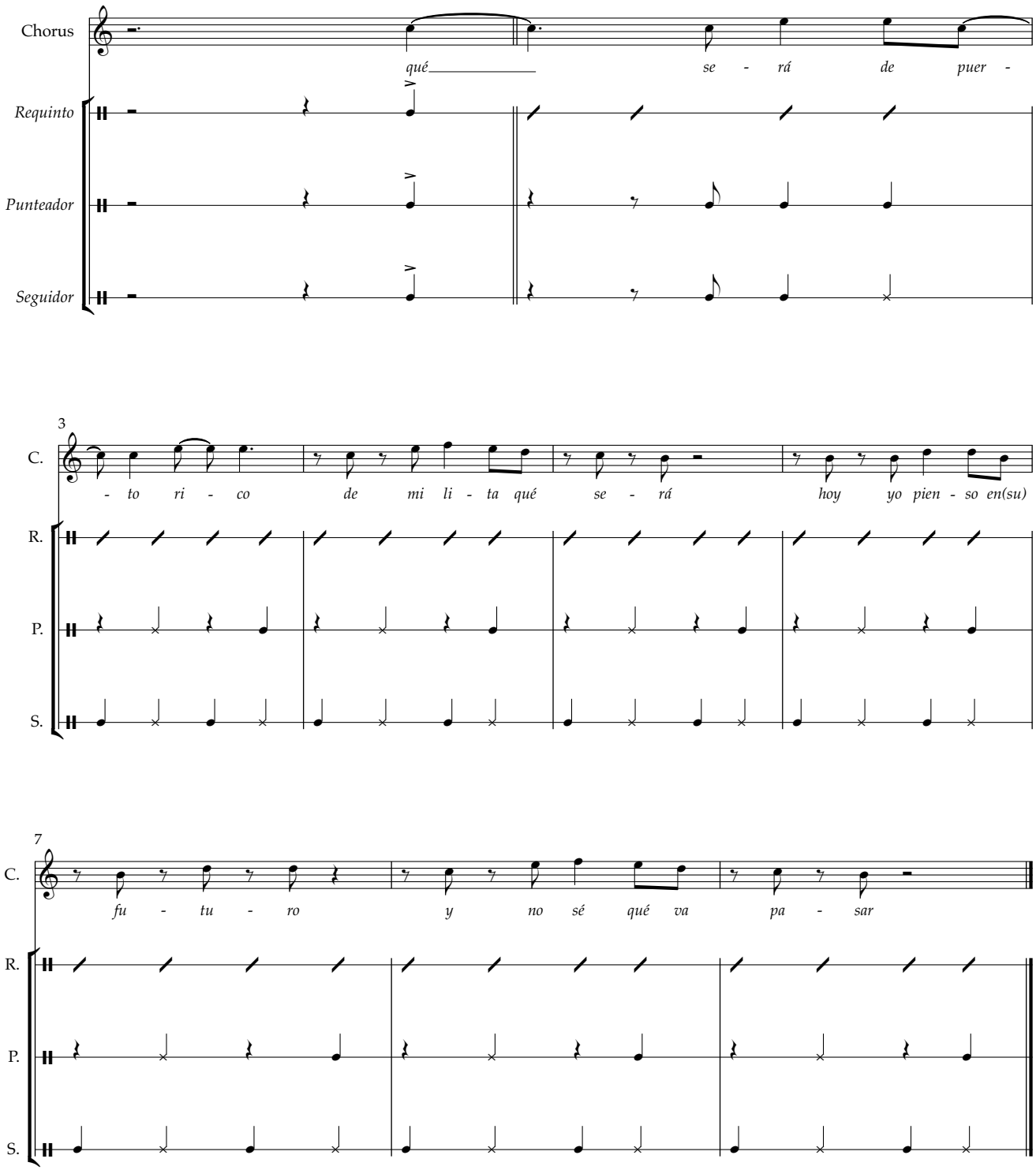

Figure 7. The choral refrain and *pandereta* patterns as recorded in "¿Qué Será de Puerto Rico?"

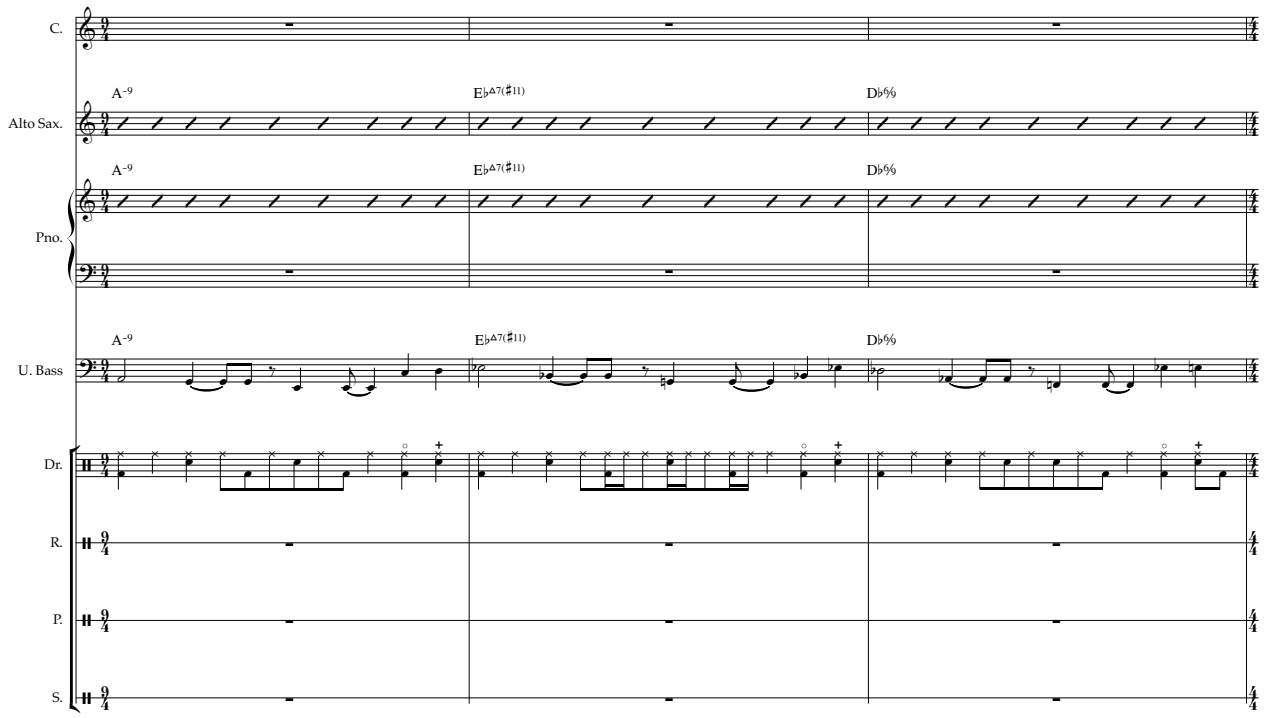

Figure 8. A reduction of the piano, upright bass, drum-set, and alto saxophone parts during the "jazz sections" of "¿Qué Será de Puerto Rico?"

This departure to a very contemporary jazz space serves as contrast to the traditional *plena* presented earlier in the composition. This contrast, however, is used as a compositional tool, preparing the listener for a fusion of the two in the subsequent sections to come. As can be seen in figure 9, the composition features a drum-set solo that leads into a percussion soli, consisting of a series of traditional solo phrases most often played by the *requinto* in typical *plena* contexts. Here, the phrases are introduced by the drum-set, then repeated by the *panderetas* in a masterful display of virtuosity and tradition. Zenón doesn't stop there, continuing after the soli into what feels like the culmination of the composition, as *panderetas* can be heard

along with drum-set, choral refrain and lead singing layered on top of unison lines played by the piano and bass, all complimented by Zenón's own alto saxophone line in refrain. By this point in the composition (5:15-8:00) the *plena*, jazz, and *plena*-jazz

spaces have all been presented in the composition, but it is this last iteration of the *plena*-jazz space as it manifested in "¿Qué Será de Puerto Rico?" that most clearly showcases what Zenón was initially referring to. It isn't simply that the composition layered two musics on top of one another, or that the point of the composition was to feature musical juxtaposition as a novelty, but rather that the music featured an intimate understanding of two musical idioms and such an understanding has been cultivated by the study of the historical, cultural, and technical idiosyncrasies pertaining to each.

These realizations are far reaching and are reflective not only of Zenón's own lived experience, but also that which he shares with the many Nuyoricans living in New York City and across the country. Indeed, this very much is the case for those living in diasporic communities across the globe: a cultural confluence, existing within the same individual, characterized by an acknowledgment and experience of multiple cultural influences expressed at the same time. This reality is not characterized by

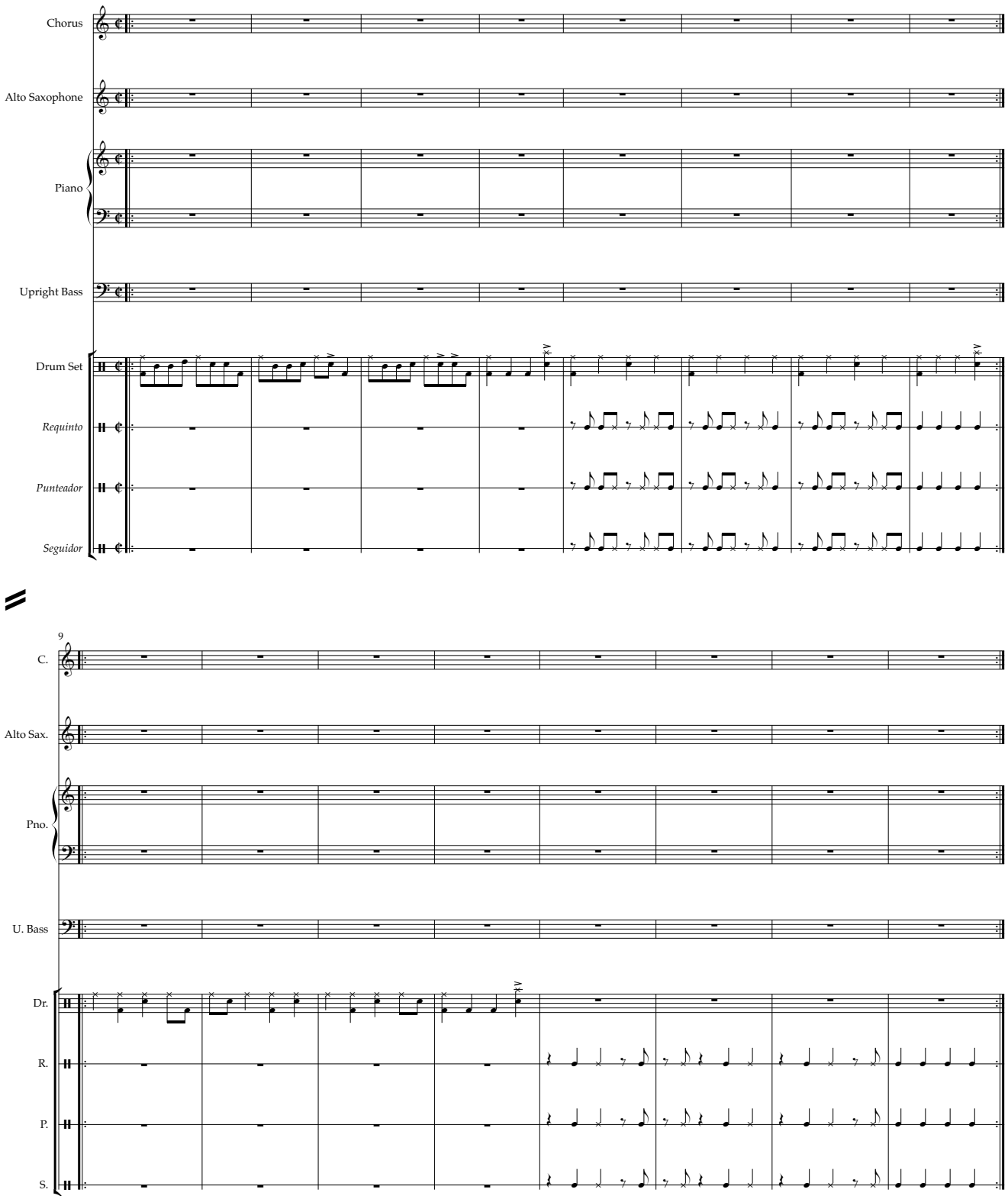

Figure 9. A transcription of the solo-phrases played by the *panderetas* and the drum-set, with transition into the refrain.

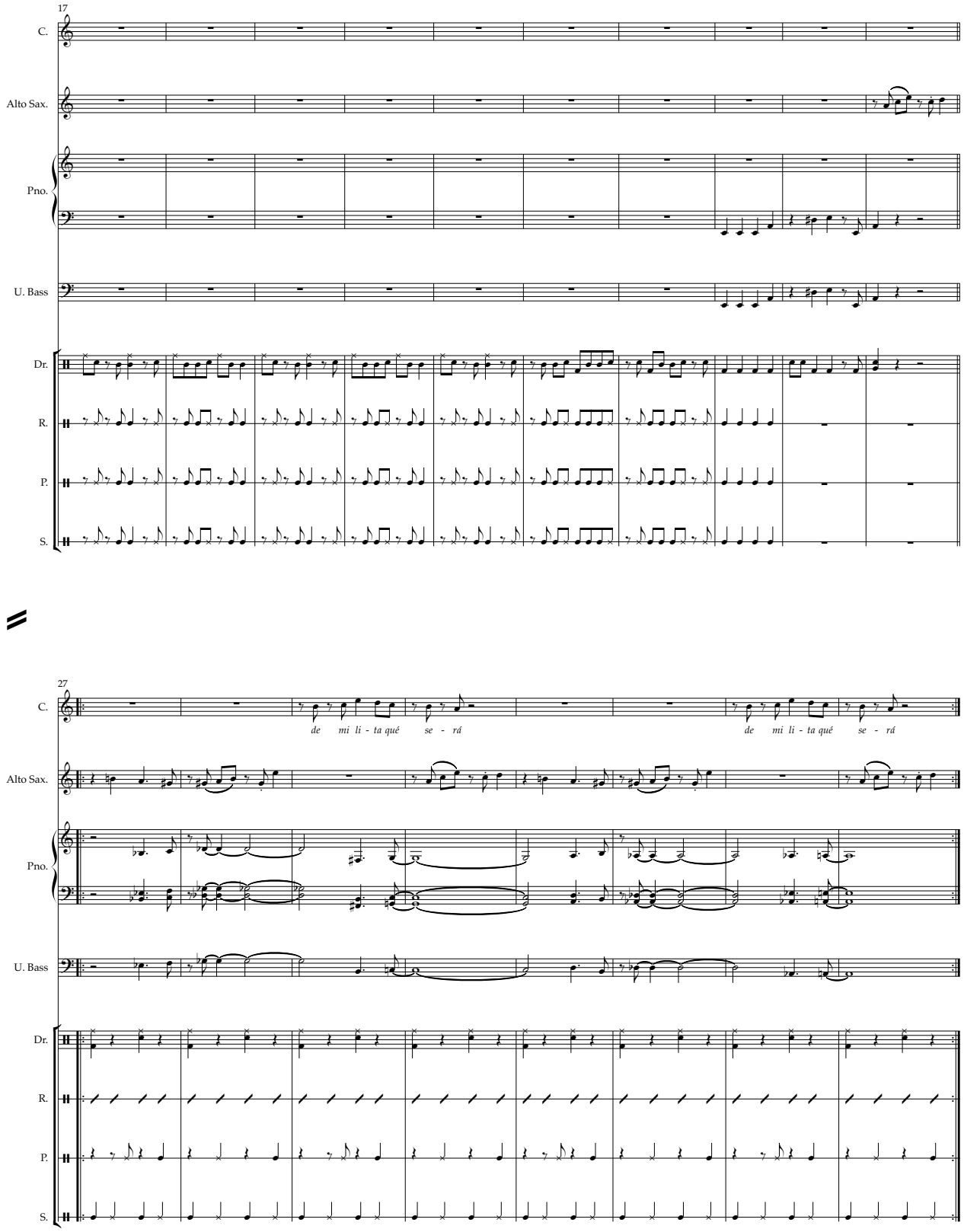

Figure 9 (cont.). A transcription of the solo-phrases played by the *panderetas* and the drum-set, with transition into the refrain.

cultures being “separate but equal,” as much as it is epitomized by the fluid space that manifests from the confluence of these cultures. Just as it is difficult to discern where *plena* ends and jazz begins, for example, the same can be said for the many cultures that can be present–and expressed–actively in one individual.

Joyce Moreno: *Femenina*, Feminism, and *Brasilidade*

Joyce Moreno
(Photo: The Arts Fuse 2015, December 17)

Many times I write, not about myself, but about the things that I see around me. . . . Also the music which I think is something that has no [gender]; it doesn't matter if it's made by a woman or man . . . . Music itself has no gender, has no color– music is another step up in communication, in feeling, in everything. It's the language of the gods. . . . Lyric-wise, then, yes: I am talking about my perspective and the things that I see from the place where I am.

–Joyce Moreno (2020)

Vocalist, guitarist, and songwriter Joyce Moreno is a living institution of Brazilian music history. In a career that has spanned some fifty years, Moreno has made a name for herself as a lyrical and musical heavyweight among heavyweights. Personally recognized by poet Vinicius de Moraes as the first person in Brazil to write popular music from the feminine perspective, Moreno's work is that which that literary precision, tradition, creativity, and her unique version of feminism. Moreno's creative output is one that draws on the artistic triumphs of artists from across the

globe, manifesting within her music and lyricism as a rich tapestry of metaphor, harmonic exposition, musical virtuosity, and relatable prose that tell stories of the everyday woman. These stories are real stories, which is part of what makes Moreno's work so important: Moreno takes the everyday life of Brazilian women and is able to capture that in lyric and melody, the likes of which bear the marks of a master songwriter, philosopher, and poet. This all done during a time when virtually no one was interested in writing about the lives of everyday Brazilian women, presented by a relatively unknown performer, in a male-dominated space within Brazilian popular culture. It was Moreno's individuality, strength, and character that supported a career that has continued to provide Brazil–and the world–with excellence the likes of which some Brazil's most prestigious artists have recognized.

Growing up with *Samba* and *Bossa Nova* in Rio de Janeiro

Born in Rio de Janeiro in 1948, Moreno began her musical career at fourteen. Moreno's home was a constant meeting place of musicians due in large part to her older brother, Newton, being an active guitarist in the Rio scene. While Newton would go on to study law, his friendships with notable Brazilian musicians like Roberto Menescal and Eumir Deodato would prove fruitful for his sister's budding musical

career. Either by coincidence or fate, Moreno grew amongst artists that would go on to shape not only the *bossa nova* in the 1950s, but also popular music in Brazil and abroad. Menescal would begin his career founding one of the first *bossa nova* bands in Rio de Janeiro, later being credited as one of the founding artists of the burgeoning music along with the likes of Tom Jobim, Vinicius de Moraes, Newton Mendoça, and Ronaldo Bôscoli, and Carlos Lyra (Treece 1997:6). After an active career as a songwriter, writing *bossa nova* standards such as “O Barquinho” and “Jura de Pombo," Menescal lent his talents as an arranger and producer on behalf of Swedish-based PolyGram records, working with MPB icons such as Maria Bethânia, Gal Costa, Gilberto Gil, and others. Along with Menescal, Eumir Deodato would begin his career as an early progenitor of *bossa nova* in Rio de Janeiro. By the 1970s, Deodato had moved to New York City and began working for CTI records. Deodato’s work as an arranger and producer would see him to earn three Grammy Award nominations, one Grammy Award for “Also Sprach Zarathustra (2001)," and the credits for over 500 works in collaboration with the likes of Kool & the Gang, Hubert Laws, and many others in the United States. It would be Menescal who would invite Moreno to sing in her studio debut, working under Menescal as a fourteen year old hired gun, and

setting off a career that is still marked by innovation, success, and creativity to this day.

Brazil experienced an era of of optimism, enacted through the implementation of progressive policies during the late-1950s. Upon entering the presidency in 1955, Juscelino Kubitschek sought to launch Brazil "fifty years forward in five," aiming to place Brazil on equal footing with global powers such as the United States, the United Kingdom, and others. Kubitschek deliberately relocated the capital from Rio de Janeiro to Brasilia, constructing a metropolis that would prove to be an architectural marvel of mid-century design in South America. This move was an industrial show of power as much as it was an attempt to bridge together the metropolitan centers of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo with the rural interior of the country. National pride swelled and confidence in the strength and resiliency of the Brazilian country—as well as the Brazilian ideology—became the bedrock for the development of new art, social perspectives, politics, and culture:

> Thus, the 1950s were actually marked by an extraordinary phase of artistic effervescence. There were responses from the world of architectural design through the formalism of Niemeyer's buildings in the new capital; from the literary world through the concrete movement; and from the serious music world which was turning to serialism . . . . Creative impetus during the Kubitschek regime focused on the formal organisation of the materials under aesthetic treatment. Lines, colours, words or sounds were to be arranged into clearly defined relationships of geometric precision, avoiding all signs of

> rusticity as well as the exoticising 'folkloric quotations' that had marked earlier nationalist movements. (Reily 1996:6)

The *bossa nova* itself–which can be translated from the original Portuguese as "*the new wave*" (Roy 2006:38)–can be seen as a reflection this social and cultural push forward. When Antonio Carlos Jobim put pen to paper for "Aguas do Março," he had already been a student of the classical impressionist movement for decades, pulling from Maurice Ravel and Claude Debussy as much as he did Heitor Villa-Lobos. Jobim, however, was also intimately familiar with the musical contributions of saxophonist Pixinguinha (Alfredo da Rocha Viana Filho), perhaps the most notable figure of the Brazilian *choro*. The *choro,* characterized by its instrumental virtuosity, blended musics like the German polka with the Brazilian *maxixe*[5]*,* utilizing the sounds of distinctly Brazilian instruments like the *pandeiro* and *cavaquinho* (shown in figure 10) with the accordion, guitar, and flute:

> [In 1845] the genre arrived in Rio de Janeiro, a time when social dances were shifting from group dance to couple dances. There are several explanations of the term "*choro,*" which refers to weeping. . . the label comes from the melancholy way in which Brazilian musicians phrased polka melodies. . . . created by the modulations and low-register guitar countermelodies that are

[5] The *maxixe,* an antecedent genre of the *samba* and *bossa nova,* developed in the late nineteenth century in "Rio's northside Cidade Nova, rapidly filling with poor, dark-skinned newcomers in the last decades of the nineteenth century, people with *lundu* in their sinews shook a leg to polka - and the result was *maxixe"* (Chasteen 1996:38). It is important to note that *maxixe* "was not a specific rhythm, it was a way of moving one's body and also a way of syncopating and accenting the performance of the music" (Chasteen 1996:39). The maxixe remained popular until the 1920s in urban Rio de Janiero.

> characteristic of the genre. By the 1870s and 1880s, a group of composers and performers in Rio de Janeiro had begun to add *choro* to their repertoire of polkas, tangos, and *maxixes*. The typical instrumentation was a flute, two guitars with six out seven strings, and *cavaquinho*. Before the jazz band instrumentation became popular in the 1920s, and while the samba was still emerging, *choro* groups provided much of music heard in cafés and private parties. (Roy 2006: 30-31)

By the turn of the twentieth century, the prototypical *sambas* had begun to take shape. Originating in the state of Bahia, the musics brought to Brazil by the Africans of the Angola-Congo region developed into folkloric, creole musics in the Northeast. After the abolition of slavery in 1888, many Afro-Brazilians moved from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro in an attempt to start over, find employment, and build lives in the metropolis. As was the case in many parts of the New World post-emancipation, Afro-Brazilians were met with racism, bigotry, and prejudice, being forced to move into the underdeveloped hillsides of the capital. These Bahian migrants would seek to build communities in their new home, often using religion and music as the backdrop. Like

A *pandeiro*, which features *platinelas* (small cymbal-like jingles) and a tunable raw-hide

The Brazilian *cavaquinho*. This small, four-string, guitar-like instrument is tuned high,

Figure 10. A *pandeiro* and *cavaquinho*.

santería in Cuba, *candomblé* formed in Brazil as a syncretic religion, fusing Catholic iconography and orthodoxy with West and Central African philosophy, polytheism, and ritual. Candomblé carried with it re-interpreted musics, recreated in Brazil with the materials they had at hand, often in secret and away from those who would persecute *candomblé* worship. These rhythms made their way down the Brazilian coast, from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro in the late-nineteenth century, influencing the performance of secular dance musics like the *lundú* and *maxixe*. At meeting places, like the home of *condomblé* priestess Tia Ciata (Hilária Batista de Almeida) in the Praza Onze neighborhood of Rio de Janeiro provided a place for these musics to be shared, played free of judgement, and for innovation to take shape.

As these musics intertwined, the sound of urban Rio de Janeiro began to take shape. The early *sambas* came out of the blending of *lundú*, *maxixe*, polkas, and other styles of popular (e.g., Argentine *tango*) and Brazilian religious rhythms. The term itself was quite ubiquitous, referring to a "polyrhythmic dance (with percussive accompaniment) . . . from Pará to Rio Grande do Sul. . . . It was more an event (as in 'an all-night samba') or a style of body movement than a particular step" or style of music (Chasteen 1996: 30). Artists like Sinhô (Jose Barbosa da Silva), Heitor dos Prazeres, Pixinguinha, João da Baiana (João Machado Guedes), and Donga (Ernesto

Joaquim Maria dos Santos), among others were some of these trailblazers, with the first recorded "samba"—"Pelo Telefone" (1917)—being credited to Donga (Maya 2006:8). While Donga might be the artist credited as the first to record the quintessential Brazilian genre, ownership remains the subject of controversy and debate. Donga, along with many other artists previously mentioned, all frequented Tia Ciata's home, the place where this samba was first sang and played. It was indeed a group effort, the product of many musicians. It was Donga who managed to register the lyrics first at the National Library of Brazil in Rio de Janeiro, and who we now remember as keeper of the early samba in Brazil.

In fact, Donga's "Pelo Telefone" was a far cry away from the percussion driven *samba* that many know today. The original recording featured only guitar, clarinet, banjo, and voices—no percussion at all. The *samba batucadas* and *samba carnavalesco* that most are familiar with today are rooted in civil war and neglect, taking shape as a statement of resistance, of expression, and of solidarity in the early twentieth century. After the close of the bloody Guerra de Canudos (The Canudos War) (1895-1898) soldiers returning from Bahia awaited their pay in an encampment they built in modern day Provedência. This small encampment in the northern horn of Rio de Janeiro would become the first *favela*, a term originally used in reference to the *favela*

trees that these soldiers came to hate due to its propensity to inflame the skin upon touching its bark. Settlements like the one at Provedência began to crop up around Rio de Janeiro as many made their way to the capital at the close of the nineteenth century with little more than the clothes on their backs and no means to afford legitimate housing in the urban neighborhoods of lower Rio de Janeiro. As the influx of people increased so did these settlements, such that they began to take shape as neighborhoods surrounding the city centers and climbing ever higher up the hillsides, all of which lacking basic utilities or infrastructure. By the 1920s Brazilian officials began to take aim at these *morros*, hillside neighborhoods of Morro de Formiga, Morro dois Irmãs, and Morro da Provedência among others. These people, who constituted the lower socioeconomic strata of Rio de Janeiro upon their arrival, were often pushed out of their homes as the state implemented various civil engineering and public service projects (i.e, the construction of electrical grids, gas lines, waterlines, etc.). *Favelados*—those living the *favelas*—often had to relocate and re-build their homes farther and farther away, all while metropolitan authorities continued to ignore the need for basic utilities, infrastructure, and civil support. These neighborhoods became places where marginalized and neglected segments of Brazilians—the vast majority of whom were Afro-Brazilian—struggled to build their

their lives and their communities. As a result, crime and disease became—and remains —common in these spaces.

By the turn of the twentieth century, prototypical forms of the *samba* had been played, heard, and hated for some years within the city limits. The roots of *samba* lie in the rhythms of *candomblé* ceremonies, and as such, were disliked by the majority of the middle-class, white Brazilians:

> This was an era during which racism was widely prevalent in Brazilian society. Only recently freed from slavery, Blacks were still viewed by most Brazilians of Portuguese descent as inferior; most were uneducated and lived in precarious conditions. Afro-Brazilian religions were seen as akin to witchcraft and sorcery and were feared by the larger white society; the samba, with its possible origins in Afro-Brazilian religious celebrations, was not distinguished as a separate musical form for many years. From the turn of the century until the late 1920s the samba-as a musical phenomenon-was largely ignored by white Brazilians. Newspapers from the era show that rather than appreciate Afro- Brazilian music, whites in Rio instead called upon the police to deal harshly with Brazil's musical slum-dwellers. One contemporary letter to the editor proclaimed: "From Thursday to Friday, From Saturday to Sunday, all night long, these peoples' batuque, their screaming and the songs of these detestable revelers disturbs the sleep of their neighbors." (Raphael 1990:74)

During *carnaval*, the annual festival marking the beginning of Catholic lent, drummers caught playing these rhythms were quickly quelled by the police; ideologies popular at the time amongst high-standing *cariocas* (people from Rio de Janeiro) was that the African presence in Brazilian society was a "plague" to society (Raphael 1990:75). While parades and music were permitted in formal *carnaval*, they

were only open to *grandes sociadades* (*"high society clubs"*) comprising of white Brazilians; the Afro-Brazilians were relegated to celebrating in their own neighborhoods most often in the form of *ranchos*, "a tradition from Brazil's northeast, with costumes, musical instruments, and an overall theme" (Raphael 1990: 75). The silver lining here was that those participating in these informal celebrations were free to organize, dress, and play as they wished, leading to the formation of distinct *blocos* ("*groups*") that would travel between neighborhoods to compete in show. It would be in these *blocos* that the *samba* would be developed and grown into a global music over the course of the twentieth century. Despite the vitriol against them, the *blocos* leaned into their African heritage, choosing to codify the musical practices and promulgate the music through community organized "schools." The first *escola de samba* (*"samba school"*) was founded in 1926, across the street from an elementary school in the Praza Onze neighborhood of Rio de Janeiro. They named themselves "Deixa Falar" ("*let them speak*"), with many more neighborhoods like Estação Primeira de Mangueira, Grêmio Recreativo Escola de Samba Acadêmicos do Salgueiro, Grêmio Recreativo Escola de Samba Unidos da Tijuca, Grêmio Recreativo Escola de Samba Mocidade Independente de Padre Miguel, and Grêmio Recreativo Escola de Samba Beija-Flor following suit. By the 1930s artists had begun to respect the spectacles put on by these

community organizations and politicians began to see a way to capitalize on its success. Pedro Ernesto, the governor of Rio de Janeiro in 1930 recognized in the *samba de morro* competitions a means to further the populist rhetoric set forth by then president Getúlio Vargas. Ernesto offered the samba schools the right to compete in the formal *carnaval* celebrations downtown, along with financial support, as long as they abided by regulations set in place by the municipality, most notably, that the theme should be centered around notable figures in Brazilian national history. The result was a consolidation of *carnaval* as a symbol of Brazilian national identity, supported by the rhythms, pageantry, dance, and competitions started by the *blocos* and their *ranchos* from the *favelas*. The *samba carnavalesco*, as the world would recognize it, had begun.

Musically, the *samba* from the *morros* developed in response to the rapidly growing number of musicians, dancers, and performers being added to the *escolas*. The rhythms that would make their way into the *bossa nova* in the 1950s began as patterns on various *samba* percussion such as the *surdo, tamborim*, and *caixa* in addition to *pandeiro* and the *cuica*. The *surdo* pattern, for example, developed out of the necessity to keep time over large distances and within the context of many other percussionists. Musicians like Alcebíades Maia Barcelos “Bide” of the Estácio de Sá

neighborhood began to play the second pulse on large drums to mark time, as well as implement the *tamborim* within *samba* percussion sections. The interplay between the *surdos, tamborim,* and *caixa* encapsulate the sound of *samba carnavalesco*, juxtaposing syncopation (played on the *caixa* and *tamborim*) with pulse-oriented ostinato holding the section together like glue. It should also be remembered that the patterns played on these instruments, while ubiquitous within the context of *samba,* were tailored to each school's taste, needs, ensemble, and tradition. The patterns on *caixa*, for example, are some of the most varied and protected, serving to differentiate *samba* schools by sound alone. These instruments have been presented, along with brief descriptions of their organology in figure 11; Their respective rhythms–presented in reduction–have been transcribed in figure 12.

From Bahian *candomblé* ceremony to spectacle in Rio de Janeiro, the *samba* emerged from neglected and marginalized to become a symbol of national pride by the onset of the 1950s. While the *morros* and *favelas* remained–and in many ways worsened in the mid-twentieth century–the music that was born there flourished across the nation. The *samba* now began to branch into differentiating types: there was the *samba canrnavalesco,* with its dozens of percussionists and pageantry; there were softer *sambas,* played in smaller ensembles that catered to Brazil's burgeoning

The Brazilian *surdo* is a large, single-headed drum, usually played with a mallet while marching. There can be one to three sizes of *surdo* in the percussion section.

The *tamborim* is a small, single-headed drum played with a splayed mallet.

The *caixa* is a single-headed drum played with two sticks, held with the arms while marching. It has a sounding snare wire attached to the front or back that resonates as it's played.

The *pandeiro* is a small, single-headed frame drum, constructed with sounding jingles, and played with the hand.

The *cuica* is a single-headed frame friction drum that is played by manipuLating the tension on the sounding head to

Figure 11. Percussion instruments commonly found in *samba blocos*.

record industry, marketed as *samba-canção;* and there were *samba* like Ary Barroso's famous "Aqurela do Brasil," called *samba-exaltação* that were written specifically to "exalt" the principals of the Brazilian national identity. By the mid-twentieth century

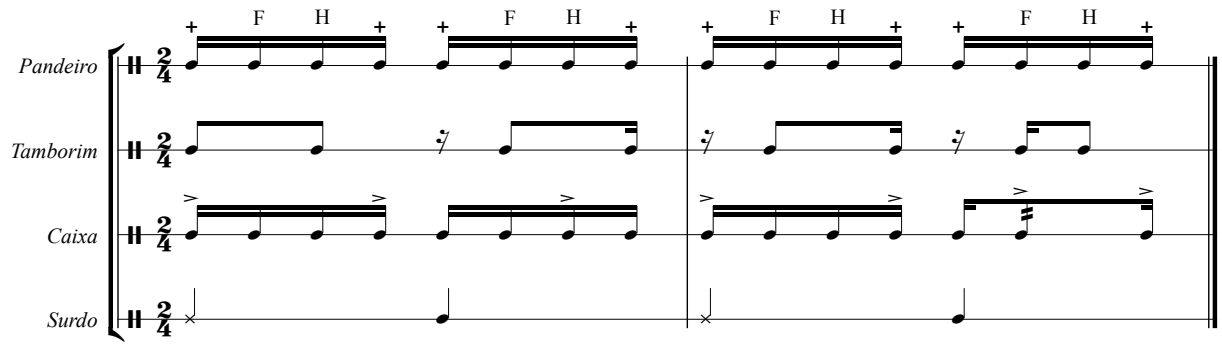

Figure 12. Percussion rhythms commonly heard in *samba blocos*. Note that "F" stands for a strike performed with the fingers and "H" refers to a strike performed with the heel of the palm.

Brazil was primed for the formation of an ethos–*brasilidade*–that would pride itself on its resiliency and creativity. It would be within this cultural and political context that the *bossa nova* would take shape, materializing through the lyrics, voices, songwriting that small group of musicians in Rio de Janeiro, some of which frequent visitors of Joyce Moreno's home in the 1950s. They would draw upon *choro,* jazz, *samba,* classical impressionism, and northeastern Brazilian folkloric music to create a refined and sophisticated music.

Perhaps most well known of these musicians was Antonio Carlos Jobim, who with Vinicius de Moraes, would pen the music and lyrics to "Garota de Impanema" ("The Girl from Impanema") in 1960. Moraes had already penned the lyrics to "Chega de Saudade" in 1954, and Jobim along with other musicians had been refining the sound through the 1950s. The success of Marcel Camu's *Orfeu Negro*

("Black Orpheus") (1959), brought with it some of the first international attention to this new music, particularly to Jobim's "A Felicidade" and Luiz Bonfa's "A Mañha de Carnaval" which have since become standards of *bossa nova* repertoire. It was in 1958 that João Gilberto recorded "Desafinado," originally composed by Jobim and Newton Mendoça, becoming the first track to be credited as a *bossa nova* (Reily 1996:2). The combination of Moraes's somber lyricism, with Jobim's compositional approach that melded French impressionism with Brazilian popular and folkloric musical vocabulary[6], with Gilberto's vulnerable, incredibly precise vocal style that solidified the aesthetic. Jobim's renditions of "Desafinado" and "Aguas do Março" became such staples of the music partly because of his guitar accompaniment technique, which was as precise as his vocal performance. Gilberto maintained a steady quarter-note bass line, usually outlining the roots of the chords or the fifth scale degree, while using syncopated chord ostinati to reflect the chord structure. These syncopated chord movements can be noticed as having a striking resemblance to the the *tamborim* typical patterns played in the *samba carnavalesco blocos.* These rhythms, along with a

[6] Here "vocabulary" is not meant in the literal sense, but rather is used to refer to the compositional and improvisational phrases, melodies, rhythms, and harmonic progressions typically used in the Brazilian cannon of popular and folkloric musics. Listing such "vocabulary" lies out of the scope of this project as volumes have been written on the subject, in the form of both academic analyses and performance practice guidebooks (Freeman 2019; Roy 2002; Reily 1996; Priore 2008).

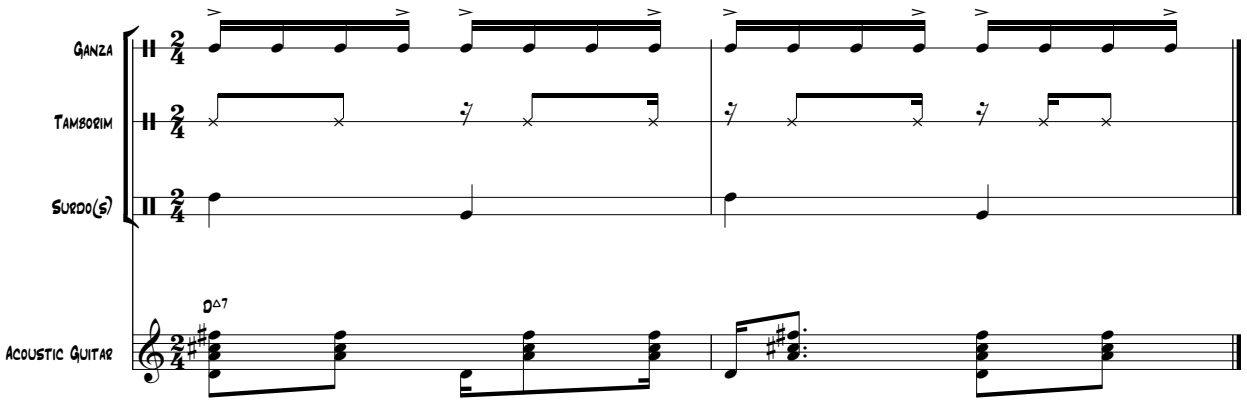

Figure 13. Percussion rhythms, along with a reduction of a typical guitar accompaniment.

reduction of a typical guitar accompaniment pattern has been presented in figure 13. This transcription also includes a *ganza* ("shaker") pattern that is also typically used in *bossa nova* performances. It should also be noted that the transcription presented do not reflect the feel with which *samba, choro,* and some *bossa nova* is played. Specifically, the manipulation of the sixteenth-note subdivisions underlying performances of these musics, producing a sounding "lilt" to the music. This "lilt"–very similar to the jazz swung eight-note–is paramount in the proper performance of *samba* and *choro* music. Amongst Brazilian musicians, this aspect of the music is referred to as *swingue* (transliteration of "*swing*") and remains near impossible to efficiently reflect in written notation. With this in mind, accent marks have been placed over the first and last sixteenth-notes of the *ganza* transcribed pattern to aid in the conceptualization of this aspect.

The 1960s would see the *bossa nova* rise to international popularity, becoming as much a part of Brazilian musical history as it did pan-Latin American musical expression. Domestically, the *bossa nova* would inspire and influence countless generations of artists for decades after its inception at places like Tia Ciata's home in Praza Onze and the *escolas de samba* in Rio de Janeiro. The music would not go uncriticized, principally for being a "'*favela*' music thrice removed":

> First, the genre's appearance remains anachronistic: . . . the genre did not make it up the hill that quickly either as performance style, in recordings, via radio or television broadcast, or in live performances. Second, the style's sophisticated amalgam of diverse sources reflects, for lack of a better term, 'white' cosmopolitanism specific to a *zona sul* upper-class milieu. . . . bossa nova gains cultural currency as a music of 'the people', as a national music, a status never truly realised [sic] despite its easily recognised [sic] 'Brazilian-ness'. . . . This remarkable musical style stood to add to its powerful musical integrity a currency gained through negrismo's valorisation [sic] of African-Brazilian culture through a socially charged aesthetic commodification. With its hard-earned musical modernity somewhat exploited, we see bossa nova denied on screen . . . its progressiveness. (Grasse 2004:301-302)

As much as the *bossa nova* would come to be criticized, even by Brazilian music icons[7], the stamp of artists like Jobim, Moraes, Lyra, Menescal, Gilberto, and others would leave an indelible mark on Brazilian music. For Moreno, growing up in Rio de

[7] There were Brazilian musicians who did not take to the *bossa nova*. In fact, there were many—such as the renowned pianist and composer João Donato—who are outwardly unenthusiastic with the movement, calling it "rather boring" (Freeman 2019:9). This was also in addition to many critics who saw the music as an "americanization" and "commercialization" of Brazilian music (Freeman 2019; Stroud 2000).

Janeiro just in time to see the music popularize, the *bossa nova* became a vehicle through which her own artistry would take shape. By the late-1960s, Moreno had begun to work professionally with Menescal as a studio vocalist, had been writing original compositions of her own, and had taken to the guitar both as a student studying under Jodacil Damasceno and giving private lessons. It would be in 1967 that Moreno would break onto the Rio music scene as a solo artist—and controversially so—with her performance in the second Festival Internacional da Canção. Music festivals had become a tradition of Rio de Janeiro since 1908, becoming platforms for new artists to compete for cash-prizes, recognition, and even recording deals. By the 1960s, such competitions had become major televised events. In 1967, Moreno submitted “Me Disseram," which was an original composition written in the feminine, first-person perspective. Moreno would be criticized by journalists like Sergio Porto—known at the time by his pseudonym Stanislaw Ponte Preta—who would denounce Moreno’s composition for showcasing a particular *vulguridade* or vulgarity on the festival stage (Maria 2018). Such a critique was aimed towards Moreno’s unabashed and transparent lyrics, which tell the story of a woman being warned that her lover is not to be trusted, that he is a vagabond and bohemian. The woman, however, acknowledges all of this, and in what can be seen as an act of independence, chooses

to continue to love him despite these warnings. In this story, the woman is not the context—'she who would be conquered' or 'she who has broken a man's heart'—but rather is the reason for the story itself; she is the one who chooses to make her own decisions, even while knowing those decisions might lead to catastrophe. In many ways, painting a narrative with such agency ascribed to a woman during this era in Brazilian society was an act of resistance in-and-of itself, and as such, painted a target on Moreno's back. If the lyrics weren't enough, Moreno was also a young woman at the time—only nineteen at her performance in 1967—which further intimidated and perturbed Moreno's critics. In a later encounter with Porto, he penned a stunning rebuke of Moreno's "Superego," saying that her music was "*uma grande música, difícil de acreditar que tenha sido feita por uma mulher*" (*"great music, difficult believe that it was made by a woman"*) (Maria 2018). Both "Me Disseram" and "Superego" would prove to be a career-openers for Joyce, with the former winning her second-place in the Festival competition and the latter earning her the attention of icons such as Milton Nascimento.

Brasilidade: Music for the People

Despite the contention that Moreno faced, the fact remained that her exceptional artistic caliber was undeniable. None other than Vinicius de Moraes, the poet who along with Tom Jobim and others is credited as one of the fathers of bossa nova, would write the liner notes for Moreno's first album in 1968. In those notes, de Moraes paints a picture of an individual whom he has seen grow into a centered, confident, multifaceted, creative, informed musician. A musician who he sees as a bearer of Brazilian music, the same music he himself had a hand in shaping. There is a respect in de Moraes's words, presented along with his characteristic romanticism, that speaks to his recognition of an artist that will contribute and shape the music herself in the decades to come:

> Mas prefiro falar de uma outra Joyce, uma que não tem nada a ver com a que se forma este ano em jornalismo pela PUC e que uma noite, há uns dois anos atrás, chegou assim pra mim, num espetáculo de que eu participava no Arena, e disse: "Eu queria fazer uma entrevista com você, ô cara." E fez.
>
> Prefiro falar de uma Joyce que aos 11 anos tinha paixão por Tom e colava seus retratos, e desde os 3 ficava ouvindo "Urubu Malandro" sem parar; uma que conhecia Menescal desde menininha e que de vez em quando gravava "jingles" com ele só de farra; uma que antes de completar 20 já fez por aí umas três dezenas de bons sambas, música e letra, que canta com uma voz linda e afinadíssima, acompanhando-se ao violão com grande sentido harmônico e um ritmo exemplar; uma que foi classificada para as finais do II Festival Internacional da Canção e que agora está fazendo uma parceria firme com o

meu bom e grande Macalé: outro que quando "estourar," vai-se ouvir na Conchinchina.
[. . .]

É dessa Joyce que eu gosto de falar, pois essa é a Joyce que vai dar o que falar: a Joyce que é toda musicalidade, que tem em alto grau o sentido das palavras e conhece o mistério de seu casamento com as notas. A Joyce que está aqui neste LP com seus primeiros anseios, recados e frustrações de amor e entra com o pé direito na moderna canção popular brasileira. E, além do mais, com aqueles olhos verdes e aquela graça toda... Pôxa, assim não vale...

[*But I prefer to talk of another Joyce, who has nothing to do with the one who will graduate this year from PUC's journalism school and who, one night two years ago, came to me just like that, at a show at the Arena theatre in which I participated, and said: "Hey, man, I want to do an interview with you." And she did.*

I prefer to talk of a Joyce who at the age of eleven had a crush on Tom and pasted up his pictures, and who had been listening to "Urubu Malandro" uninterruptedly from the age of three; the one who had known Menescal since she was a tike and who every now and then recorded jingles with him just for a lark; one who before she had turned twenty had already made dozens of good sambas, both music and lyrics, who sings with a beautiful and attuned voice, accompanying herself on guitar with great harmonic sense and exemplary rhythm; one who reached the finals of the Second International Song Festival and who is now teaming up with my excellent and great Macalé: another one who, when he "explodes," will be heard in Indochina.
[. . .]

It's of this Joyce that I like to talk, for this is the Joyce who will give people a reason to talk: the Joyce who is all musicality, who appreciates the meaning of words to a high degree and knows the mystery of their marriage to musical notes.

The Joyce who is here in this LP with her first anxieties, messages, and frustrations in love and who enters modern Brazilian popular song with the right foot. And besides, with those green eyes and all that grace... Darn, it's not fair...] (de Moraes 1968)

De Moraes's words would age gracefully, foreshadowing a career that would see Moreno working in the highest echelons of Brazilian popular musics. What de Moraes saw in Joyce was a continuation of the Brazilian approach to popular music, one characterized by a particular emphasis on sophisticated lyricism, coupled with harmonic sophistication, colored with a recognizable intent to materialize tradition through a lens of individualistic and fearless creativity. These same qualities can be seen in the work countless Brazilian songwriters, but perhaps there is no better example than that of Noel Rosa. Often painted as the quintessential *sambista,* Noel Rosa's witty, relatable lyrics have left an indelible mark on Brazilian music. His songbook—which has recently entered the public domain—comprises of some two hundred and sixty songs, written over a span of eight years before his death of tuberculosis in 1936. Rosa was only twenty-six at the time of his death, but his legacy is one that is steeped in the life of the *malandro:*

> His *brasilidade* is a kind of anti-identity grounded in the often unflattering commonplaces of Brazilian or more specifically *carioca* (Rio) life, such as the gambling, womanising [sic] and petty crimes of the *malandro*, a spiv or hustler usually of mixed race. A true champion of popular identity, Rosa was affectionately referred to as "the philosopher of samba" and "the chronicler of everyday life." He captured the essence of daily existence in Rio's less glamorous districts with a warts-and-all realism and a liberal dose of humour [sic], but many of his observations display a subtlety which aligns him with the Brazilian Modernist writers and artists, particularly with a group of erudite

> poets, who, in the same era, were articuLating very similar notions of the national spirit. (Shaw 2002:82)

While the socio-political specificities may have been different for Rosa during the 1930s, what he saw people struggling with—poverty, political corruption, racism—remained well into the 1960s. In the bustling metropolis that was turn-of-the-century Rio de Janeiro, the *malandro* developed as a multifaceted symbol of life in the city: a quick witted con-man, no stranger to debauchery and petty crime, but one who has not lost his moral center. In many ways, the *malandro* can be seen as *jeitinho* (literally translated as the "little way") incarnate:

> *Jeitinho*, that most Brazilian informal institution, a way of subverting authority for personal advantage . . . As Lívia Neves de H. Barbosa says, *jeitinho* is a positive way of interpreting and portraying Brazil's historical and racial legacy, and emphasizes the human and natural aspects of social reality, rather than the political, bureaucratic, official institutional aspects. It is thus the essence of the *brasilidade* depicted in Noel Rosa's lyrics. (Shaw 1998:159)

The *malandro,* therefore, is an abstraction: a romanticized symbol of agency and resistance, taking the all too familiar visage of someone trying to do the best they can, given the cards they've been dealt. For many *cariocas* who found themselves out of work, uneducated, and not visibly of pure European decent, surviving required a certain creativity and tenacity. It would be those qualities that would form the *modus operandi* of the *malandro* mythos. Within the context of the *samba*, the *malandro* was

someone who met these unfair challenges with a blasé nihilism, conning his way out of commitments, engaging in simple pleasures to dull the pain of life, holding his music—the *samba*—as his only moral center, because it is through the *samba* that respect may be given where it is truly deserved: *o povo dos barrios* [*"the people of the neighborhood and everyday person"*]. In this way the *malandro* is respected, offering all he has to venerate the layperson: his creativity as song, his intellect as social commentary, and his courage to critique those in power on behalf of those oppressed.

Rosa epitomized *maladragem*, not only in lyric and in song, but also in his short life. Rosa abandoned his medical studies for a life on the streets of Rio de Janeiro, and along the way befriended other artists, many of whom not sharing his visibly European heritage nor his upper-middle class upbringing. Rosa's close friend Angenor de Oliveira "Cartola" would play a principal role in founding the Grêmio Recreativo Escola de Samba Estação Primeira de Mangueira in 1928, one of Brazil's oldest *samba carnavalesco* schools. While Rosa's aim for the music was not aligned completely with *sambistas* like Cartola, the music would come to represent Brazilian culture and national pride in its many forms, from the *carnaval* parade to the salons and clubs across Rio de Janeiro. The core of the music, however, remained with the people who tended to the samba, who listened to it and inspired its lyrics, and who danced to it

and sang it in the avenues. This, for Rosa, was where the essence of the *samba* lay: In its power to reflect the lives of the everyday Brazilian, along with their struggles, their triumphs, and their dignity. This, for Rosa, was his form of patriotism and pride, his *brasilidade:*

> Rosa shuns the rhetoric of nationalism, but nevertheless articulates his own, "popular" version of patriotism, which resides in the coinage of everyday thought and particularly in that most Brazilian of cultural products, the samba. In his lyrics samba is an antidote to poverty and it has the power to transform everyday existence . . . . Those who create samba, as well as their art from itself, become the focus of the patriotic pride. For Rosa, samba represents the essence of *brasilidade* and of the national psyche, and it is an innate gift of the Brazilian people. (Shaw 2002:85)

For Rosa, the *samba* was more than just music, it was an ideology that he lived and died by. He traded his upper-middle class life for one saturated with the sights and sounds of the *bairros* of urban Rio de Janeiro. In so doing, he was able to crystallize what he saw into lyric, using the *samba* as a tool for uplifting and respecting the everyday person, as well as sharing the realities of such a life with stinging transparency. Rosa's collaboration with *samba* innovators like Cartola, André Filho, and Arthur Costa, among others, would cast him as an influencer in the genre himself, working to shape the music into a conscientious expression of brazilian-ness or *brasilidade*, replete with sharp wit and social critique. In this aim, Rosa would use the *malandro* as a tool for illustrating with lyric and song the struggles of life in *os bairros*

["the neighborhoods"]. Far from a glorification, *maladragem* was a necessary evil, a blasé nihilism that functioned as a means to survive in a society that ignored—if not outright oppressed—its citizens of color. Rosa's influence—his quick wit, social critique, and focus on the everyday Brazilian—would remain with the music, as can be seen in his "Filosofia" presented below.

It was this same approach that Joyce Moreno so beautifully exercised in *Feminina* (1968). Where Rosa would focus on the life of Brazilians living urban Rio de Janeiro, Moreno would aim her music at the everyday Brazilian woman. Moreno did not do so utilizing the well-worn tropes of love and lust, but rather, painted with melody and lyric a picture of women working, struggling, and living with dignity in a society that would not legally deem women as equals to men until the passing of the Citizens' Constitution of 1988. Even when Moreno did decide to write of love—as she did in "Me Disseram"—she did so positioning the woman as protagonist, knowing full well what the circumstances of her problematic relationship was, but choosing to love despite that. She became—at nineteen years old—the first woman to write in the feminine first person, and did so with remarkable candor, respect, and quality. Even for those that might have doubted Moreno, de Moraes—an institution in Brazilian poetry and songwriting himself—would quell those doubts with his praise, acceptance,

and collaboration with Moreno as an equal. Moreno would become the first songwriter—male or female—to write Brazilian popular music in the female perspective (Moreno 2020). Whether by choice or fate, Moreno had now entered become an innovator and trailblazer as an artist, all before the age of twenty.

"Filosofia" —Noel Rosa and André Filho (1933)

O mundo me condena	The world condemns me
E ninguém tem pena	And nobody takes pity on me
Falando sempre mal do meu nome	Always speaking ill of me
Deixando de saber	Failing to enquire
Se eu vou morrer de sede	If I'm going to die of thirst
Ou se vou morrer de fome	Of if I'm going to die of hunger
Mas a filosofia	But my philosophy
Hoje me auxilia	Today helps me
A viver indiferente assim	To remain indifferent
Nesta prontidão sem fim	In these endless hard times
Vou fingindo que sou rico	I pretend to be rich
Pra ninguém zombar de mim	So that nobody mocks me

(Shaw 2002:84)

Feminina ou Feminismo (Feminina or Feminism)*?*

By the opening of the 1970s, the Fifth Brazilian Republic (otherwise known as the Military Dictatorship of 1964—1985) was at its zenith. Brazil, socio-economically, was struggling to keep a flailing economy from collapse, ever growing political unrest, and a society in flux. Artists, as they often do, reflected this in their work, even as censorship often stifled, stalled and punished anti-government sentiments in many

“Me Disseram” – Joyce Moreno

Já me disseram	They’ve already told me
Que meu homem não me ama	That my man doesn’t love me
Me contaram que tem fama	They told me that he’s famous
De fazer mulher chorar	For making women cry
E me informaram	And they informed me
Que ele é da boemia	That he is a bohemian
Chega em casa todo dia	He stays at home all day
Bem depois do sol raiar	Late into the afternoon
Só eu sei	Only I know
Que ele gosta de carinho	That he likes affection
Que não quer ficar sozinho	That he doesn’t want to end up alone
Que tem medo de se dar	That he’s afraid to give himself to someone
Só eu sei	Only I know
Que no fundo ele é criança	That deep down he is a child
E é em mim que ele descansa	That with me is where he can rest
Quando para pra pensar	When he stops to think
Já me disseram	They’ve already told me
Que ele é louco e vagabundo	That he is crazy, a vagabond
Que pertence a todo mundo	That he is of the world
Que não vai mudar pra mim	That he won’t change for me
E me avisaram	And they’ve warned me
Que quem nasce desse jeito	That he who is born of that life
Com canção dentro do peito	With a song in his heart
É boêmio até o fim	Will be a bohemian until the end
Só eu sei	Only I know
Que ele é isso e mais um pouco	That he is all of that and more
Pode ser que seja louco	It may be that I am crazy
Mas é louco só no amor	But it’s crazy to be in love
Só eu sei	Only I know
Quando o amor vira cansaço	When the love becomes tiresome
Ele vem pro meu abraço	He comes, seeking my embrace
E eu vou pra onde ele for	And I go wherever he is
Ele vem pro meu abraço	He comes, seeking my embrace
E eu vou pra onde ele for	And I go wherever he is

forms. Even so, the 1960s had seen the rise of increasingly conscientious art in Brazil:

> In Rio de Janeiro (and other cities) the university-based CPC (Centro Popular de Cultura) sought to raise levels of awareness and to effect change through "popular revolutionary art." The group's agenda naturally stressed the communicative and inspirational functions of song; the ideal was to take to the people politically aware (or instructive) music that participated in processes of social transformation. Such self-avowed revolutionary cultural activism, while limited in conception and practical scope, certainly influenced an emerging musical ethic and foreshadowed committed music-making in a larger, commercial context during the rest of the decade. (Perrone 2002:66)

Paralleling this movement in the artistic sector, the push for more progressive policies began to take shape in Brazil. Not least of these was women's suffrage, which had solidified some thirty years prior when Bertha Luz and the Brazilian Federation for the Advancement of Women worked for the universal institutionalization of women's right to vote nation wide. While the Brazilian constitution never barred women from voting, women were often made to submit to subjective tests of personal and intellectual caliber at the polling booths, effectively suppressing their vote (Hahner 98:1990). Women were officially recognized as voters, and legally protected in their right as such, at Getúlio Vargas's order in 1932. In the years that followed, activists in suffrage movement continued to push for the expansion of state sponsored protections for women. Their work, however, would be slowed by the shifts in the

Brazilian government that took place in the decades leading up to the military coup d'état in 1964.

By the 1970s, the suffrage movement was developing into a distinct type of Brazilian feminism, one strongly influenced by international developments and domestic pressures:

> Argumenta-se que, embora influenciado pelas experiências europeias e norte-americana, o início do feminismo brasileiro dos anos 1970 foi significativamente marcado pela contestação à ordem política instituída no país, desde o golpe militar de 1964. Uma parte expressiva dos grupos feministas estava articulada a organizações de influência marxista, clandestinas à época, e fortemente comprometida com a oposição à ditadura militar, o que imprimiu ao movimento características próprias.
>
> [*It is argued that, although influenced by European and North American experiences, the beginning of Brazilian feminism in the 1970s was significantly marked by the challenge to the political order instituted in the country, since the military coup of 1964. An expressive part of feminist groups was articulated with organizations of Marxist influence, clandestine at the time, and strongly committed to the opposition to the military dictatorship, which gave the movement its own characteristics.*] (Sarti 2004:36)

This Brazilian feminism was one that was shaped by the military dictatorship and its heavy-handed censorship. It was though the work of women leaders like Romy Medeiros da Fonseca that civil codes such as *Lei nº 4.121* passed, which removed the requirement that husbands approve any work outside of the home secured by their wives. Medeiros da Fonseca and her contemporaries raised legal standards and social

awareness for women's rights during the dictatorship, laying the groundwork for an Afro-Brazilian feminism to take shape in the decades that followed. Feminism, as an ideology however, was not universally accepted by all Brazilian women. Many women rejected it, feeling that it pitted women against men.

Moreno's work and thoughts on the matter affords an interesting perspective. Since her debut at nineteen, Moreno has made her innovative work as a woman singer-songwriter one of the pillars of her identity as an artist. The feminine—or *feminina* in Portuguese—plays a central role in her creative practice, taking on literal and metaphorical connotations in her music and in her life. Moreno often takes the struggles, insights, and life experiences of women as the inspiration for her music, and does so transparently, genuinely, and respectfully. While her music never took a feminist stance outright, it would be difficult to argue that her work wasn't in support of feminist goals, which themselves sought to bring awareness, respect, and change for the struggles faced by women across Brazil. Moreno recalls being censored by the dictatorship early in her career, being barred from using words like "pregnant" in her lyrics and having songs rejected outright (Moreno 2014). By 1980, government censorship that had forced artists to curtail their work had loosened, allowing Moreno to release "*Feminina*" in 1980. The composition presents an interrogative dialogue

between a mother and a daughter, wherein the daughter asks what it means to be feminine, to be a woman.

There is a dissonance here, one that strikes into sharp relief the same uniqueness that made Moreno such a creative force in the first place. For Moreno, the feminine *is* feminism; her choice to place the stories of the everyday Brazilian is her own unique form of feminism:

> Foi o Vinicius de Moraes quem me chamou de feminista pela primeira vez. Nem eu sabia o que era isso de fato. Pra mim a música é unissex, digo, a melodia. Mas a letra já é o nosso ponto de vista. Meu primeiro disco, em 1968, já era muito autoral. Tinha apenas 19 anos, não queria me casar, nem mudar minha vida.
>
> [It was Vinicius de Moraes who called me a feminist for the first time. I didn't even know what that was really. For me the music is unisex, I mean, the melody. But the lyrics are already our point of view. My first album, in 1968, was already very authorial. I was only 19 years old, I didn't want to get married or change my life.] (Moreno 2017)

Moreno does not align herself with feminism, saying that she never felt a strong resonance with the feminist ideology that developed in the Brazil during the 1970s. Moreno, does however, refer to herself as a feminist, but an "old school" feminist:

> Sou uma feminista *old school*, da segunda metade do século passado. Aos 18 anos, minhas primeiras composições já eram no feminino singular, falando sobre o amor com bastante liberdade, e assim fui indo até hoje. No meu começo de carreira havia um certo estranhamento em relação a isso. Mulher compositora (e instrumentista, arranjadora, *bandleader* etc.) já era um bicho raro. Compondo no feminino, pior ainda. Por isso mesmo fico muito feliz hoje quan-

“Feminina” – Joyce (1980)

Ô mãe, me explica, me ensina, me diz o que é feminina?	Mother, explain to me, teach me, tell me what is feminine?
Não é no cabelo, no dengo ou no olhar, é ser menina por todo lugar	It is not in the hair, in coquettishness or in the look, it is to be a girl everywhere
Então me ilumina, me diz como é que termina? Termina na hora de recomeçar, dobra uma esquina no mesmo lugar.	So enlighten me, tell me how it ends? It ends when it starts again, turn a corner in the same place.
Costura o fio da vida só pra poder cortar Depois se larga no mundo pra nunca mais voltar	Sew the thread of life just to be able to cut Then he leaves the world to never return
[. . .]	[. . .]
Prepara e bota na mesa com todo o paladar Depois, acende outro fogo, deixa tudo queimar	Prepare and put on the table with all the taste Then light another fire, let it all burn
[. . .]	[. . .]
E esse mistério estará sempre lá Feminina menina no mesmo lugar	And that mystery will always be there Female girl in the same place

do vejo a grande quantidade de mulheres compositoras, e principalmente instrumentistas, donas do seu próprio som e de suas próprias ideias. Hoje há muitas, são mulheres bacanas, jovens e criativas.

[*I am an old school feminist, from the second half of the last century. At the age of 18, my first compositions were already in the feminine singular, talking about love with a lot of freedom, and so I kept going until today. At the beginning of my career, there was a certain strangeness in relation to this. Composer woman (and instrumentalist, arranger, bandleader etc.) was already a rare animal. Composing in the female, even worse. That is why I am very happy today when I see the large number of women composers, and especially instrumentalists, who own their own sound and their own ideas. Today there are many, they are cool, young and creative women.*] (Moreno 2017)

For Moreno, feminism is rooted the individual, the experience of being a woman, and expressing all that comprises that in lyric and melody. There is a quiet sophistication at play in Moreno's music and her form feminism; Joyce's challenge to the misogyny that ran rampant in Brazilian society was her decision to amplify the experiences of everyday women through her music. Because Moreno was such an exemplary musician and lyricist, her work was recognized by some of the most respected and influential artists at the time, the most vocal of which was none other than Vinicius de Moraes. When misogyny was turned onto her, she remained steadfast in the quality of her own work, her position as a feminist, and her values as a woman and artist, allowing her body of work to speak for itself.

While this form of feminism may seem underwhelming to some, it should not go under-appreciated that Moreno was all of nineteen years old when she chose to break ground and focus deliberately on the feminine perspective in Brazilian popular music. It should also be appreciated that she did so by positioning the woman as protagonist in her compositions, not as powerless antagonist which was typical in the music before her. Moreno quickly became the target for the misogyny she was resisting, as well as the target for critiques from the other side of the debate that called for Moreno to do more or to align with certain ideologies. Moreno, once again,

trusted her own artistic vision and lived experience as a woman, finding refuge in her songbook, her incredible musicianship, and her cogent lyricism. It is this self-reliance and individuality that has affords such a crystalline look into Moreno's life and career as a woman artist and trailblazer in Brazilian music.

Daymé Arocena: Spirituality, Creativity, and Freedom

Daymé Arocena
(Photo: The Guardian 2015, June 11)

The tradition is going to be there—always. It's like saying that you're going to live without blood: your blood will always be there. And even if you do a rock album it's going to come up. So I don't feel that I have to push anything. I can write a song about love, and life, and in the middle put a santería chant, and it's not because I am pushing stuff; it's because I'm feeling it. It's part of my life. It's part of my skin, of my hair, of my eyes, of my soul. It's here.

—Daymé Arocena (2020)

Since bursting onto the international scene in 2015, vocalist Dayme Arocena has been heralded as among Cuba's finest young singers. Her career started early, being recognized with exceptional talent since the age of fourteen, serving as lead singer for Cuban big-band Los Primos. It would be her work with Canadian jazz saxophonist Jane Bunnett that Dayme would be recognized as an internationally recognized jazz singer, joining Bunnett's all-female band Maqueque in 2015. After touring and recording with Bunnett, Arocena would break away to begin her solo career, which has resulted in multiple awards, including a Grammy nomination for her latest album Oddara (2017).

Arocena—both as an artist and as a person—is transparent; within her can be noticed a firm grounding in her religion, which allows her an inner-knowing from which she ventures artistically and spiritually. With respect to her music, Arocena has been critically acclaimed for her ability to directly weave the sounds and sights of Cuban Santeria into a myriad of musical situations, all done with the technical efficiency, power, and creativity that one would expect from a prodigious singer of Arocena's caliber. It is this grounding, and her faith in her saints, that Arocena credits for her success in life and music. Such a grounding allows for a particular type of openness and curiosity, the likes of which allow Arocena to remain fluid, absorb cultural influences from a myriad of places and musical contexts, and reflect this in her performance, music, and personhood.

"I Trust in Them, So I Can Be Who I Am": Faith, Life, and Music

Arocena grew up in one of the most trying economic eras of Cuba's long history. Known as the "special period in time of peace," the Cuban economy effectively halted following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991; Arocena was born in 1992 just in time to experience the apex of this era on the island. With the institution of the United States trade embargo against Cuba in 1962, the Cuban government became heavily reliant on the Soviet Union for much more than trade

alone. Much of the Cuban food supply, machinery, and oil was a result of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) support network. This went as far as allowing surplus oil shipped from the USSR to be sold for profit by the Cuban government. However, after a failed coup d'état by the communist leaders of the Soviet Union in August of 1991, then President and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev resigned, effectively ending the USSR on December 21, 1991 with the signing of the Alma-Ata Protocol. For Cuba, this meant a radical change in lifestyle and a fast approaching era of economic struggle the likes of which the Communist Party of the Cuba had never handled. The Cuban government immediately began to ration everything from food to petroleum in desperate attempt to stop a complete collapse of agricultural and industrial infrastructure, as well as transportation systems, all of which depended on crude oil. Comparable to the Great Depression in the United States during the 1930s, people quickly found themselves without work, without municipal services, and without food. Laws were enacted to curtail theft of cows, which resulted in maximum ten-year prison sentence for killing a cow, and up to one year in prison for eating beef illegally.

It was during this time that dishes like *picadillo de soya enriquecido* kept many across the island from starvation. As lighthearted as it sounds in the *timba* hit

recorded by N.G. La Banda in 1994, "Picadillo de Soya" was actually a mystery meal loosely based on enriched soy beans, something the government could acquire cheaply and in great amounts to feed its millions of citizens. Even as recently as 2014, the *picadillo de soya* was a dish that still mystified Cubans, as many didn't know what its ingredients were, even though it has remained a staple of the Cuban diet (Radio Televisión Martí 2014). This *picadillo*, along with the rolling black and brown outs, municipal service failures, and skyrocketing unemployment were constant reminders that the island was walking a thin, precarious line. Yet, as poignant as it is to understand the composition's true cultural reference, there must also be a respect and admiration for the Cuban people given in turn. A respect rooted not only in their surviving such a horrendous era in their recent history, but also for creating such widely appreciated music while doing so. This is what Arocena remembers most of her childhood, one beginning at the height of the special period: Not the hunger, or the political unrest, or the power outages, but rather her family smiling, singing and dancing:

> I come from a musical family. Not a family of musicians; a "music lover" family. Music was what kept us alive. I was born in 1992, when Cuba was struggling with the special period. Everyone has comments about it, everyone has sad memories about it; I do not remember–I don't have a sad memory about the special period at all. This is because my family was always singing and dancing. We didn't have electricity most of the time . . . food issues, basic needs issues,

> and all of that. . . . I don't remember a sad day at home. I remember my family singing and dancing; that's what I remember. . . . So I grew up with this fourteen-person family, in a really tiny apartment—two bedroom, one bathroom apartment—until I was eight. But my first eight years of life I had people around me telling me, "sing, dance, move, *¡dale!,* ¡*muévete*!." So, being honest, every single thing I do in life has that flavor. (Arocena 2020)

What Arocena's family did is not unique, but it is rare and even more so powerful. What they gave Arocena was much more than a positive attitude: Arocena's family—continuing to dance and sing even in the darkest times—gave her a personal grounding. This grounding, coupled later with her spiritual grounding rooted in her faith, comprises the *terra firma* on which, and from which, Arocena artistic freedom, progressive thought, and inspiration flow. It is powerful, it is meaningful, and it is hers.

Challenging Syncretic Models of Afro-Latin Cosmologies

Like the music that has developed in Latin America, the many faiths that have thrived since the colonial era are testament to the syncretism at the core of the Latin American experience. Indeed, that term is used loosely and meant to include anglophone and francophone societies in the Caribbean and North America, as syncretic religions have thrived across New World since the European encounter. These syncretic religions have taken many forms, from Afro-Cuban *Santeria* and

Brazilian *Candomblé* to Haitian *Vodun*. Almost universally, these religions were shunned, practitioners persecuted, made to worship in private places away from prying eyes that would condemn and punish. When the European powers of the time instituted the system of industry that would support their colonies, they did so under the auspices of the Catholic Church. At the time, the Church functioned more like a political powerhouse than the bastion of morality that many of its believers take it to be today. Because these powers were subject to the economic and political will of the Catholic Church, their exploits in the New World—and all of the atrocities that took place there—were also subject to the inquiry and critique of the Church. Friars were sent with the military expeditions—even if only one friar for every forty *conquistadores* —to the New World to spread Catholicism by converting the unbaptized souls of the Amerindian peoples that they crossed as the explorers laid claim to lands for their kings and queens. Religion, then, was one of the first imports from Europe to the New World, remaining as dynamic as the peoples that would keep its many forms.

When Africans were forcibly migrated to the New World colonies as slaves, they were also expected to convert to Christianity. The exact type of Christianity depended on the European power under which the individual found themself governed by: if the colony was Spanish, Portuguese, or French then the individual would convert to

Catholicism; if it was an English colony, it instead was Protestantism of varying degrees of intensity. Further, the degree to which Africans were allowed continue to their cultural practices—and by extension, their religious practices—also varied given the colony. In the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, several days of the year were allotted for celebrations wherein those of African descent were allowed to dance, sing, and play music that otherwise was illegal. Traditions like *carnaval* in Cuba have its origins in this type of celebration, beginning during the colonial era as a celebration of the sugar and coffee harvest wherein the laborers—that is, enslaved Africans and those of African descent—were allowed to celebrate (Bettelheim 1990:33). These types of celebrations were made possible through the work of mutual aid societies known as *cabildos*:

> In Cuba the cabildo was a mutual aid organization, organized by neighbourhood [sic] and ethnicity. Membership was usually hereditary. As an organization capable of clandestine dealings and political maneuvers based on self-determination, the cabildo was the only self-perpetuating institution around which new social forces could rally. (Bettelheim 1990:29)

These cabildos were organizations of Africans and those of African descent which usually aligned with a particular African ethnic group (e.g., Yoruba, Carabali, etc.) or nation (referred to as "*nación*" in Spanish). These cabildos provided a space for the retention of African cultural and spiritual practices, providing "outlets for

creative energy and self-expression" (Bettelheim 1990:33). These organizations would develop such clout in colonial Cuba that social changes could be made based on their lobbying the local municipalities. Cuban *carnaval* as we know it today wouldn't exist without the social and cultural contributions of the cabildos during the colonial era:

> By 1823 the stage was set for official public recognition. In that year the cabildos de nacion were first given permission to perform publicly in Dia de Reyes celebrations, or Day of the Kings, January 6. In fact official Dia de reyes celebrations in the area of Habana were instituted during the government of the Captain general de la Isla de Cuba, Dionisio Vives, 1823-1832. On this day, Dia de Reyes, each cabildo "re-enacted" an important national (homeland) celebration, behind the official saint and banner of cabildo. Converging at the government Palace in Habana, the official representatives of each cabildo received a monetary holiday bonus and the spectators also gifted them. Eyewitness accounts of mid-nineteenth century Dia de Reyes celebrations stress the "fantastic" costumes worn by the Black participants and the fact that each parading group was led by a solitary Black masquerader, dressed either as a "tambor major" or in military fashion. (Bettelheim 1990:30)

These mutual aid societies played an intrinsic role in the preservation of African systems of belief. Of these, perhaps the most prominent—and most respected by Spanish colonial governments of the time—was the Abakuá secret brotherhood. While there are clear ties between the Abakuá and the Ejagham ethnic group of eastern Nigeria, initiates of all African lineages were allowed. Similarly, the *cabildos de nación* also were accepting of various lineages of peoples on the island of Cuba, which as a result, became places where these varying cultural traditions bleeding with one

another. The Abakuá brotherhood served a similar function as the cabildos, with the exception that it also developed its own unique religious system. In general, organizations like the *cabildos de nación* and the Abakuá became places where belief systems could continue to be reenacted through music, song and dance. It would be in these reenactments that these traditions would change, slowly taking on characteristics of many African religions along with the Catholicism practiced by the Spanish. It should be noted here, though, that while many scholars have theorized this juncture as syncretic, recent critiques point to a more nuanced process of theological and cultural genesis.

> The term "Santería" itself when describing the religion is Eurocentric. Those who are initiated into Santeria in actuality practice *La Regla de Ocha* in Cuba, while Cubans who are practicing in the United States are returning to the name that the religion used in colonial Cuba, *La Religión Lucumí*. Santería is a Cuban misnomer . . . and is a derogatory term. (Pérez y Mena 1998:18)

Santería is an amalgamation of various different religious beliefs, but resembles most directly to the system of divination known as *Ifá* and the Yoruba cosmology associated with it. This cosmology is a polytheistic one, first developing among many ethnic groups in Yorubaland (present day Nigeria). When the Europeans forcibly migrated peoples from this region, the migrated brought with them this cosmology, consisting of the force of creation–known as *Olodumare*–and a pantheon of deities

known as *Òrìsà* (referred to as "*orisha*" in Spanish). These *orisha* were the ones that interfaced with human kind, each possessing their own anthropomorphic attributes, which were in turn reflected in song, dance, and worship. As the decades passed, *orishas* and saints began to share associations, such that particular Catholic saints became synonymous with African *orishas*. This amalgamated religious system began to be called "*santería*" translating loosely from Spanish as "a worship of the saints;" specifically, the Catholic saints. For initiates, this name was a reductive designation of a much larger cosmological system, preferring "*La Regla de Ocha*" or "*la religión Lucumí*" (Pérez y Mena 1998:18). Researchers and those not initiated in *Santería* alike understood that worshippers saw the saints and *orishas* as the same entities, simply with different faces and names; that processes of syncretization active during the colonial period produced this synonymous relationship between the saints and the *orishas*. This syncretic model put forth by "Herskovitz, Ortiz, and many others suggested that [*Santería*] was the product of an unconscious slave class, who became confused in their imagery of the saints and their Yorubaland ancestor deities, orisàs [sic]" (Pérez y Mena 1998:18).

As Pérez y Mena argue, however, recent scholarship has challenged this notion, giving way to a much more nuanced process:

> Even though the enslaved said that the *orishas* and the saints were the same, it is most probable that they said this to conceal a reality which provided them a space to worship. Historically, this 'consciousness' of a cosmological duality is the main ingredient of Afro-Latin Caribbean religiosity. The saints are a "shell" to the *orishas* . . . *Bàbálawos* (ritual elders) have a conscious sense of Ocha's or Lucumí's cosmological orientation, which those representing the "nation" (Spain) had to be led to believe didn't exist . . . This false orientation about the belief for the Spanish, has become a historical residue that often hinders understanding for those who are believers as well as researchers. (Pérez y Mena 1998:19)

Where a Catholic would see *La Virgen de las Mercedes* ("*Our Lady of Mercy*"), an initiate in *Regla de Ocha* would see the orisha *Obatalá,* for example. However, the *orisha* spirit is not contained by gender or form, more accurately representing a "family of spirits" (Pérez y Mena 1998:19) rather than one entity alone. In this way, the visage of the Catholic saint was meant to "be seen as the outer shell of the *orishas*" (Perez y Mena 1996b: 1379). Because the Spanish Christians would've seen the worship of the *orishas* as blasphemous, African practitioners veiled the *orishas* behind the images of Catholic saints. This way, if prying eyes were to see African rituals taking place, they would see a Catholic saint at the center of the worship and not an African deity. These saints, however, were never meant to be understood as being one and the same as the *orishas*. African cosmologies like *Ifá* respect and express dualities in nature and in spiritual form, a view not inherent in Christianity

where opposites are often in opposition to one another (e.g., good vs. evil). To return to *Obatalá*:

> *Obatalá*, however, is a family of spirits, both male and female, who contain different characteristics (*caminos*). She represents intelligence, purity, divine thought. She is the creator of Earth and sculptor of humanity, a symbol of passion and sensuality; she is blind but teaches reading. Although saints tend to be associated with a single set of characteristics, in an *orisha* these contrasting forces coexist simultaneously. (Pérez y Mena 1998:19)

The syncretic model gives way a richer understanding of the development of this unique cosmology. It could be argued that Afro-Cuban devotees were infusing Catholicism with ideologies completely foreign to the doctrine. Albeit much of this knowledge was kept in secret, the outward vestiges of this process gave way to understandings and associations with the Catholic saints that wouldn't have developed otherwise. What's more, *Regla de Ocha* was but one of the many Afro-Latin cosmologies that developed in this way: *Regla de Ocha,* Brazilian *Candomblé,* and Haitian *Vodun* are among many others that developed across New World during the colonial period. While each remains distinct and unique, striking parallels can be appreciated across them all.

What is most important to acknowledge is the mutual effect of the colonial era on both the African and European cosmology. It is not that the Africans forcibly migrated to the New World simply accepted the saints as visages of their own deities,

but rather that they played an active role in the expansion of their cosmology in the assimilation of the Christian faith as a veil, and further, as an act of resistance. This in turn affected Catholicism on the island as well, giving way to a unique form of the cosmology. In this way, the syncretic model does little to fully illustrate the universal affect that such an event of ethnic, cultural, and spiritual juxtaposition creates:

> In the United States, syncretism is used to show that Africans changed by contact with Europeans and not that the general culture went into transculturation. Euro-American historicism avoids using the religious syncretic paradigm within the United States. When syncretism is used, a paradigm that at its core bears great resemblance to diffusionism, it is preponderantly applied to minorities. Importantly, syncretism is applied to Africans within and outside the borders of the United States, but rarely to the mass of Europeans who, early on, contributed to Anglo-American culture. (Pérez y Mena 1998:24)

Though within the context of the United States, the argument posed by Pérez y Mena remains relevant to Latin America as a whole: The narrative used to describe the colonial period—and by extension the development of modern Latin America—often places Europeans as the agents of change and all others as passive—albeit by force—supporters. Yet, in nearly every respect, those who were brought to the New World forcibly, those against whom genocide was committed and survived, and those who would become the progeny of all involved all played a role in the development of what we understand today as Latin America, as well as the United States. These non-Europeans were active in these processes as well, in ways that will continue to

become clearer as research continues to challenge Eurocentric perspectives and narratives to the histories of the New World. To understand Latin America—as well as the United States—completely, these nuanced perspectives must be taken into account. If not only to understand the past better, but also to find better ways to understand the present, and our shared future as well.

Listening for the Right Moment

For Arocena, the grounding and confidence to be her true self was imbued in her by her family, but it is in her faith where she finds the peace, support, and guidance to realize the personal and artistic goals that have made her an international success. Arocena experienced set backs early in her career, the likes of which nearly had her leave the island as early as 2011. Being someone who is unapologetically herself, Arocena was denied the ability to perform, both informally and officially, on many occasions. Seeing no way forward as a singer who could not perform, Arocena contemplated leaving the island, but the idea of leaving the only home she'd known, leaving her entire family behind, all to be alone in the world in search of an opportunity gave her pause. It was at this desperate time—what would become a period of immense change for Arocena—that she turned to her faith for guidance:

> The reality is that I wanted to leave Cuba at the age of twenty two. . . . I was sick; like "enough" for me. Basically, nobody was giving me a chance. When I wanted to leave the island for the first time, it was because I didn't have the right to perform in Cuba. So I said, "Ok I'm going to leave, but I need something to protect me, because I will be alone . . . I need something to protect me." I asked my grandmother if I was ready to crowned[8], so she made the ceremony and they said yes, so I was. But in my initiation ceremony, they said "it is not your moment to leave the island." I couldn't believe it. What they were telling me just destroyed all my plans. . . . Two months later I met Gilles Peterson in Cuba, and I signed with Brownswood five months after that. . . . and then I did *Nueva Era*, my first album. So that was the first proof I got from them, so now they tell me anything and I'm like "Yes! Yes!" Anyone can tell you that with my saints I'm very serious, I'm very respectful. If they tell me "don't do this," I won't do it; it's serious. Because every single time they've told me, it happens. (Arocena 2020)

DJ and owner of Brownswood Records, Gilles Peterson discovered and signed Arocena, catapulting her to international critical acclaim. For Arocena, it was no coincidence that the signing, and her life completely changing for the better, happened a mere five months after she almost left the island. Speaking in the collective "they," Arocena credits her *santos* ("*saints*") with guiding her to the events that have given her the life of creativity that she has today. What's more, Arocena fully acknowledges this and uses it as a cornerstone in her professional career. From the

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[8] In *Santería*, to be "crowned" is to complete the seven day ceremony of becoming a priest or priestess in the religion. It is believed that the culmination of this process is the tutelary *orisha* being seated on the "crown"—that is, the metaphorical and physical head—of the devotee. Following this ceremony, a year-long process of spiritual purification and learning is expected of the devotee. In many ways, the affect on the devotee's life is akin to baptism in the Catholic faith, where this spiritual catharsis is intended to lead to a more harmonious and prosperous life.

imagery used in the album cover (comprising of Arocena in the traditional, all-white dress typical of a devotee completing their crowning process), to the lyrics and melodies used in compositions such as "Madres," released on her 2015 album *Nueva Era*. What's most interesting about "Madres" is the clear juxtaposition of *lucumí* religious chant—which would traditionally be sung accompanied only by *batá* drums—with two digitally processed *kalimba* (thumb-piano) and a gourd *shekere*. The first *kalimba* ostinato (labelled "Kalimba I"), comprising of some four measures, is loosely based in the key of Gb minor and features out-of-tune pitches that relate an ethereal, otherworldly timbre to the instrument. This is magnified by the interplay between the first and second *kalimba,* seeing as the ostinato in "Kalimba I" is deliberately displaced in the third measure by an eighth note. The syncopation between "Kalimba I" and "Kalimba II" is emphasized when the second *kalimba* enters in measure nine, only playing in-between the pulses and outlining the second and fourth beats of the measure. Arocena then layers her own voice multiple times, creating two large choirs of three singers (labelled"Choir I" and "Choir II" in the score) and two more solo vocal accompaniments (labelled "Voice I" and "Voice II" in the score. These voices recreate the timbre of the multiple singers that one would hear during a *Santería* ceremony, but is done such a fashion that it reflects her own training in choral arrangement.

Namely, the organization and arrangement of “Choir I” and “Choir II," which are have been recorded with an open, legato timbre and in open fifths; such a performance is uncharacteristic of the performance technique used in traditional Afro-Cuban *Santería* ceremonies, as many *apkwon* (the *lucumí* name for lead singer in the ceremony) utilize a nasal timbre in order to be heard over the *batá* drums. The remaining two voices (“Voice I” and “Voice II”) are a direct reflection of Arocena’s religious influences, featuring the melodies and chants of prayers often heard by devotees during the ceremonies and in prayer. These melodies have been taken directly from traditional contexts, creating a striking contiguity between the traditional and its modern interpretation.

In fact, such a theme can be noticed throughout the composition, from its recording technique and arrangement, to its instrumentation. The composition builds as Arocena’s voice is supported by an ensemble consisting of an additional shaker, a *cajón*, an organ, and a cha-cha bell, as notated in figure 14. The organ accompaniment –played by British based producer Simbad–reminds the listener of the gospel organ traditions developed in the Unites States, comprising of legato and staccato chords that serve to outline the harmony while simultaneously providing ample space (i.e., silence) for the percussion to be heard. The *cajón*–while being itself an Afro-Peruvian

secular instrument–is playing what can be recognized as a typical funk pattern in this recording. This pattern, outlining beats two and four, was recorded swung and further references the gospel and jazz traditions where this performance practice was and continues to be utilized[9]. What's more, the cha-cha bell can be heard metrically modulating from a simple 4/4 pattern outlining each beat, to a 6/8 bell pattern often heard in religious and secular folkloric Cuban musics (presented in figure 15). This all provides the harmonic and rhythmic accompaniment for Arocena's lyrics, all of which are in praise of her *madres* ("mothers") Ochún and Yemaya. She praises both deities in both Spanish and Afro-Cuban *lucumí*[10], singing lead in Spanish as the refrains "Ochún" and "Yemaya" can be heard repeating throughout the recording.

With regard to recording technique, Arocena and Simbad chose to take advantage of layering, splicing, and digital processing, all of which have become

[9] The "swung" eighth note pattern is one that is characterized by a juxtaposition of triple and duple meters in one pattern. This creates a rhyme lilt that creates momentum that climaxes onto the following beat. This "swung eighth feel" can be heard in most jazz music before the 1950s, as well as contemporary gospel contexts.

[10] The terms *lucumí* and Yoruba are often used synonymously when referring to the lexicon and music used in Afro-Cuban Santería (i.e., religious) and secular contexts. The Yoruba language brought to the Caribbean lost a great deal of its tonal quality and became mixed with other west and central African languages during the colonial era, producing a distinct lexicon apart from Nigerian Yoruba and other African languages. While some words may be understood by modern day Yoruba speakers, the accents and tones that differentiate words in the original have been mostly lost in their creolized interpretation. For this reason *lucumí* (the Spanish interpretation of the Yoruba word for "friend") is often used to refer to the language spoken in ceremony and in prayer, the lexicon spoken colloquially on the island, as well as the religion known as *Santería*, all which bear roots in west and central African ethnic and cultural groups.

"Madres"

As recorded by Daymé Arocena
Nueva Era [2015]
Brownswood Recordings

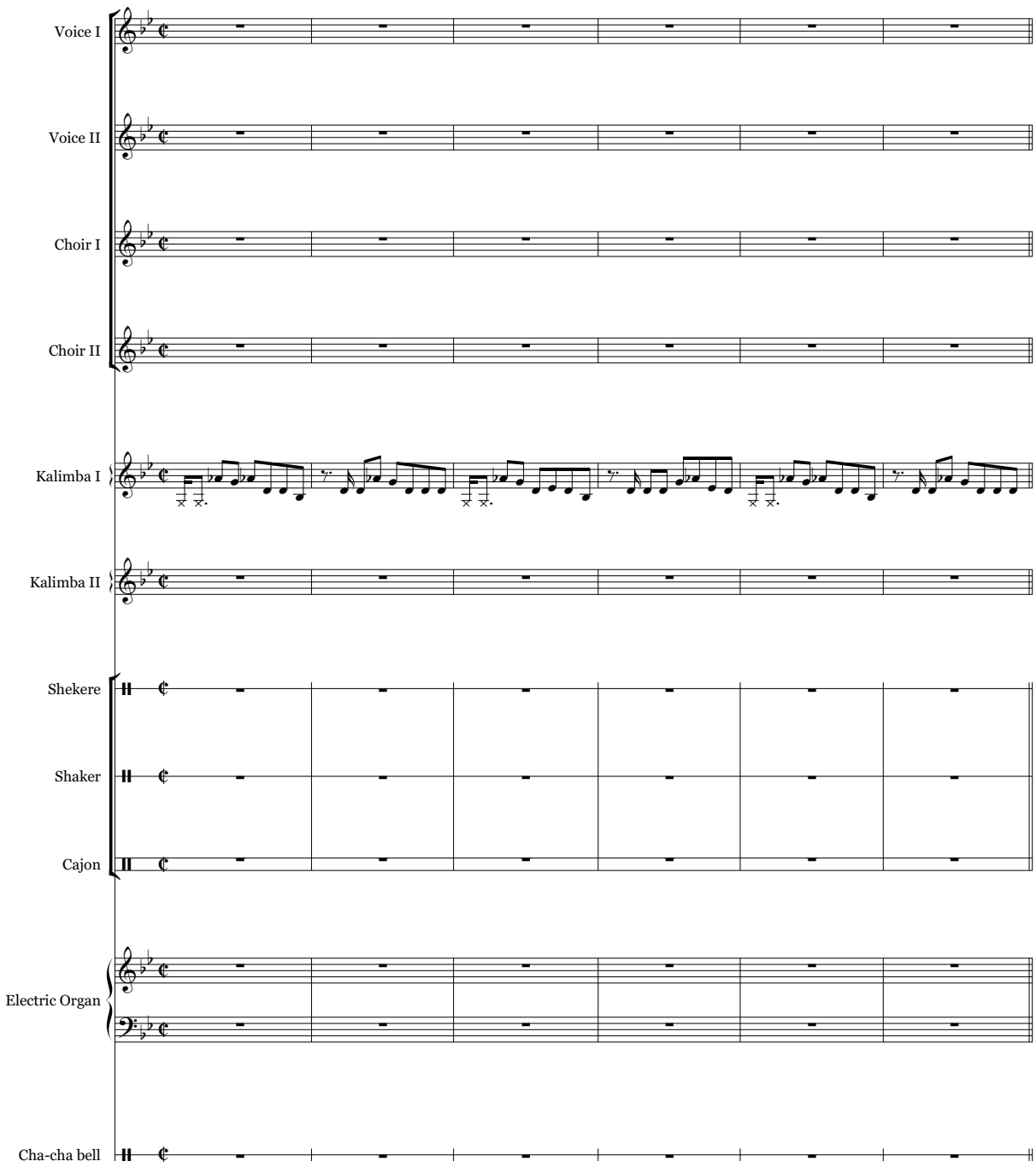
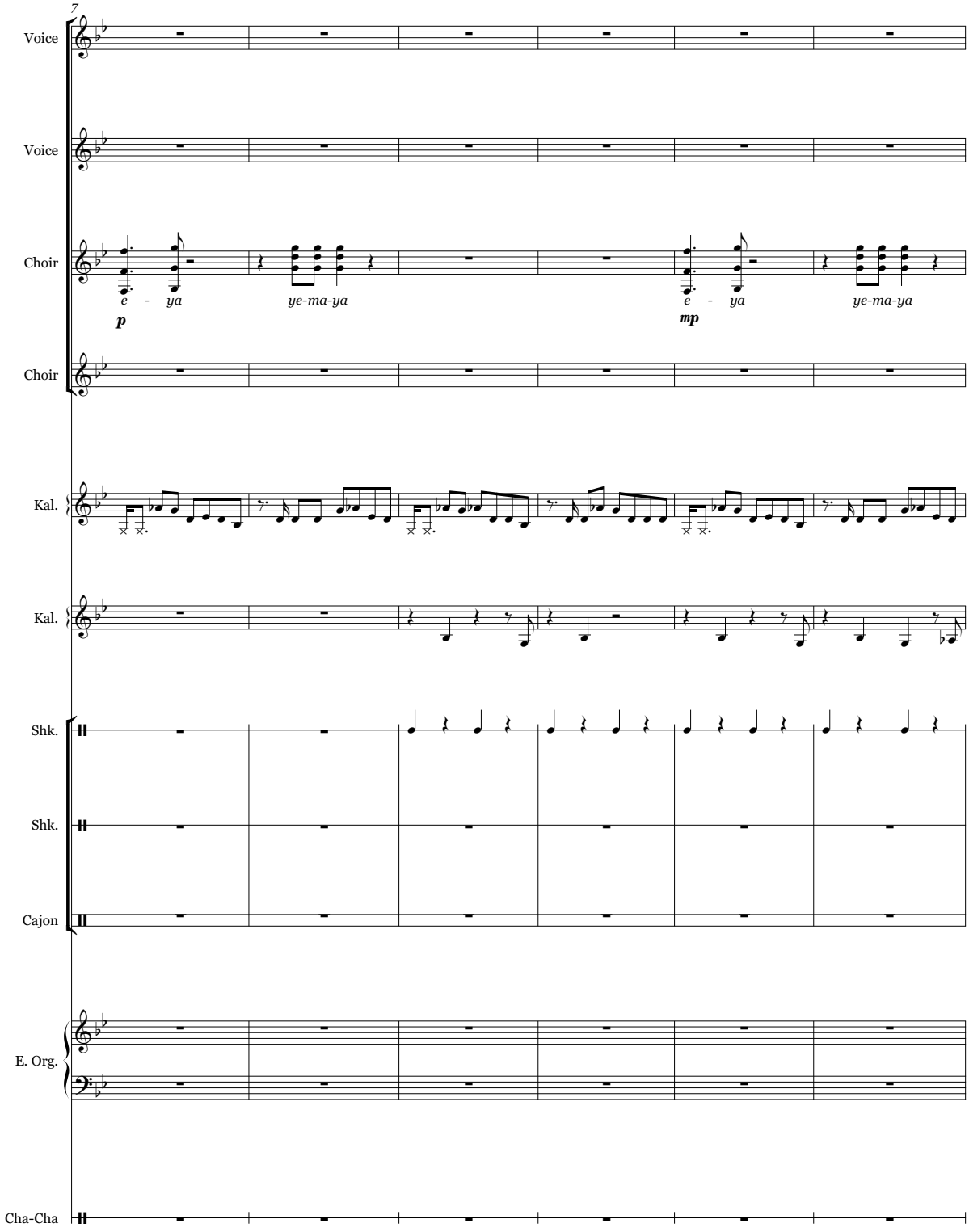
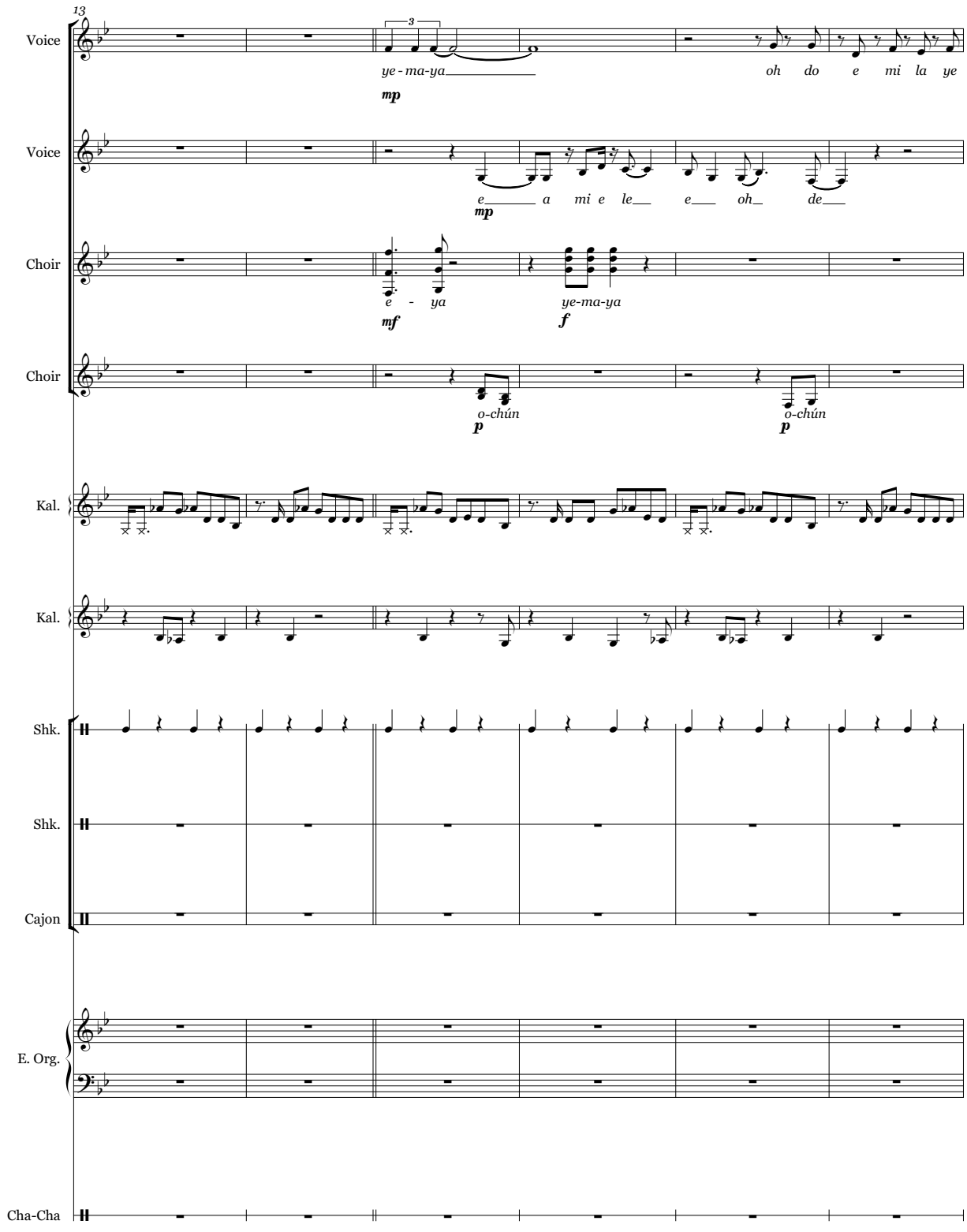
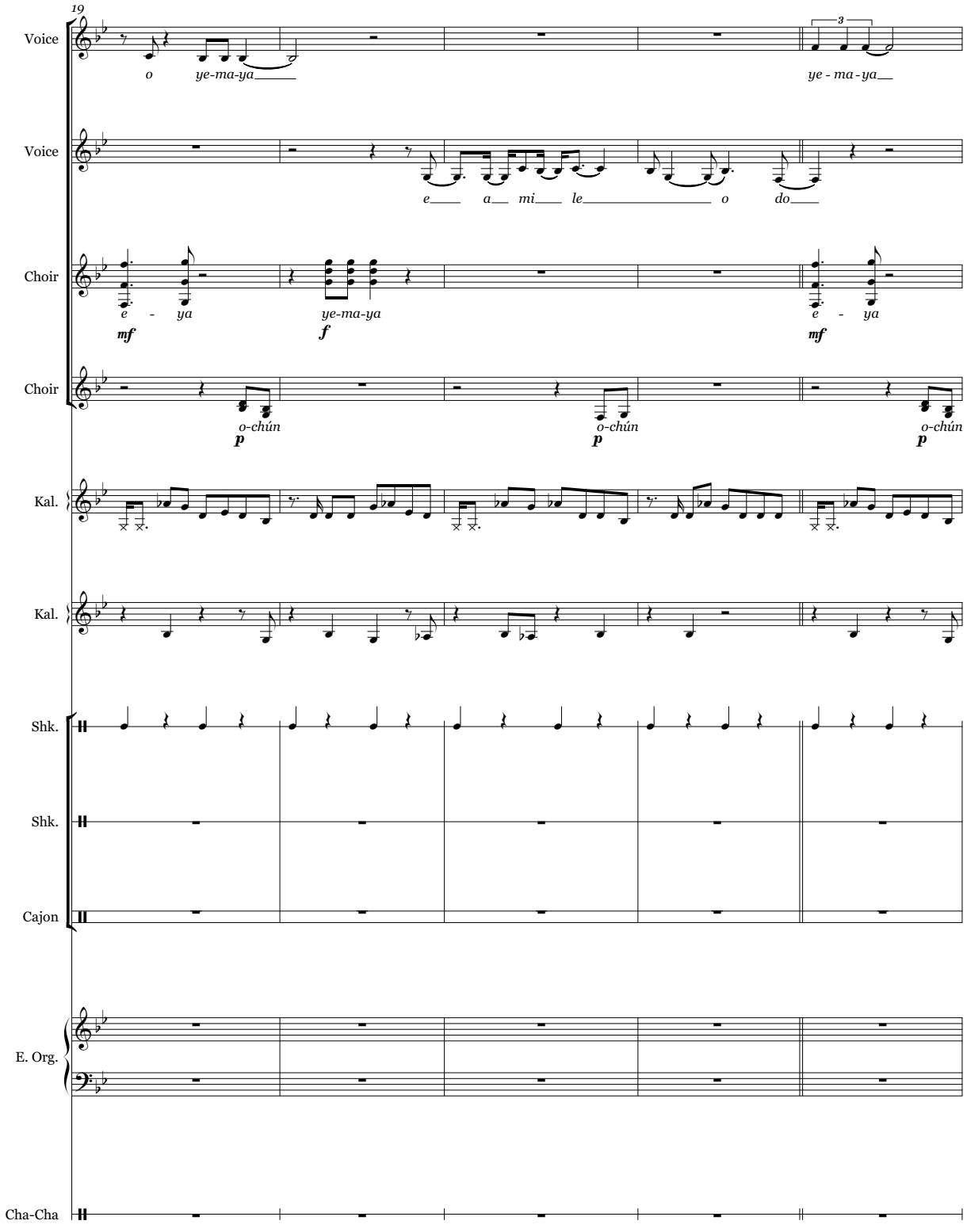
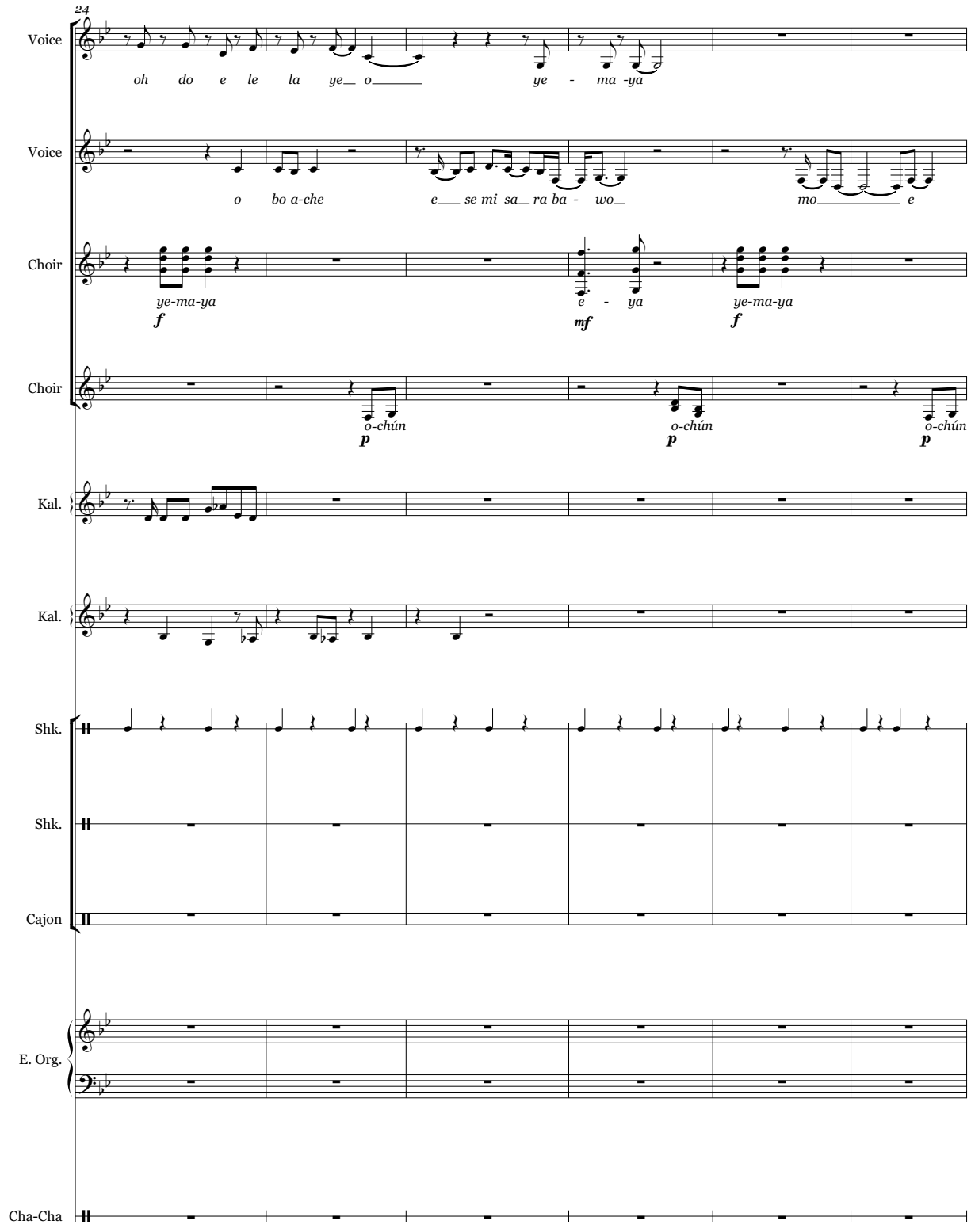


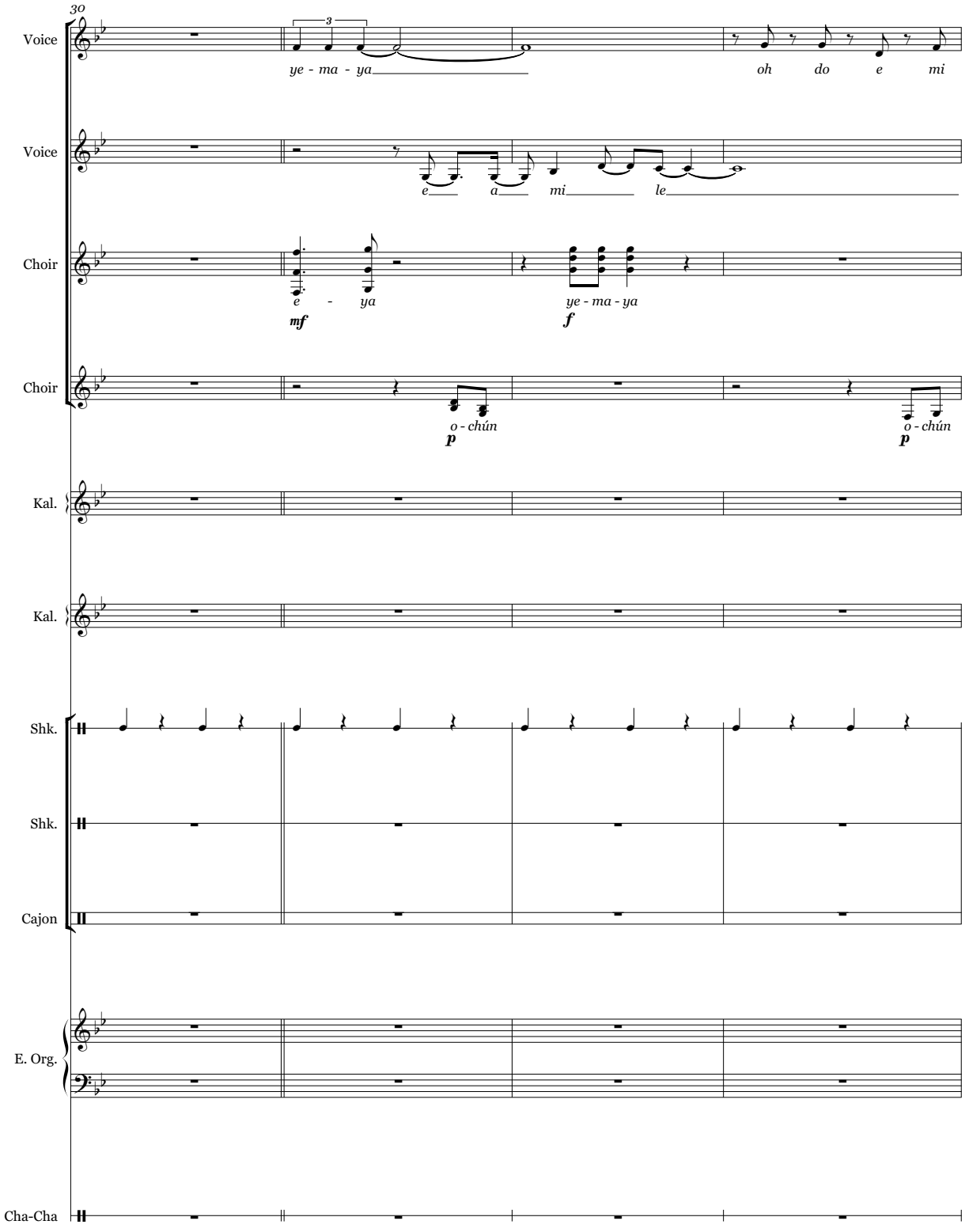
Figure 14. A transcription of “Madres” as recorded by Daymé Arocena.

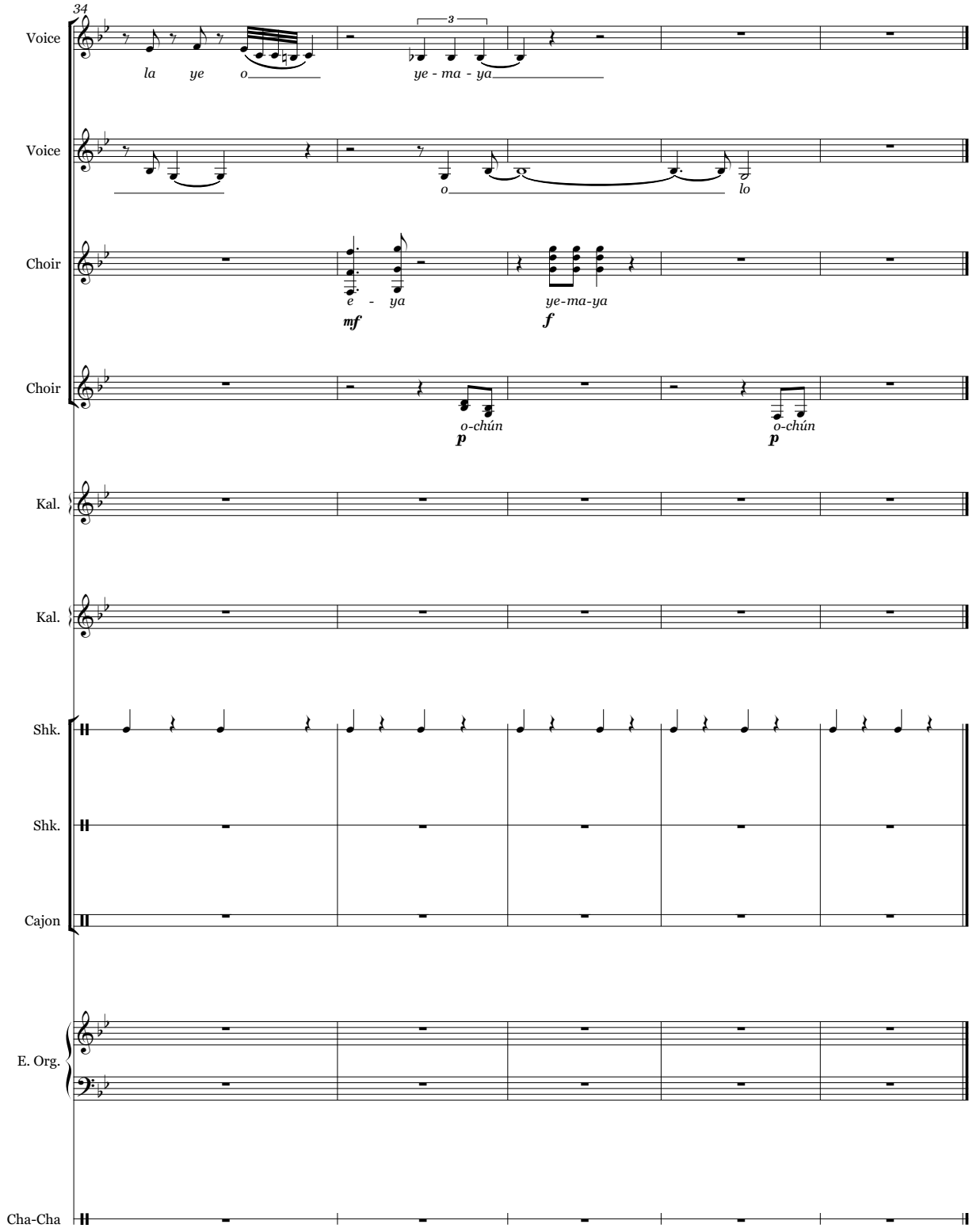

7
Voice
Voice
Choir
e - ya
ye-ma-ya
p
e - ya
ye-ma-ya
mp
Choir
Kal.
Kal.
Shk.
Shk.
Cajon
E. Org.
Cha-Cha


13
Voice
ye - ma-ya
oh do e mi la ye
mp
Voice
e a mi e le e oh de
mp
Choir
e - ya
ye-ma-ya
mf
f
Choir
o-chún
o-chún
p
p
Kal.
Kal.
Shk.
Shk.
Cajon
E. Org.
Cha-Cha


19
Voice
o ye-ma-ya
3
ye - ma - ya
Voice
e a mi le o do
Choir
e - ya
mf
ye-ma-ya
f
e - ya
mf
Choir
o-chún
p
o-chún
p
o-chún
p
Kal.
Kal.
Shk.
Shk.
Cajon
E. Org.
Cha-Cha


24
Voice
oh do e le la ye_ o_____ ye - ma -ya
Voice
o bo a-che e___ se mi sa_ ra ba - wo_ mo_____ e
Choir
ye-ma-ya
f
e - ya
mf
ye-ma-ya
f
Choir
o-chún
p
o-chún
p
o-chún
p
Kal.
Kal.
Shk.
Shk.
Cajon
E. Org.
Cha-Cha


30
Voice
ye - ma - ya
oh do e mi
Voice
e a mi le
Choir
e - ya
mf
ye - ma - ya
f
Choir
o - chún
p
o - chún
p
Kal.
Kal.
Shk.
Shk.
Cajon
E. Org.
Cha-Cha


34
Voice
la ye o
3
ye - ma - ya
Voice
o
lo
Choir
e - ya
mf
ye-ma-ya
f
Choir
o-chún
p
o-chún
p
Kal.
Kal.
Shk.
Shk.
Cajon
E. Org.
Cha-Cha

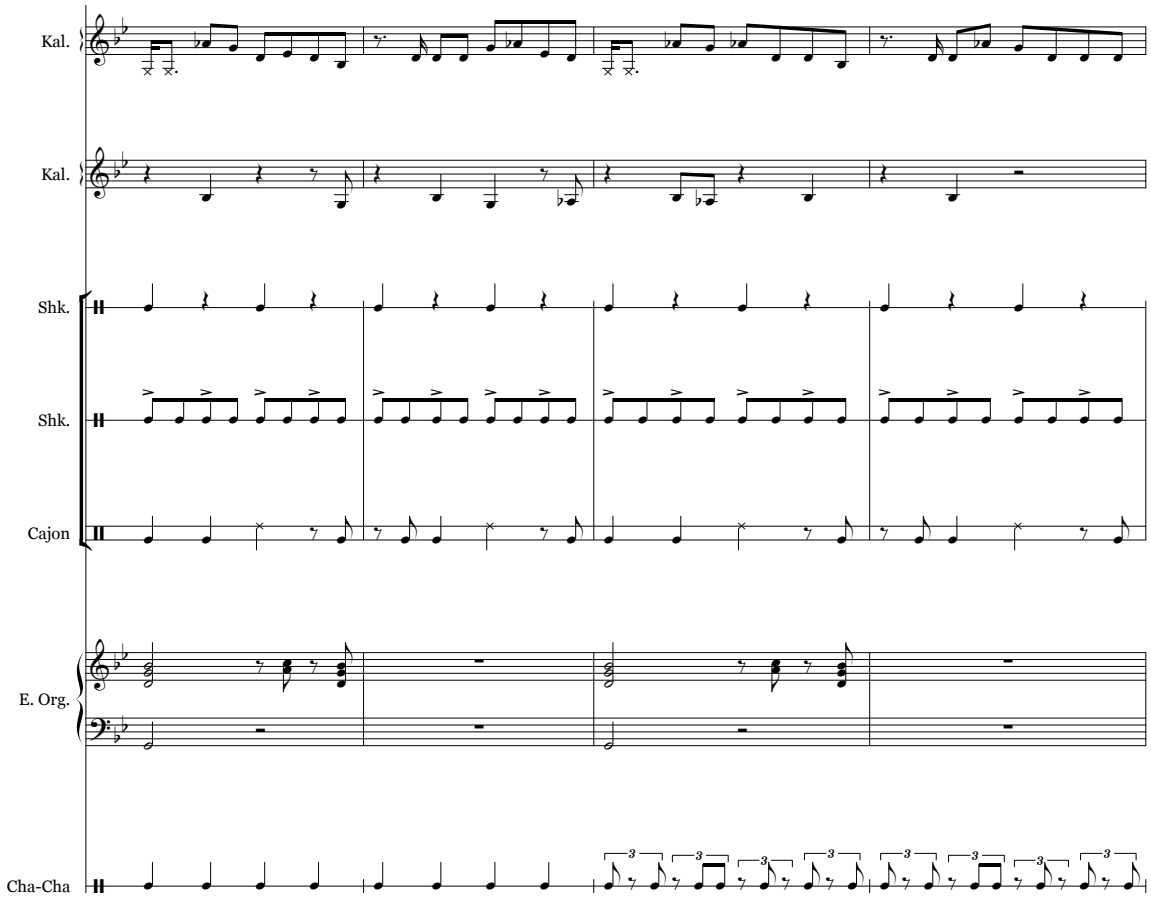


Figure 15. Metric modulation to a 6/8 bell pattern often heard in religious and secular folkloric Afro-Cuban musics

ubiquitous in contemporary pop music production in the last four decades. The *kalimba* recordings have been digitally processed to add reverb and echo, producing an ethereal timbre. When heard on “Madres” backed by the synthesized ocean waves –the ocean itself also associated with Yemayá–the *kalimba* almost doesn’t sound like a *kalimba* at all, but rather another instrument entirely. The voices have been run through similar processing; where in the past an entire choir of singers, recorded in a large reverberant hall, would have been necessary to create the same sonic effect,

Arocena's voice alone constitutes all of the vocal parts in this composition. Her voice was recorded layer by layer—that is, recorded one line at a time, then stacked and played simultaneously—which produced the rich vocal textures that can be heard in the choirs and solo vocal parts. These voices were then augmented with reverb[11], as well as volume and pan automated, to produce the airy, reverberant, quasi-spiritual aesthetic that can be appreciated on the recording. The *cajón*[12] received similar treatment, receiving a fair amount of digital processing to emphasize the high-end frequencies of the "slap" tone (i.e., the tone that sounds like a snare drum). The opposite was done to shape the "bass" tone (i.e., the tone that sounds like a bass drum) producing a deeper, flatter sound that is possible acoustically alone.

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[11] Reverb is a commonly used algorithm, used to simulate the physics of performing in a myriad of physical spaces. When performing, the sound created by any musical instrument is subject to the space in which it is being played, created by the various reverberations of the sound waves bouncing off surfaces of varying density, thickness, size and the space between the instrument and those surfaces. This reverberation has been simulated in DAWs (digital audio workstations) algorithmically, becoming a standard tool available to sound engineers and producers since its first utilization by Bill Putnam, Sr in 1947. The colloquial name used by musicians, sound engineers, and producers for this algorithm is "reverb."

[12] The *cajón* is a drum, featuring a construction that resembles a box. It consists of five non-playing sides, and one playing side (usually thinner), all of which made of wood. The performer sits on top of this box, using their hands to strike the playing surface. There are two principal tones produced when playing a *cajón*: 1) the slap tone, which is produced by striking the corners of the playing surface, creating a sharp, high-pitched, crack; and 2) a bass tone, produced by striking the middle of the playing surface with the palm, creating a low, deep, thud. The slap and bass tones sound strikingly similar to the snare and bass sounds produced on a drum set, respectively.

All of these recording techniques afford the recording a contemporary aesthetic, allowing the traditional prayers sung by Arocena to seem familiar and modern, even though they are more than five hundred years old. Further, Arocena and Simbad's deliberate decisions to use organ and funk via the *cajón* create an interesting counterpoint between *Santería* and gospel musics: where the sound of the organ immediately refers to the gospel church traditions of the southern United States (as well as the funk pattern played on the *cajón*), Arocena's *lucumí* prayers reflect her own musical background steeped in *Santería*. Both of these traditions point to similar experiences in the New World and the individuals, lost to history, that chose to create and preserve in times of horror. Ushered in by necessity—that is, the hand of the colonial powers that forced these individuals into servitude—African communities transplanted to the New World changed their own secular and religious traditions in order to preserve them.

As a result, these traditions became something new, something distinct, and something wholly theirs in these new lands where so much had been stripped from them. These people were forced to create, to transmute, to blend, to assimilate the foreign into the familiar, to assimilate themselves into the foreignness of new languages, new customs, and new gods. They did not do so blindly, as has been

previously believed, but rather did so consciously and deliberately. In many ways, these actions were innovations as much as they were resistance, perseverance, and survival; perhaps–like the *orishas* masked behind the visage of the Catholic saints–innovation itself is only the outward face of these all too familiar motivators. Whether by force, by choice, or by nature, these peoples quickly found themselves intertwined with one another. The product is what we understand today as Latin America, the Unites States, the New World; the stories are strikingly similar, albeit with differing characters and events. To understand the cultural traditions that manifested in the New World is to recognize innovation; it's one of the most enduring traditions seared into the fabric that has been spun from loom that was the colonial era. As much as it is a human characteristic, it is also one that marks the constant push forward by using seemingly disparate elements to create something new.

In "Madres," Arocena embodies this and expresses it in musical form, creating something new by juxtaposing the seemingly disparate: the gospel and *lucumí* musical idioms, done so utilizing contemporary recording techniques. The result is a music that reflects the past and the present, the individual, the culture, and the tradition all at once:

> The tradition is going to be there, always. It's like saying that you're going to live without blood: your blood will always be there. And even if you do a

> rock album it's going to come up. So I don't feel that I have to push anything. I can write a song about love, and life, and in the middle put a *santería* chant, and it's not because I am pushing stuff, it's because I'm feeling it. It's part of my life. It's part of my skin, of my hair, of my eyes, of my soul. It's here. (Arocena 2020)

For Arocena, her tradition and her faith provide her with a freedom that is enviable; it is a noticeable grounding from which she is able to create freely, knowing that the results will be—uncompromisingly and transparently—her own. Arocena's freedom manifests outwardly as the many praises with which critics have described her: "Boundless" (Corsa 2017), featuring a "cosmopolitan musicianship with deep roots" (Pareles 2016), and "an unwavering willingness to lay herself bare" (Zhou 2017). Reminiscent of the Brazilian musicians in the mid-twentieth century, her grounding gives Arocena the confidence to look outward for inspiration, that is, to be open-minded, free, and creative. This extends beyond her music, flowing into how she understands and interacts with the world around her. By knowing herself transparently, Arocena is able to connect with others directly and openly:

> Every place I go, I have to say thanks because I have performed in about twenty five countries, and every place I go—I don't care if its Japan or New Zealand, or Brazil, or Europe—I treat everybody the same, to my music. You paid a ticket to watch my concert: a black woman from Cuba. You will forget your differences when you get into my vibe. . . . Music doesn't know about language, music doesn't know about racism, or xenophobia, or countries; music is just one language, it's just one word, it's just one thing, one spirit, one soul. For me, music is this spot where we can be all the same. So I use

> my music to make you feel the same as me, that same as anybody else. . . . that's the moment when people forget that we are all from different countries, from different families, because one hug—one musical hug is enough—to remind humanity that we are all the same. . . . We are musicians we have that power. (Arocena 2020)

This refreshing and inspiring look into the power of music and the shared experience of musical performances echoes what many have noticed during the COVID-19 lockdowns. Namely, the unifying effect that music can have and its importance—something that was largely taken for granted prior to the COVID-19 crisis—for the community mental health and unification across the globe. For Arocena, her performances are opportunities to share this effect with all of her attendees, making the performance a place for unification across social, ethnic, and cultural lines. Arocena's blend of innate charm and world-class musicianship allow her to transcend language; her grounding in her faith and her family allow her to create freely and without reservation—to be herself, uncompromisingly—something that is immediately notable, appreciated, and respected. For Arocena, being a musician means more than gaining international fame, developing virtuosity, or accumulating excessive wealth; to be a musician is to recognize a responsibility to humanity. Music, as much as it has become an industry in the contemporary era, at its core will always be what it began as: people connecting with one another, sharing who they are with one another,

creating unseen bonds with each other in a way that transcends language, creed, and color. To be a musician is to be a steward of this type of human connection; to be a musician is to remind people, paradoxically, that we all—in many ways and despite our many differences—are all the same.

Like Joyce Moreno, Arocena's individuality allows her the freedom to create genuinely and uncompromisingly. For Arocena, though, her individuality is rooted in her faith, her family, and her traditions. These exude from her during performances, sometimes taking the form of her powerful voice, in the way she moves, and in other situations they can be noticed in the words and melodies she sings. The result is always the same: a profound and direct connection with her audiences wherever she performs. Like Moreno, Charles, and Zenón, Arocena's music is not made for her, it's made for those who are listening, dancing, and singing along with her. By trusting in her faith, utilizing the traditions she was born into, along with her creativity and musicality, Arocena is free; free to create, to connect, to inspire others to do the same, and in so doing fosters the communal creation of a better future

Ed Motta: Singing in English and Dreaming in Portuguese

Ed Motta
(Photo: HKW 2014, July 8)

I was like . . . ten to twelve years old . . . I was listening a lot to hard rock, I was playing drums too, so I was obsessed with hard rock a lot—a lot. Black Sabbath and all of those things; it was strong, man. It was strong together with Earth, Wind, and Fire all together . . . and the music from the radio, Brazilian music from the period, all together; it was a true melting pot.

—Ed Motta (2020)

Born in 1971 and recognized as child prodigy, Eduardo Ed Motta has been a creative force in *MPB* (*musica popular brasileira*) since his late-teens. He is the nephew of the widely popular Brazilian-funk singer Tim Maia. Motta forged a career all his own with albums ranging from funk, pop, and even opera. Since beginning his career in the 1990s, Motta has made a name for himself as a fiercely creative, sometimes controversial, singer. Drawing on an encyclopedic knowledge of Brazilian, North American, and South American musics, Motta often writes and performs in both English and Portuguese, creating a unique space for himself as an artist and as an individual.

Motta's music can serve as a fascinating example of polyculturalism at play in the contemporary era. Motta's music is firmly rooted in the African-American legacies set in place by the jazz, R&B, and funk innovators of the twentieth century. Yet, such a strong North American influence is presented right along with contemporary MBP influences and soundscapes in his pop releases (e.g., "Manoel") the likes of which have become widely popular across Brazil. Motta then will pivot, recording tracks that feature a fierce creative freedom materializing in a jazz aesthetic in his music, all done with a recognizably Brazilian touch in arrangement, lyricism, and performance, reflecting Motta's deep connection with the musical traditions of his native Brazil. To call Motta a funk artist is to remain ignorant to his study of Brazilian and Latin American musics; to call Motta an MPB artist is to ignore his decades-long study of North American culture and music. Motta is both neither, and is both; Motta's approach to music is polycultural and often pushes his listeners to be as well, creating tension that he has come up against recently in his career. His music, nonetheless, showcases processes that are active across the American continents and indeed the world.

"A True 'Melting Pot'": Cosmopolitanism by Way of Tijuca's Second-Hand Stores

Surrounded by albums, a grand piano to his back, and a book on soft rock next to a 70s-era orange lamp behind him, it's almost as if Motta had prepared the scene for our talk. Motta's record collection—about 30,000 albums at its zenith in 2016—mirrors his encyclopedic knowledge of music from across the globe, with a particular emphasis on 1970s metal and rock. Motta credits rock and metal as being among the first musics he immersed himself into, describing his younger self as "a crazy rock snob with encyclopedias in everything you can imagine. '60s and '70s rock, and even the '80s, which was exactly my cup of tea" in an interview with Anton Spice for *The Vinyl Factory* (Motta 2016). Far from the soulful, funky music that Motta has won critical acclaim for in recent years, these musics served as catalyst for the beginning of his musical career:

> In the beginning for me it was mostly UK [rock], like Traffic, Led Zeppelin, Rory Gallagher, and from US Johnny Winter, Vanilla Fudge, Iron Butterfly. These were my roots. And I was a drummer in a hard rock band, we played AC/DC, Iron Maiden, Judas Priest, Thin Lizzy, things like this. . . . My father and my mother, they were from a very distant generation, so they were deeply into the music of the '40s and '50s. But I wasn't into that. (Motta 2020)

Marking a stark difference between the music his parents listened to and the music that a young Motta was playing at the time, Motta was drawn to the musics that

had captured the attention of notable Música Popular Brasileira (MPB) artists just a generation before him. Singers like Jorge Ben Jor, Gilberto Gil, and Motta's uncle Tim Maia has been influenced by music coming from Europe and the United States, such as soul, rock, and funk, respectively. After the *bossa nova* boom of the 1950s and 1960s, a new popular music developed in Brazil, which melded a myriad of musical genres from Europe, the United States, with known Brazilian genres like *samba*, *bossa nova*, and the like. As with Joyce Moreno, many of the most famous MPB artists found their start in the televised performances of the time. Singer-songwriter, later turned politician Gilberto Gil with Os Mutantes gave a landmark performance in 1967 as part Brazil's *Jovem Guarda*. Gilberto's "Domingo No Parque" marked the beginning of the Tropicália movement, which—through music and visual mediums—often took a critical view of the military dictatorship. As soon as Institutional Act No. 5 was passed in 1968, many critics were immediately imprisoned; this included Tropicália artists such as Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil, fleeing into exile after their release along with many other artists.

By the 1970s Brazilian popular music had changed, as well as the sounds that flooded the airwaves, recording studios, and record shops. Many Brazilian artists began to mix *samba and bossa nova* with rock from the UK (i.g., The Beatles), as well

as soul and funk from the Unites States. As these musics became ever more popular in Brazil, so too did their records amongst musicians and collectors. For this reason, the record shop became places where the foreign met the familiar; spaces of both tangible and intangible cosmopolitanism, embodied in vinyl and plastic slip. The 1950s marked the beginning of a change in intercultural dynamics, one that would be felt across the globe by the close of the twentieth century. Much like MPB artists blending rock with *samba,* the ease with which the promulgation and consumption of ideas–that is, culture–could take place in an ever more connected global network would change the way societies see saw themselves. The result–in Brazil as well as in many other countries–was an "intensified aesthetic proximity, overlap, and collectivity between nations and ethnicities . . . [producing] aesthetic cosmopolitanism, in which large proportions of aesthetic common ground are shared" (Ballantine 2014:202). The vinyl record, along with other technological advancements like the television, allowed these processes to be accessible to a greater number of individuals and not only to the wealthy; in the United States this happened by the late 1960s, with Brazil following some years after. The radio, vinyl record, and television would function as agents of change and cultural genesis by acting as a catalyst for the formation of aesthetic

cosmopolitanism during the first half of the twentieth century; the internet would drastically increase these effects in the latter half of the twentieth century.

For Motta growing up in Tijuca, a suburb of Rio de Janeiro's northern zone during the 1970s primed him for such a cosmopolitan experience:

> I grew up in a neighborhood of Rio called Tijuca, which is famous for many second-hand rock stores. Blues rock, European rock, progressive, things like that. Many people grew up there. My uncle Tim Maia, Jorge Ben, it's a rock neighborhood, different to here, in the south zone which is more related to bossa nova and jazz. It's reflected in the second hand stores, you see the tastes of the people. (Motta 2020)

When asked about this neighborhood directly, Motta responded by admitting that one of the best record stores in all of Rio de Janeiro was located right in Tijuca, the suburb where Motta lived. Further, Motta recalled the proliferation of "second-hand stores" (alternate business where one could find vinyl records) as being commonplace, even for a small place like Tijuca:

> In the late 70s, early 80s, you could find one of the best record stores in Rio de Janeiro [in my neighborhood]. It was a neighborhood famous for second-hand stores in Rio. For a small city—it's not so small, it's not Amsterdam, but it's a small city—we had something like eight to ten second-hand stores with all sorts of rare stuff . . . rock music from the 70s/60s, soul, funk, jazz, and Brazilian music from the 60s/70s, and Latin music that was kind of blended with jazz like Eddie Palmieri [and] Cal Tjader. I thought Cal Tjader was from Puerto Rico or something like that, and then [I learned] he was from Sweden, living in the US. He's famous in this country because he worked in the Bay Area with João Donato and . . . Rubens Bassini, the percussionist for Sergio Mendes. So there's

> something related to these Brazilian musicians and Brazilian culture too. (Motta 2020)

The concentration of these second-hand stores in Tijuca is notable, principally so because they provided Brazilians of the middle and lower economic strata with a means of procuring rare records and other quality goods for a fair—that is, attainable—price. The fact that one of the best record stores in all of Rio de Janeiro was located in Tijuca is also something that shouldn't be taken for granted: the ability for the record stores to acquire inventory from various international recording labels directly impacted its reputation amongst collectors, like the kind Motta was quickly growing into. This meant that the selection was wide enough to provide a diverse palette and full of music from international and domestic artists, as well as records that were sought by collectors for their rarity and condition. Motta would be exposed to music from across the Americas, from jazz to MPB and Latin Jazz. Among these, *salsa* pianist Eddie Palmieri and Swedish vibraphonist Cal Tjader. Palmieri would rise to popularity in the late 1960s along with his brother Charlie in the New York City *salsa* scene, making a name for himself as a powerful and dynamic pianist, reminiscent of McCoy Tyner in his use of wide voicings on the piano and masterful utilization of modal harmony in his compositions. While Palmieri would venture into Latin jazz, he would remain a bastion of *son montuno* and *salsa* music—that is, dance music—albeit with his

characteristic approach that has won him international appeal. Callen Radcliffe "Cal" Tjader, by contrast, would make a name for himself as a jazz vibraphonist prominent in the Latin Jazz during the 1960s. As mentioned by Motta, Tjader would go on to work with some of the highest calibers of musicians in the jazz and Latin jazz idioms, including Eddie Palmieri, Mongo Santamaria, Bobby Hutcherson, Dave Brubeck, Paul Desmond, and others.

Both Tjader and Palmieri made careers from mixing and re-interpreting Latin musical idioms with jazz and various other musics, something that Motta would soon do in his own career. In his adolescence, though, the availability and diversity of the record stores in Tijuca would inspire him to one day create records like the many that he saw for sale. One such store, *Sub Som [Discos]* in Rio de Janeiro, would propel Motta in exactly this direction:

> The name was Sub Som [Discos] and I used to work there in the holidays, during Christmas time, like for Christmas week, helping the record store because I was crazy about that record store. . . . I was playing acoustic guitar [at that time] . . . I was playing to some songs on the radio, but nothing deep. I think music came strongly [for me] because of those records, that record store . . . It was pretty much the environment of my beginnings. (Motta 2020)

Record stores like Sub Som Discos provided a means for Motta to become influenced by a wide range of musics, from a myriad of musical idioms. The impact was such on his life that he credits Sub Som Discos with shaping him musical and as a

person. Musically, Motta would go on to synthesize musics like R&B, funk, jazz, rock, and opera with Brazilian musical idioms. Personally, Motta would become a record collector, often using his touring schedule as opportunities to purchase records from across the globe. When Motta visited Los Angeles during the production of his *Perpetual Gateways* (2015) album, Motta and I spent a considerable amount of time perusing downtown Los Angeles record shops.

Collectors—and record (i.e., vinyl) collectors—have been the focus of academic study for decades (Belk 2001; Bloom 2002; Hornby 1995; Brewster and Broughton 1999). Collecting "is a significant part of identity construction, and an important dimension of collectors' lives," often dove-tailing with their careers (Shuker 2004: 324). This was the case for Motta, where record collecting and his career as a professional musician fed into one another. These individuals often harbor a love for "the cultural artifact . . . [often] overlooked in popular perceptions of collecting" (Shuker 2004: 316). Yet for Motta, his records were not only objects—cultural artifacts, as Shuker sees them—they were portals into other cultural realities. The record, and the music crystallized therein, inspired within Motta a curiosity for the stories, lived experiences, and histories behind those records. When Motta speaks of an individual musician, or an album, there is always a sensitivity to these aspects of

the music. It becomes part of, and constitutes intrinsically, his encyclopedic knowledge of music, as well as television and film. This all then feeds into his creative output as a musician:

> [Since] I was very young, I was crazy about *The Little Rascals*. It was huge here, but it wasn't so huge as other things from the 70s like *Lost in Space;* it wasn't really from the 70s, but it was still strong in the 70s here, like *Time Tunnel* and things. . . . This is pretty much my interest, from the second world war until 1982; it's my thing. It's pretty much the spirit that I research . . . [that I] try to study, to read. . . . I have to be honest, most of the ideas [for music] comes from —it's similar to music: I listen to music a lot, and then you get that influence, those colors, those rhythms, chords, and things, and then you use that. It's the same for me with movies: I might say that movies are the biggest influence of everything I've written. [In movies] you have habits, the language, the music, the environment, the way people talk, the way people think, everything. (Motta 2020)

The collecting, the exposure to many different musical idioms, the fascination with the lived experiences and cultural expression of other places all shaped his upbringing and his formation as an artists in his adolescence. Motta was widely recognized as child prodigy, recording his first studio album fifteen and his first solo album *Um Contrato Com Deus* (1990) where he played nearly all of the instruments himself (Marcus 2018). Motta has gone on to write for musical theater and in the jazz and Brazilian musical idioms since his start in 1990, working with musicians like Patrice Rushen, Hubert Laws, Chucho Valdez, João Donato, and many more from across Latin America, the United States, and Europe. This all, according to Motta, is

due to the record stores in Tijuca, to Sub Som Discos, and to the environment in which he developed into the musician he is today. An environment characterized by a diversity of music and cultures from near and from far away from his native Tijuca, what Motta described as “a true melting pot” (Motta 2020). It was this mixture of music, television, and film from many different places that made the artist that would rise to international success:

> I was like . . . ten to twelve years old . . . I was listening a lot to hard rock, I was playing drums too, so I was obsessed with hard rock a lot, a lot. Black Sabbath and all of those things; it was strong, man. It was strong together with Earth, Wind, and Fire all together . . . and the music from the radio, Brazilian music from the period, all together; a true melting pot. (Motta 2020)

What Motta would create from this blend of North American and Brazilian musics some forty years later would be a unique amalgamation, one immediately recognizable by his powerfully soulful voice, eclectic and imaginative compositions, all executed with the superior musicianship of his band members and himself. Motta’s music represents the cosmopolitan, polycultural reality that characterized his youth and musical development.

“Marta / Smile”: Exploring Motta’s Elegant Approach to Soul-Funk

If one had to choose a single recording that epitomizes Motta’s sound, it would most likely be “Marta / Smile," recorded as part of his 2013 release, *AOR*. Inspired by

album oriented rock (AOR) playlists created by US disk jockeys playing hard-rock hits of the 1970s, Motta's album serves as a smoother meditation on the sounds of 1970s rock, funk, and soul. "Marta"—released in English as "Smile"—is a harmonic and compositional *tour de force* in the funk-soul idiom, featuring a smaller than average band for the genre. Motta's ensemble consists of electric piano, Rhodes, electric guitar, clavichord, electric bass, trumpet, alto saxophone, tenor saxophone, trombone, drum-set, and voice. The arrangement, while sparse, is sophisticated and minimalist, breaking away from the dense horn lines that characterized funk-soul music of the era. Motta's soulful vocals are supported by intricate and interlocking ostinato pattern played by the electric piano, clavichord, and Rhodes keyboard. With regard to harmonic accompaniment, the arrangement is executed primarily with slash-chords. This performance technique restricts voicings and in turn allows ample space for the vocal lines to be heard, unencumbered by the triple-keyboard instrumentation. This was a crucial decision seeing as bass-line is highly intricate and syncopated. The result is a patch-work of layered ostinatos that, along with the pocket-oriented performance heard on the drum-set, creates a solid foundation on top of which Motta's vocal lines float. The electric guitar is masterfully minimal; an approach that pulls directly from bands like Earth, Wind, and Fire, which relied on

short, deliberately placed, and memorable electric guitar lines as a means to add tonal color and supportive melodic lines to compositions. The quartet of woodwinds and brass are elegantly orchestrated, such that they do not overpower the vocal lines, pianos, or electric guitar. Relying primarily on unison lines and octaves, the instances where harmony is written into their counterpoint strikes the ear without the need for excessive volume or technicality. The melodic lines written into the woodwinds and brass are themselves reminiscent of smooth-jazz, adding further to the "cool-but-cooking" performance captured on this track.

Introduction
Rhythm section (Groove)
Interlude
A^1 Section (verse 1)
A^1 Section (verse 2)
B^1 Section
C^1 Section (verse 3)
Electric piano solo
Rhythm section (Groove)
A^2 Section (verse 1)
A^2 Section (verse 2)
B^2 Section
C^2 Section (verse 3)

Figure 16. An outline of the song-form used in Ed Motta's "Marta/Smile" (2013).

Smile

Ed Motta
[AOR]

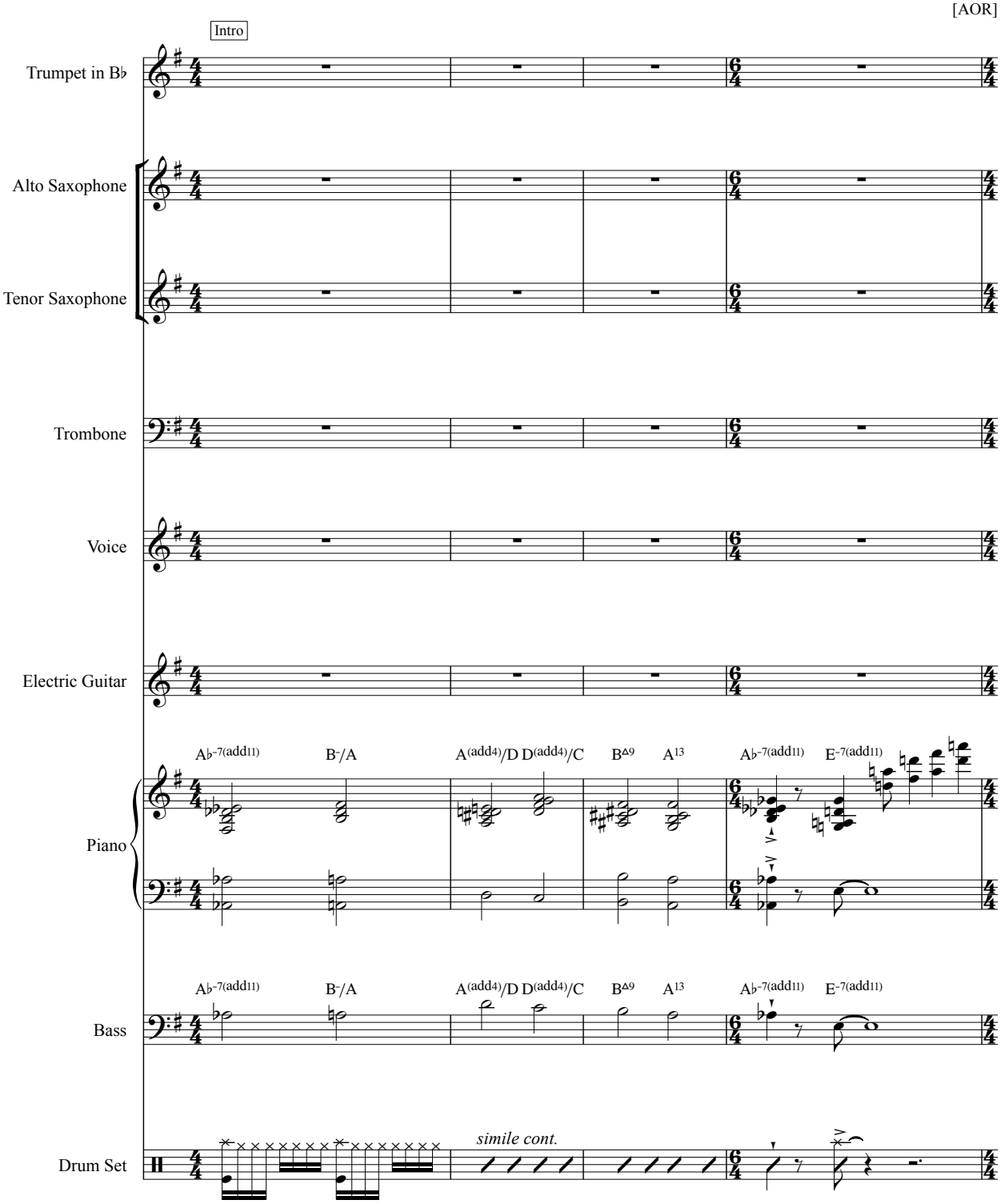
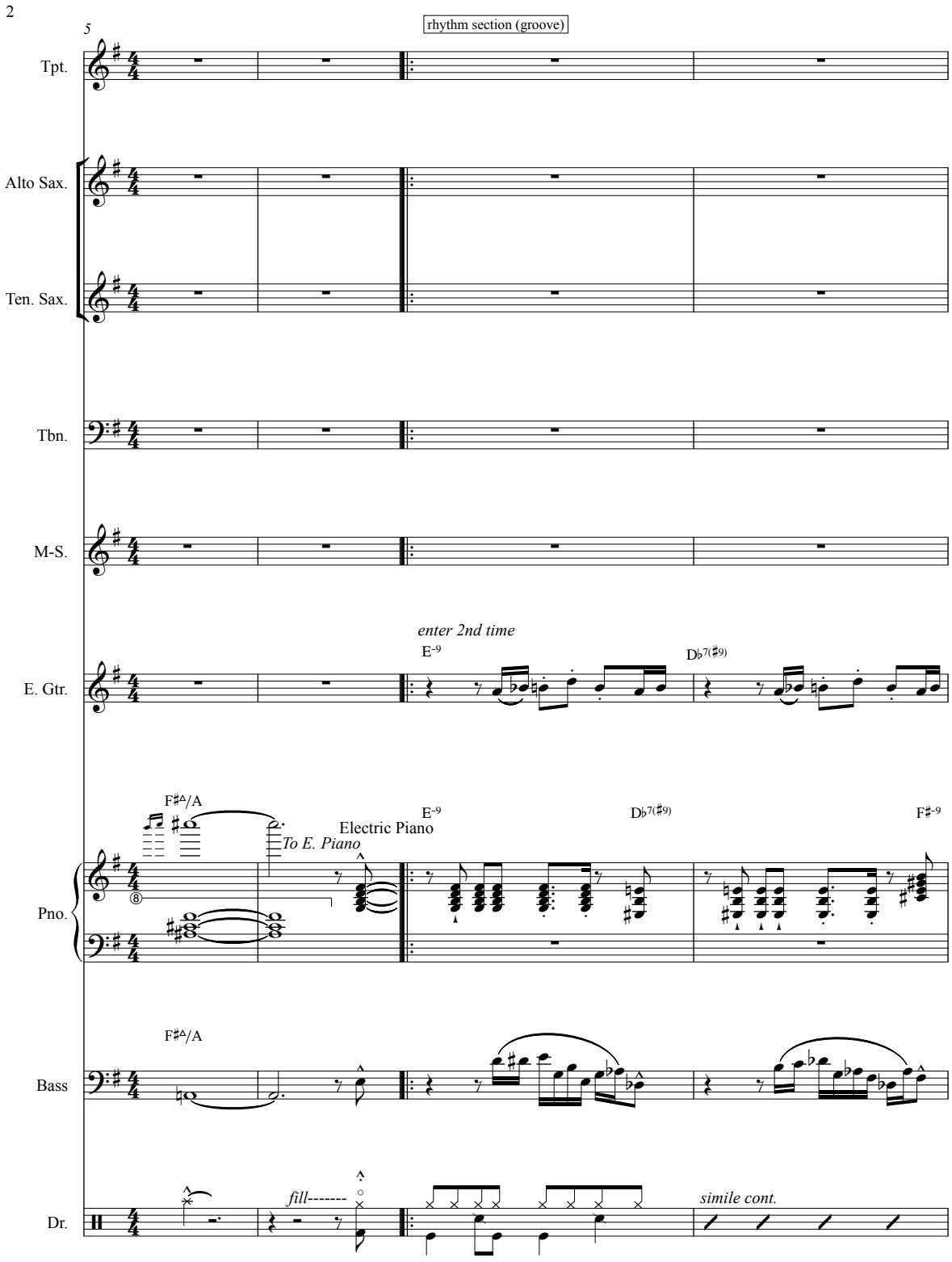
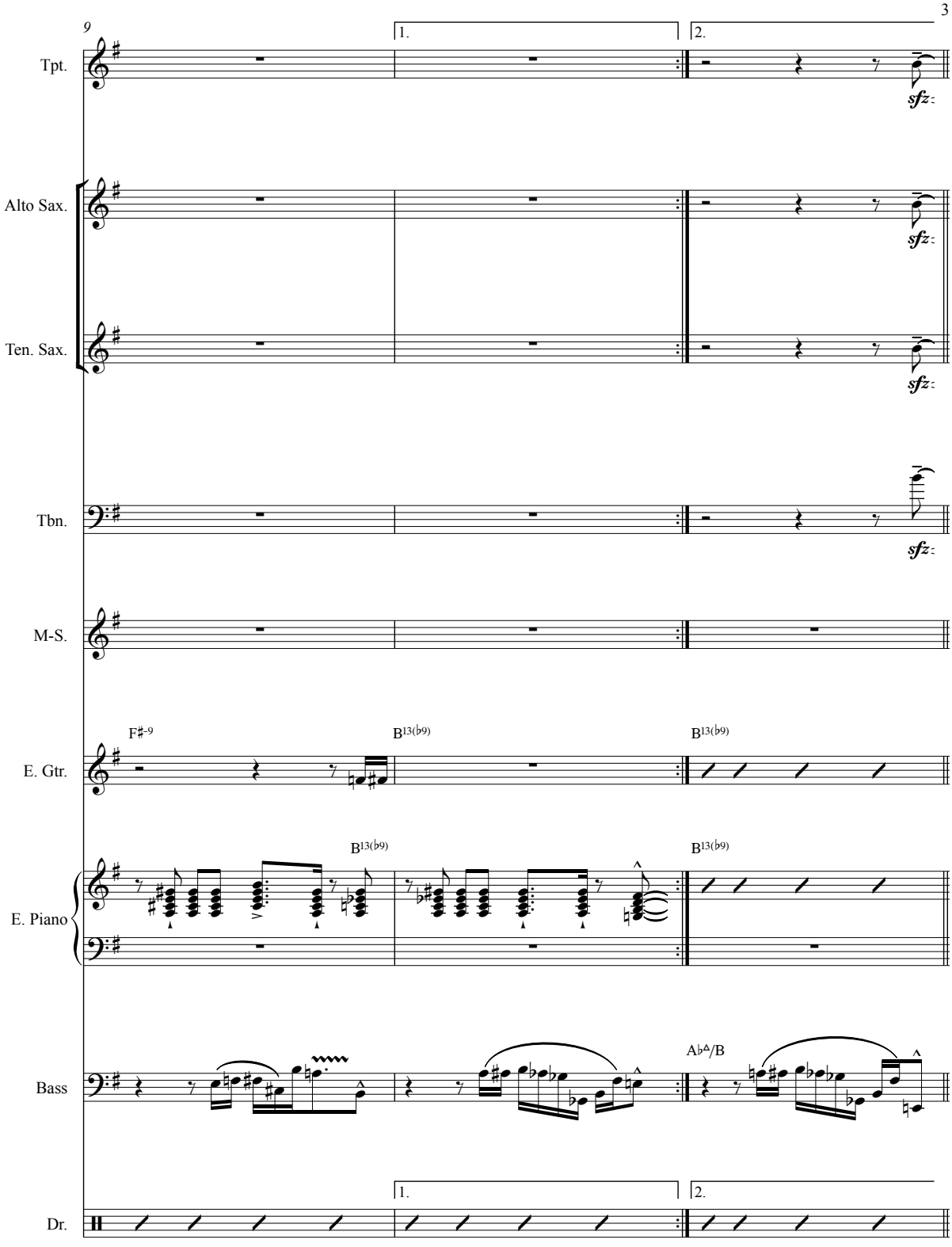
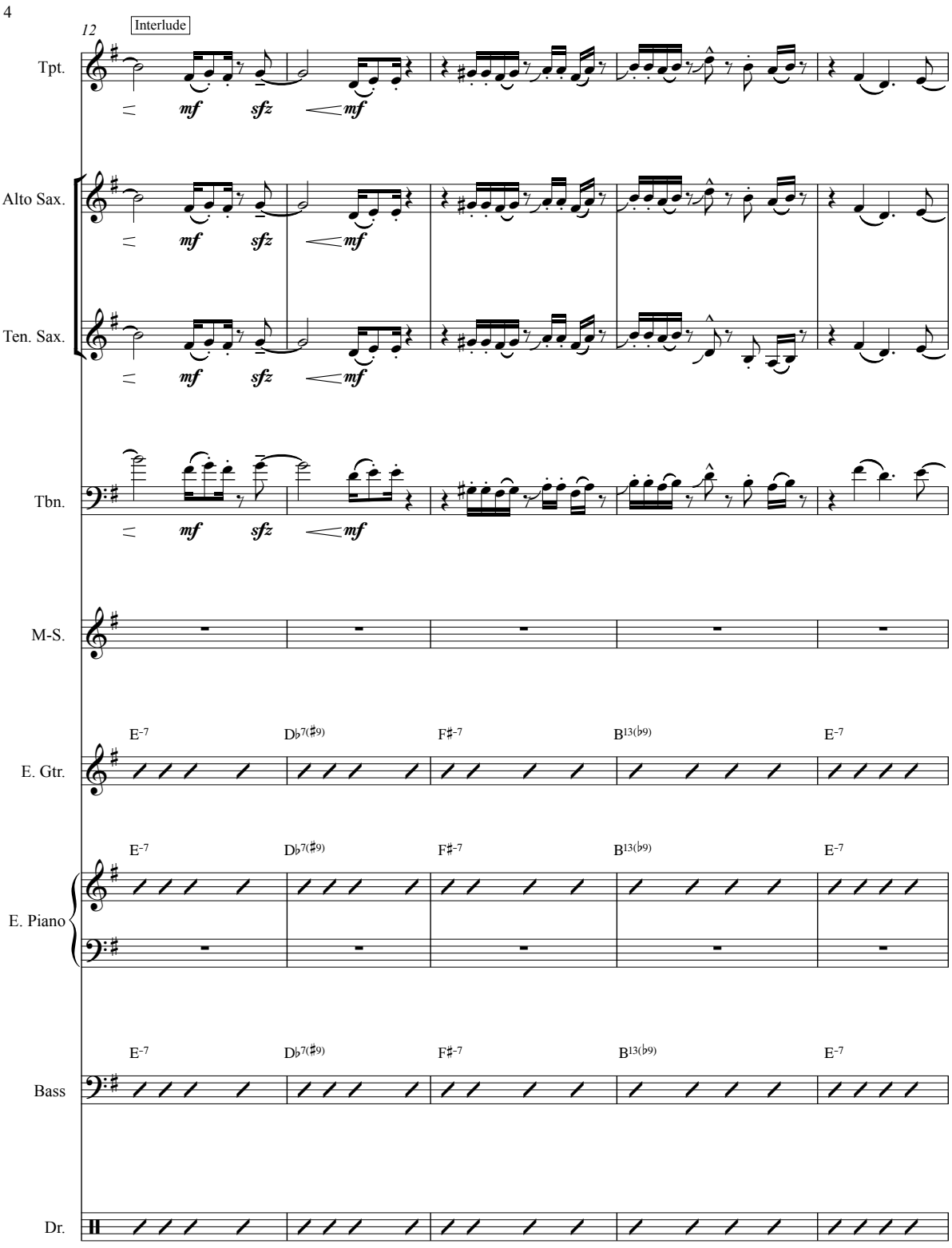
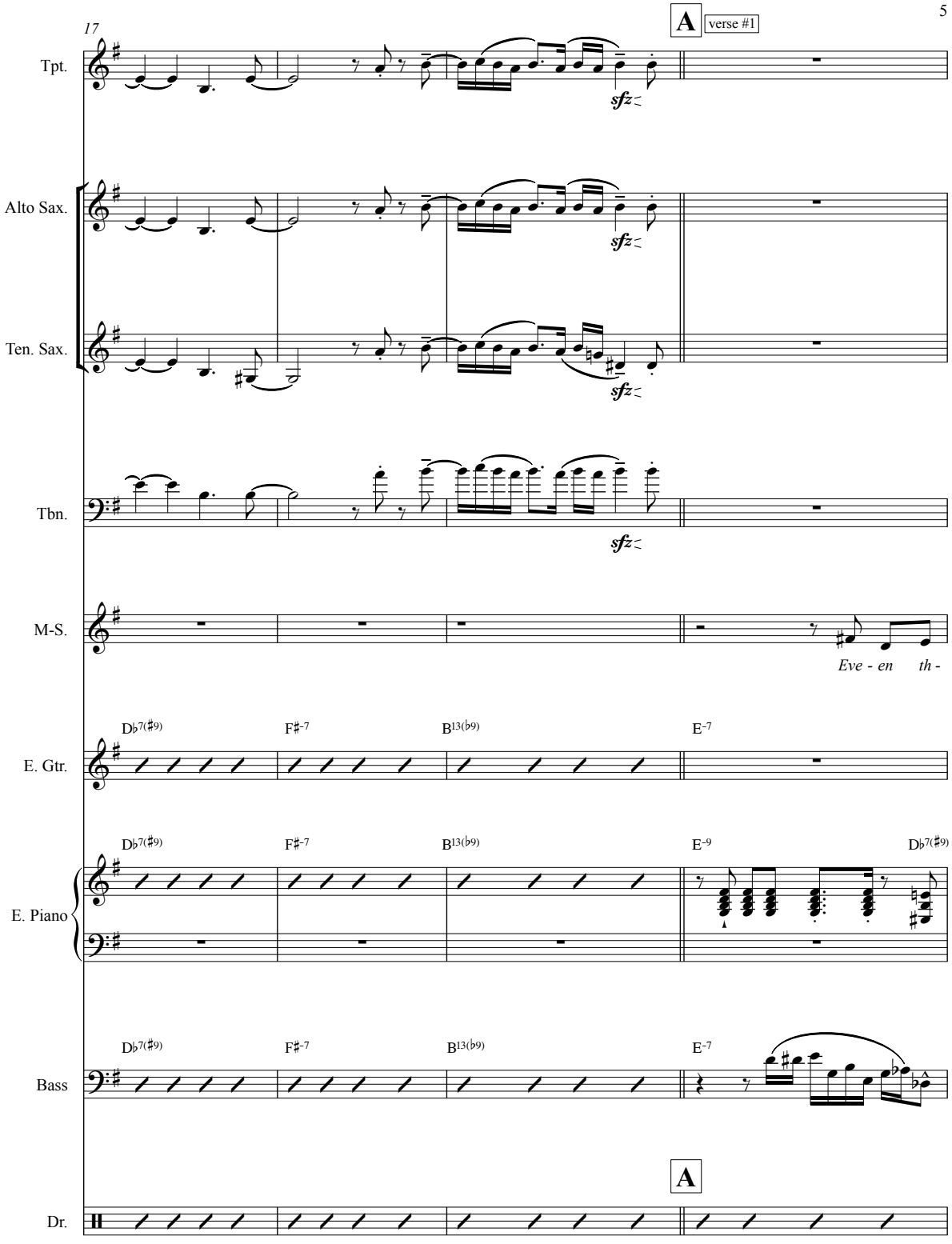


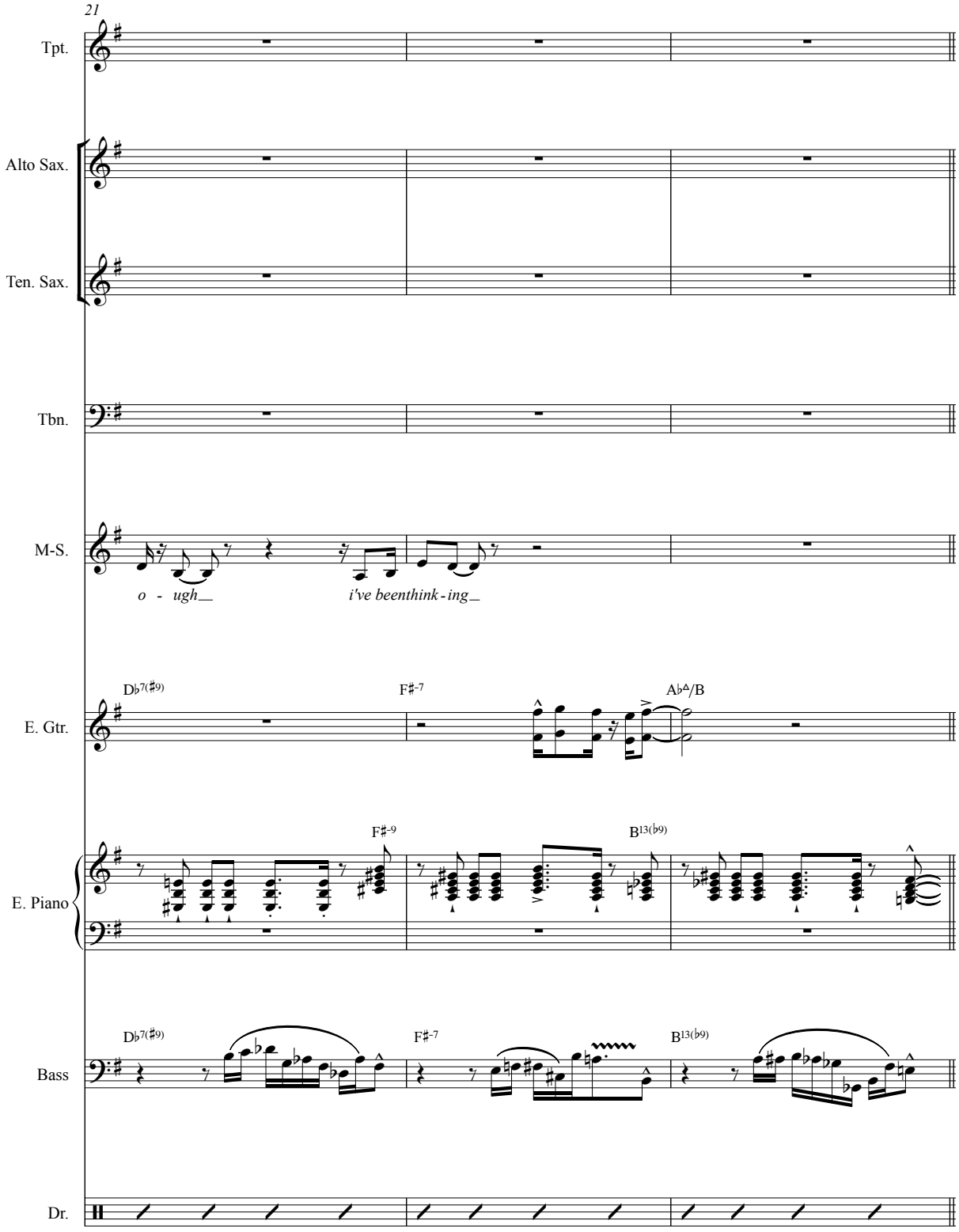
Figure 17. A reduction of “Smile/Marta” as recorded by Ed Motta.

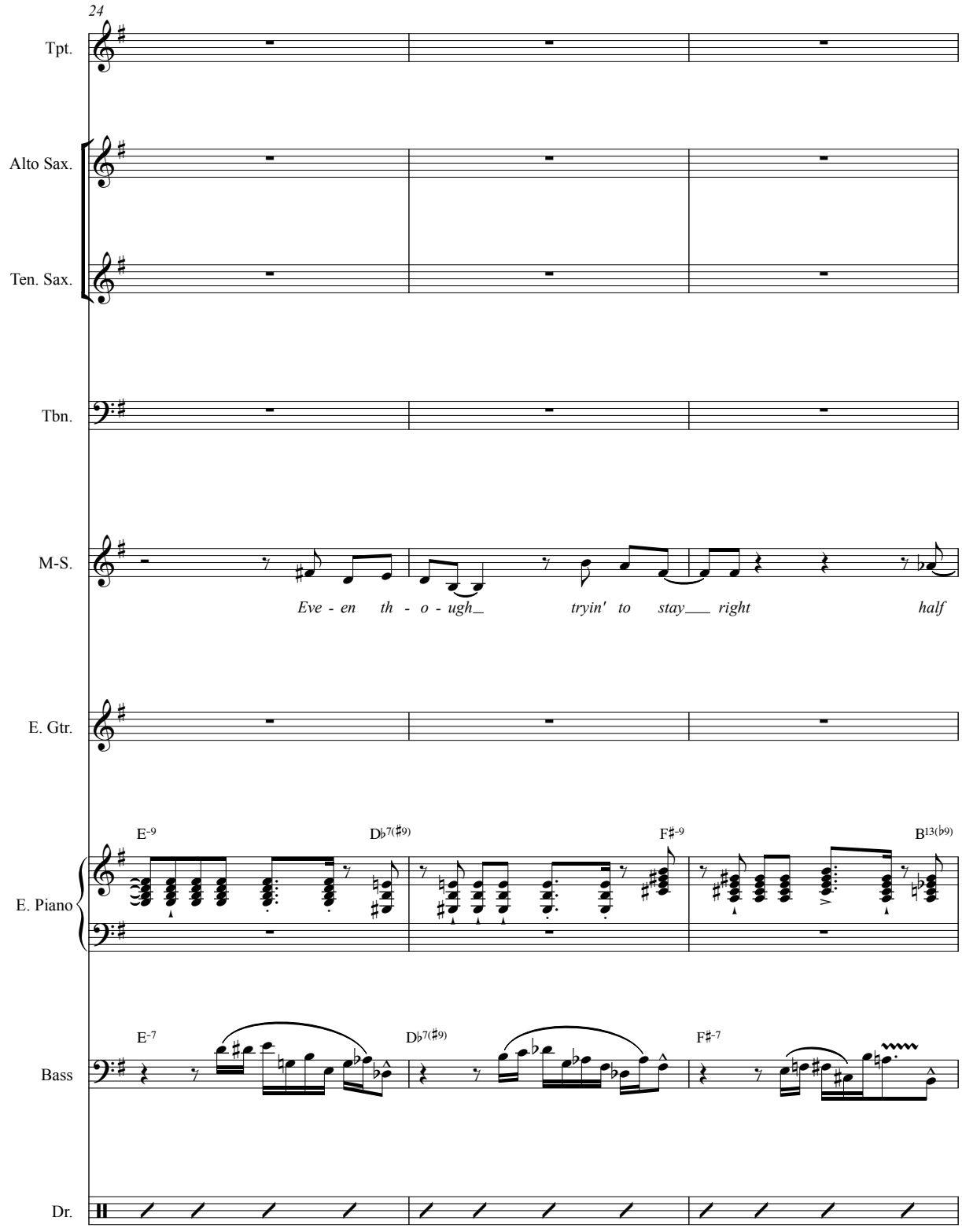

5
rhythm section (groove)
Tpt.
Alto Sax.
Ten. Sax.
Tbn.
M-S.
enter 2nd time
E-9
D♭7(♯9)
E. Gtr.
F♯△/A
E-9
D♭7(♯9)
F♯-9
Electric Piano
To E. Piano
Pno.
F♯△/A
Bass
fill-------
simile cont.
Dr.

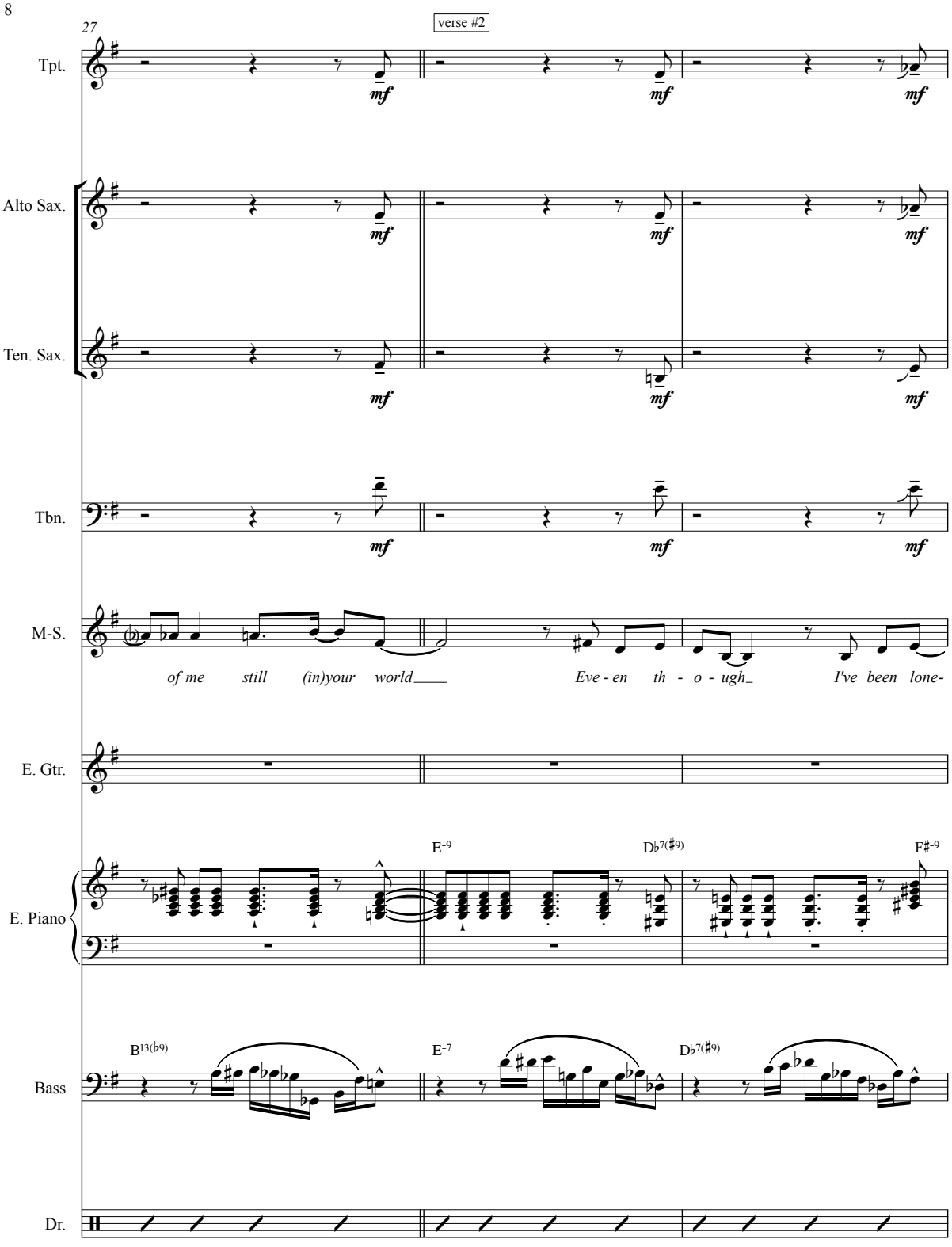

9
1.
2.
Tpt.
sfz
Alto Sax.
sfz
Ten. Sax.
sfz
Tbn.
sfz
M-S.
F♯-9
B13(♭9)
B13(♭9)
E. Gtr.
B13(♭9)
B13(♭9)
E. Piano
A♭△/B
Bass
1.
2.
Dr.

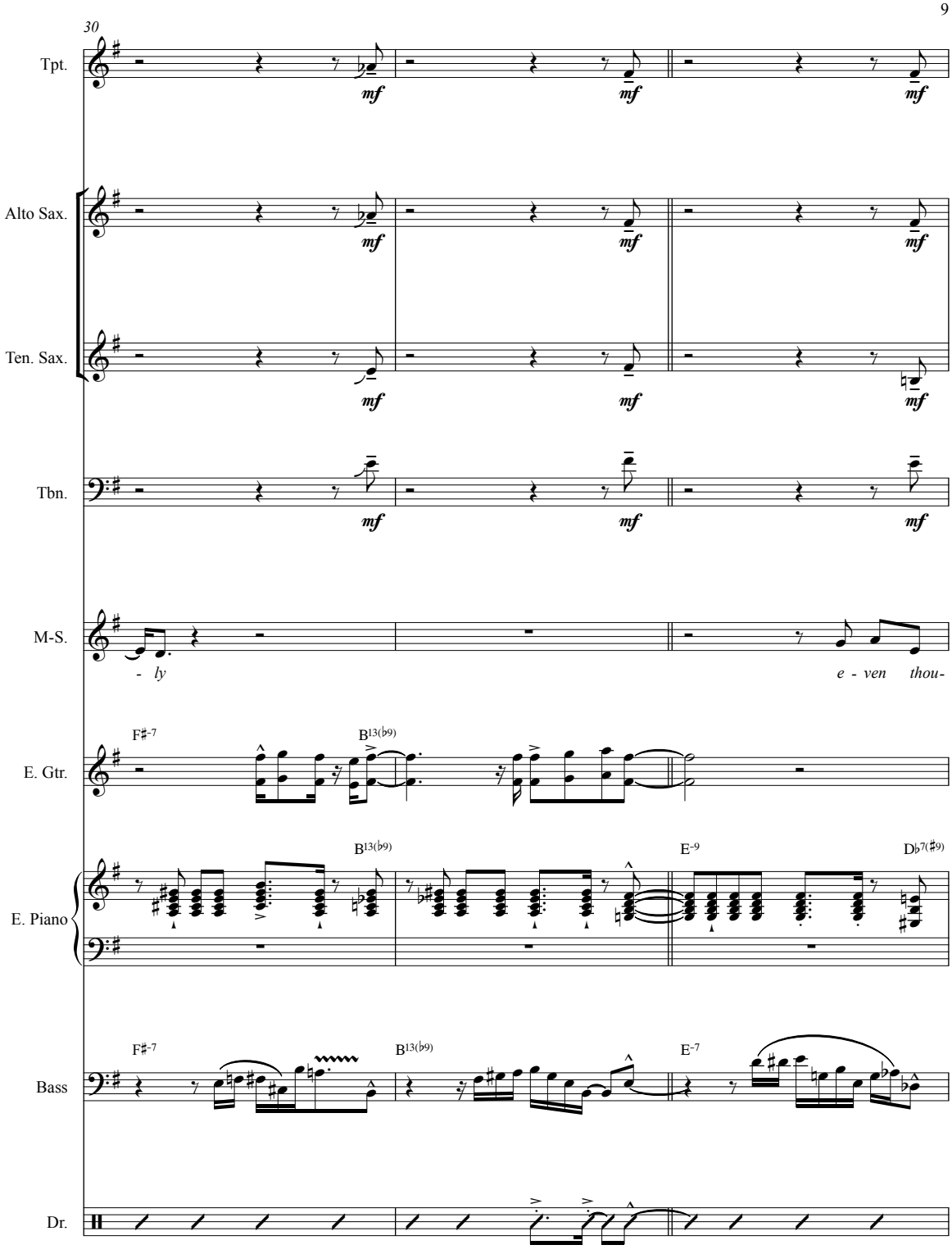

12
Interlude
Tpt.
Alto Sax.
Ten. Sax.
Tbn.
M-S.
E. Gtr.
E. Piano
Bass
Dr.
mf sfz mf
E-7 Db7(#9) F#-7 B13(b9) E-7

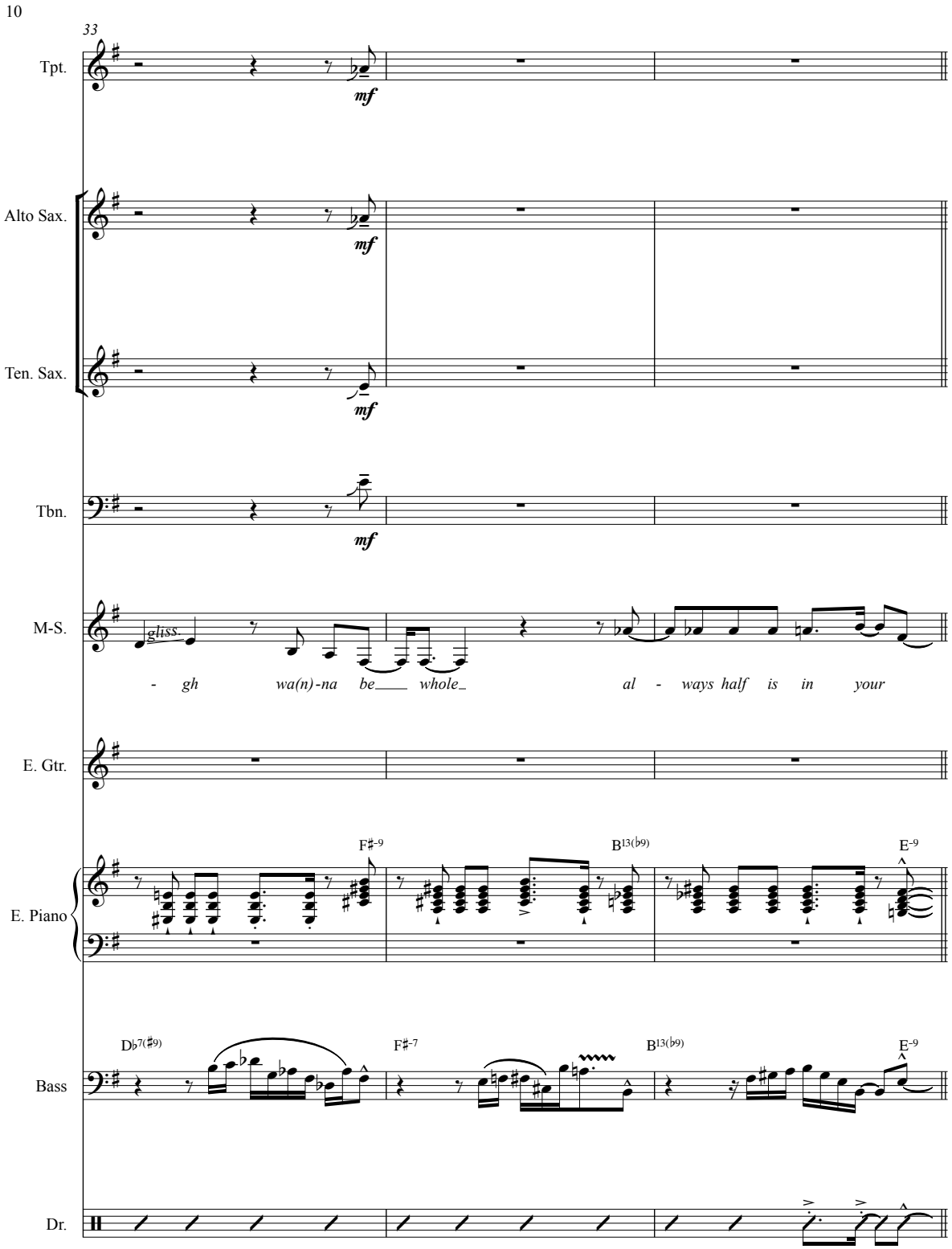

17
A
verse #1
5
Tpt.
Alto Sax.
Ten. Sax.
Tbn.
M-S.
Eve - en th -
E. Gtr.
E. Piano
Bass
Dr.
D♭7(♯9)
F♯-7
B13(♭9)
E-7
E-9
D♭7(♯9)
A

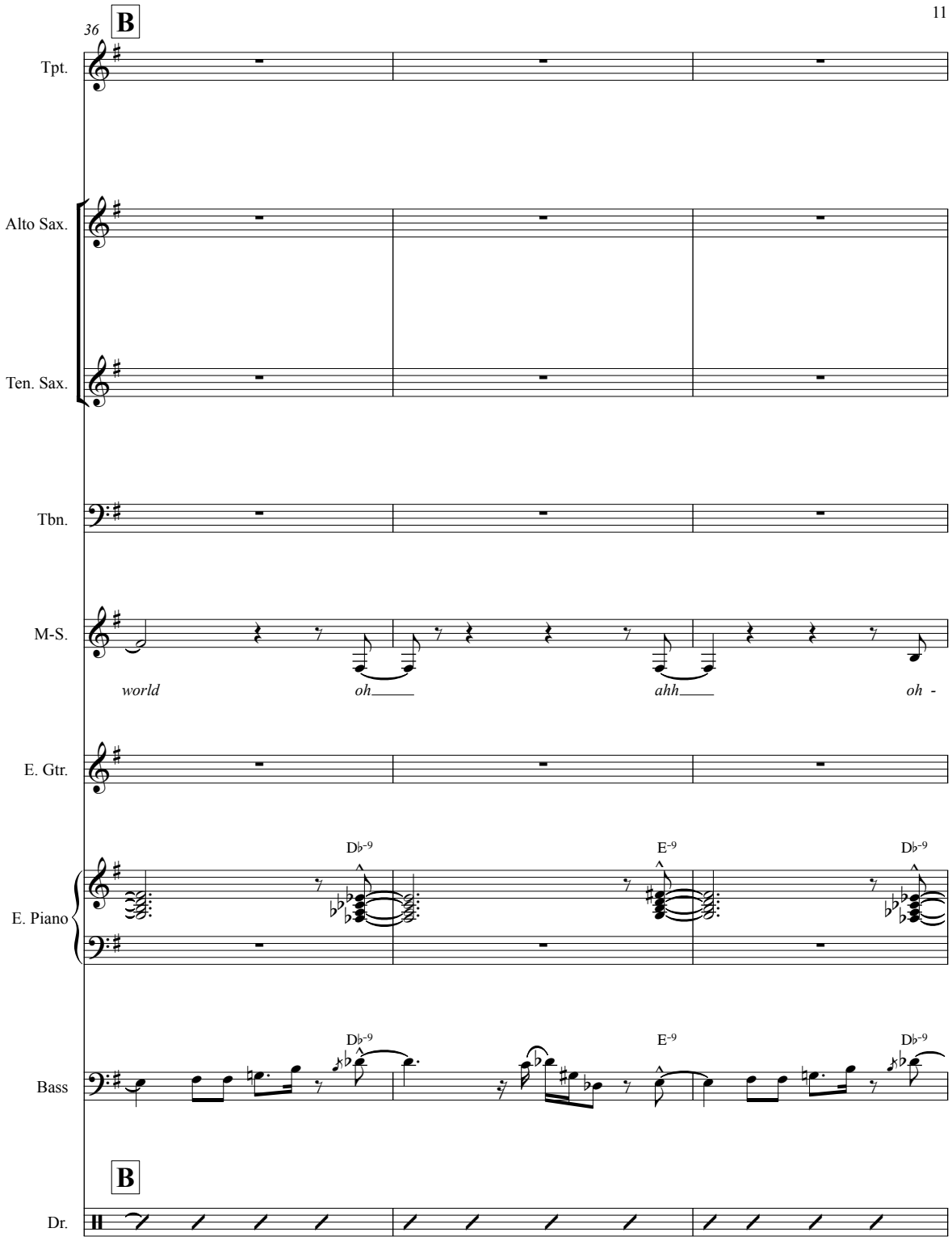

21
Tpt.
Alto Sax.
Ten. Sax.
Tbn.
M-S.
o - ugh__
i've beenthink - ing_
E. Gtr.
D♭7(♯9)
F♯-7
A♭^A/B
E. Piano
F♯-9
B13(♭9)
Bass
D♭7(♯9)
F♯-7
B13(♭9)
Dr.

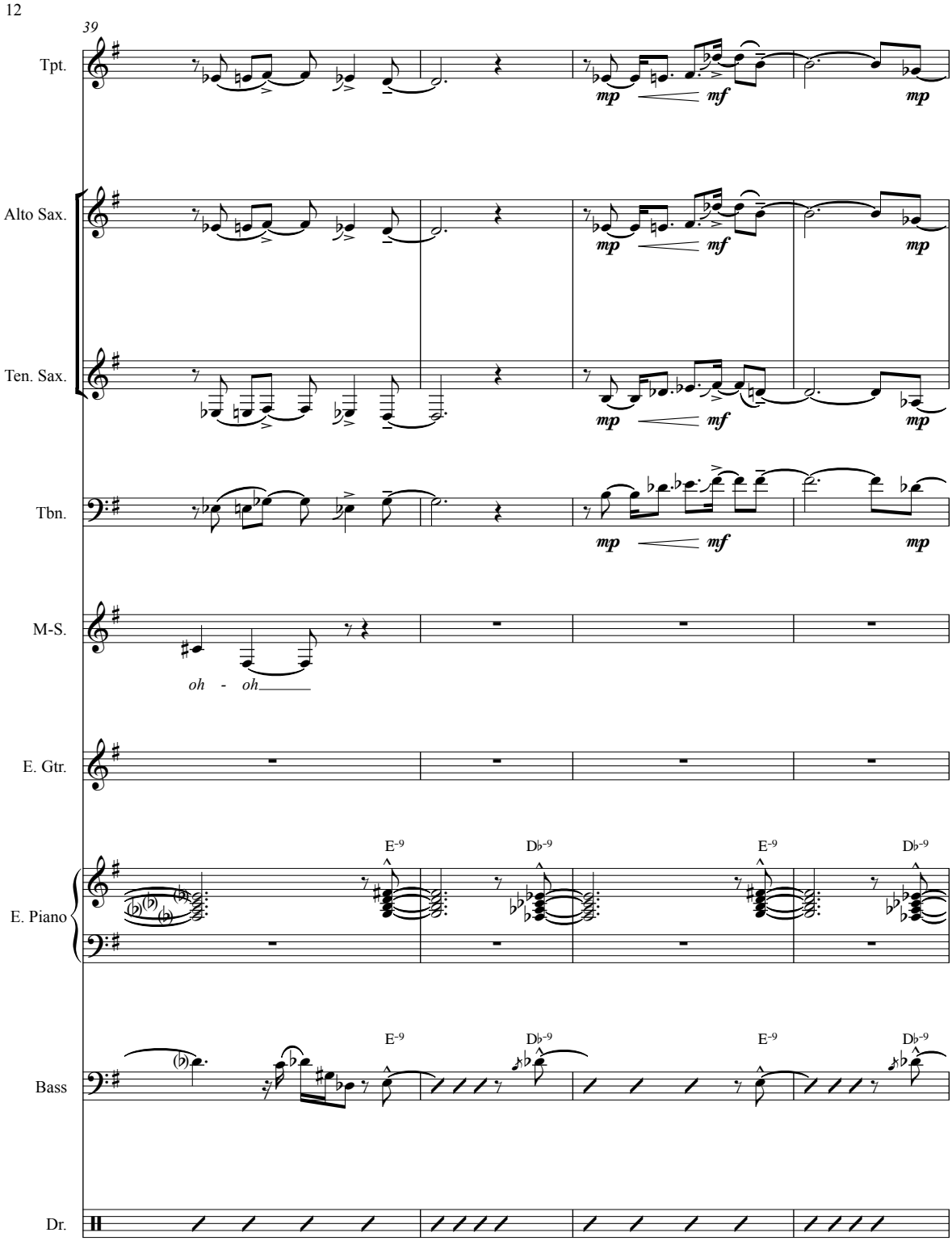

24
Tpt.
Alto Sax.
Ten. Sax.
Tbn.
M-S.
Eve - en th - o - ugh_ tryin' to stay___ right half
E. Gtr.
E. Piano
E-9
Db7(#9)
F#-9
B13(b9)
Bass
E-7
Db7(#9)
F#-7
Dr.

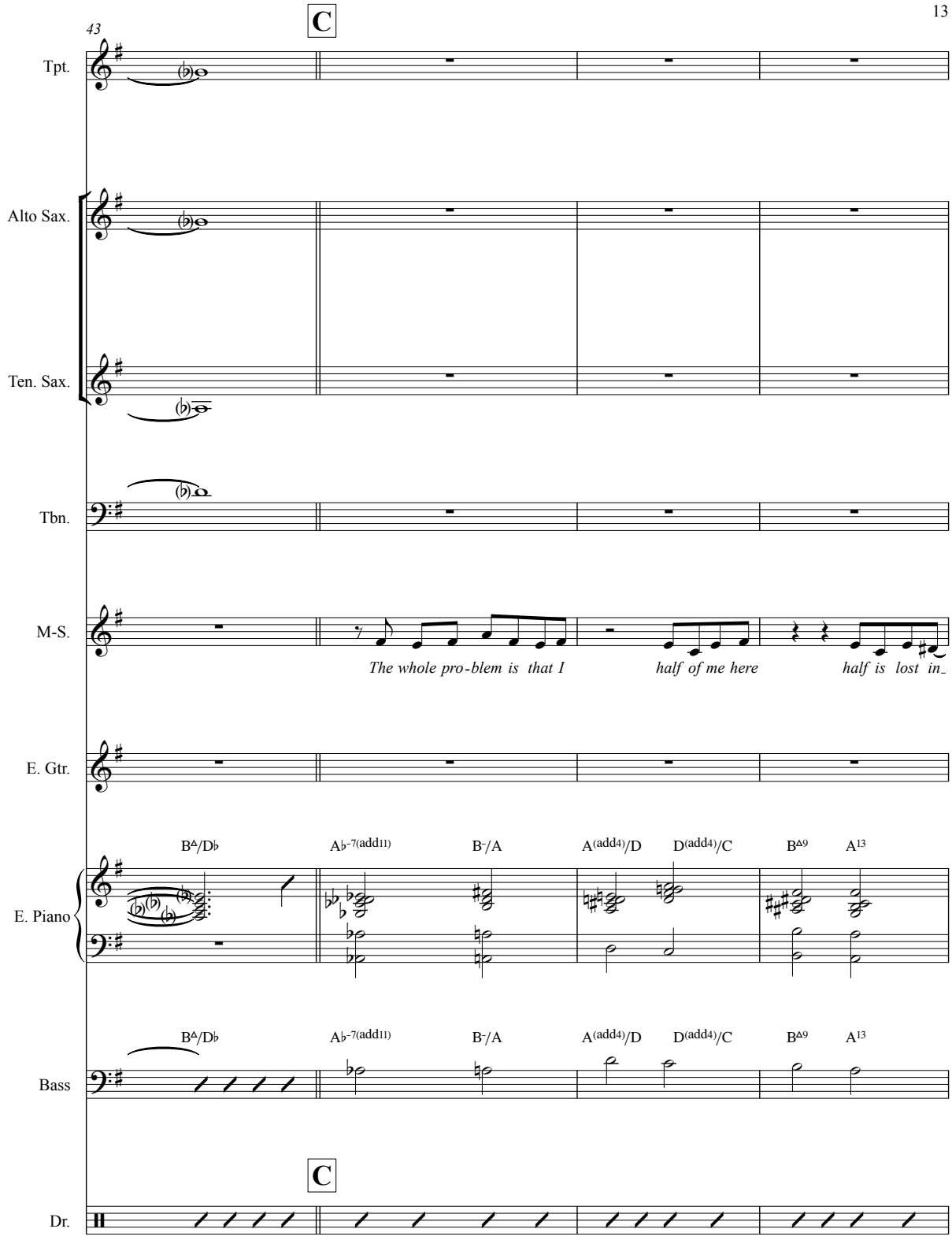

27
verse #2
Tpt.
Alto Sax.
Ten. Sax.
Tbn.
M-S.
E. Gtr.
E. Piano
Bass
Dr.
mf
of me still (in)your world
Eve - en th - o - ugh
I've been lone-
E-9
D♭7(♯9)
F♯-9
B13(♭9)
E-7
D♭7(♯9)

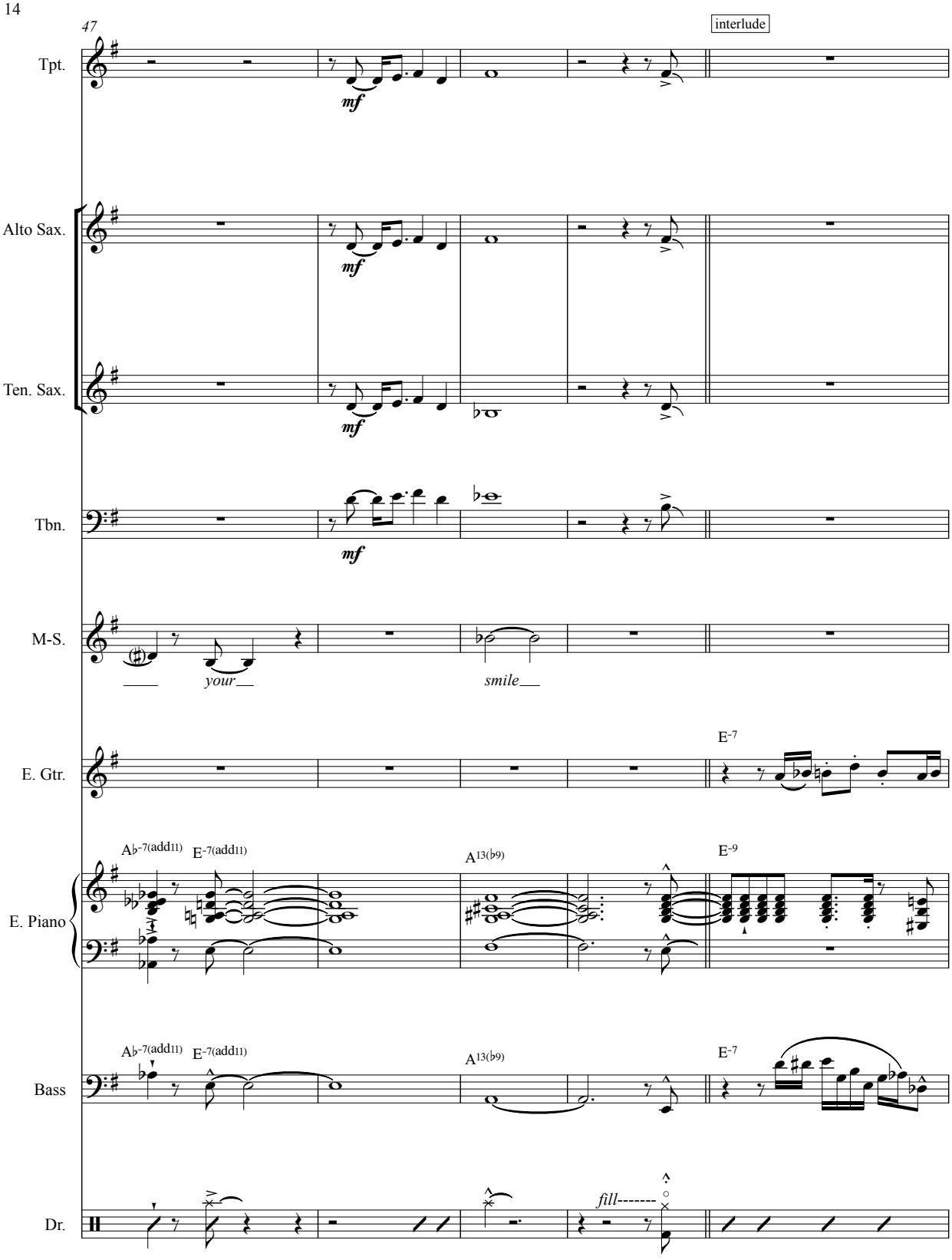

30
Tpt.
Alto Sax.
Ten. Sax.
Tbn.
M-S.
- ly
e - ven thou-
E. Gtr.
F♯-7
B13(♭9)
E. Piano
B13(♭9)
E-9
D♭7(♯9)
Bass
F♯-7
B13(♭9)
E-7
Dr.

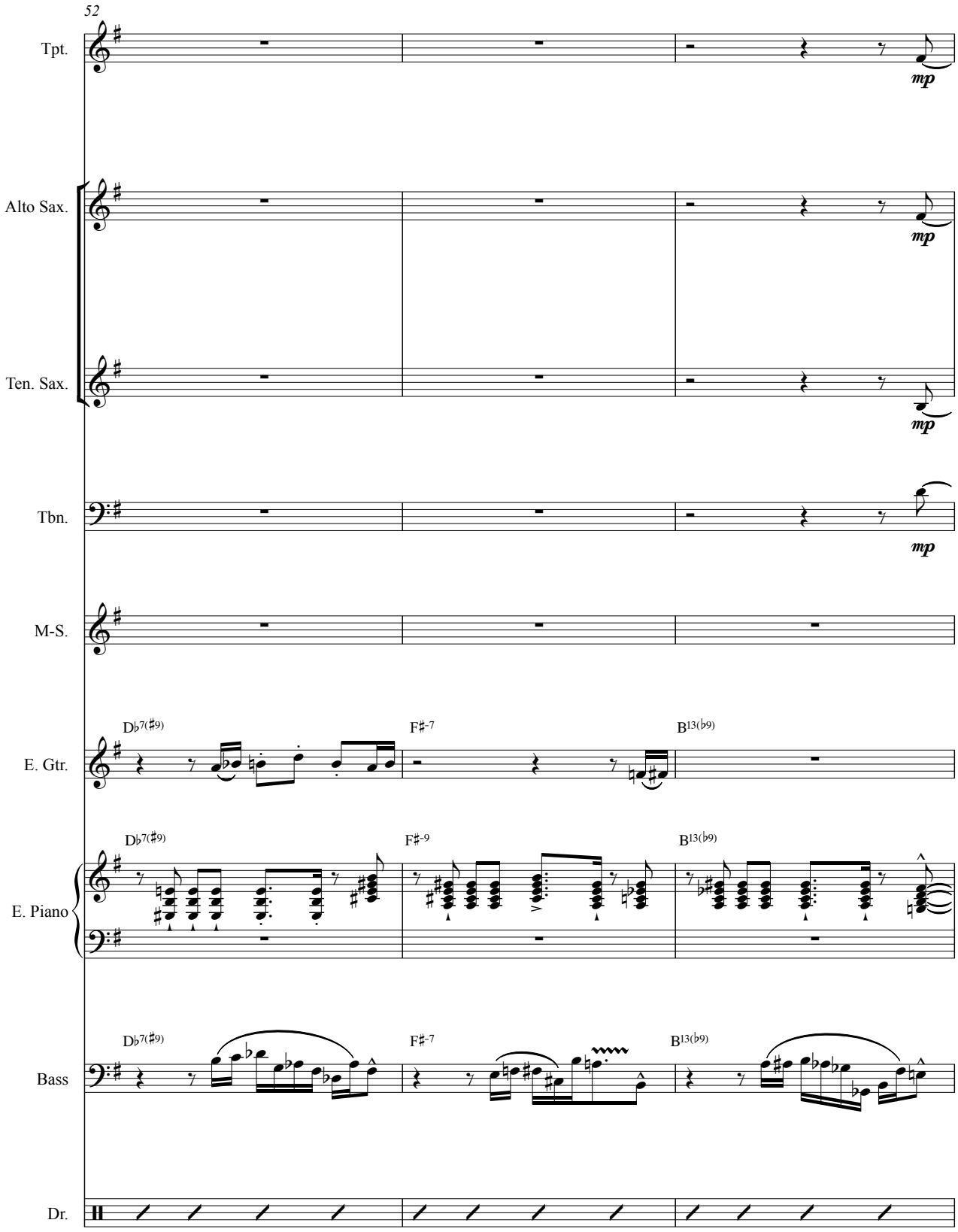

10
33
Tpt.
mf
Alto Sax.
mf
Ten. Sax.
mf
Tbn.
mf
M-S.
gliss.
- gh wa(n)-na be___ whole_ al - ways half is in your
E. Gtr.
E. Piano
F♯-9
B13(♭9)
E-9
Bass
D♭7(♯9)
F♯-7
B13(♭9)
E-9
Dr.

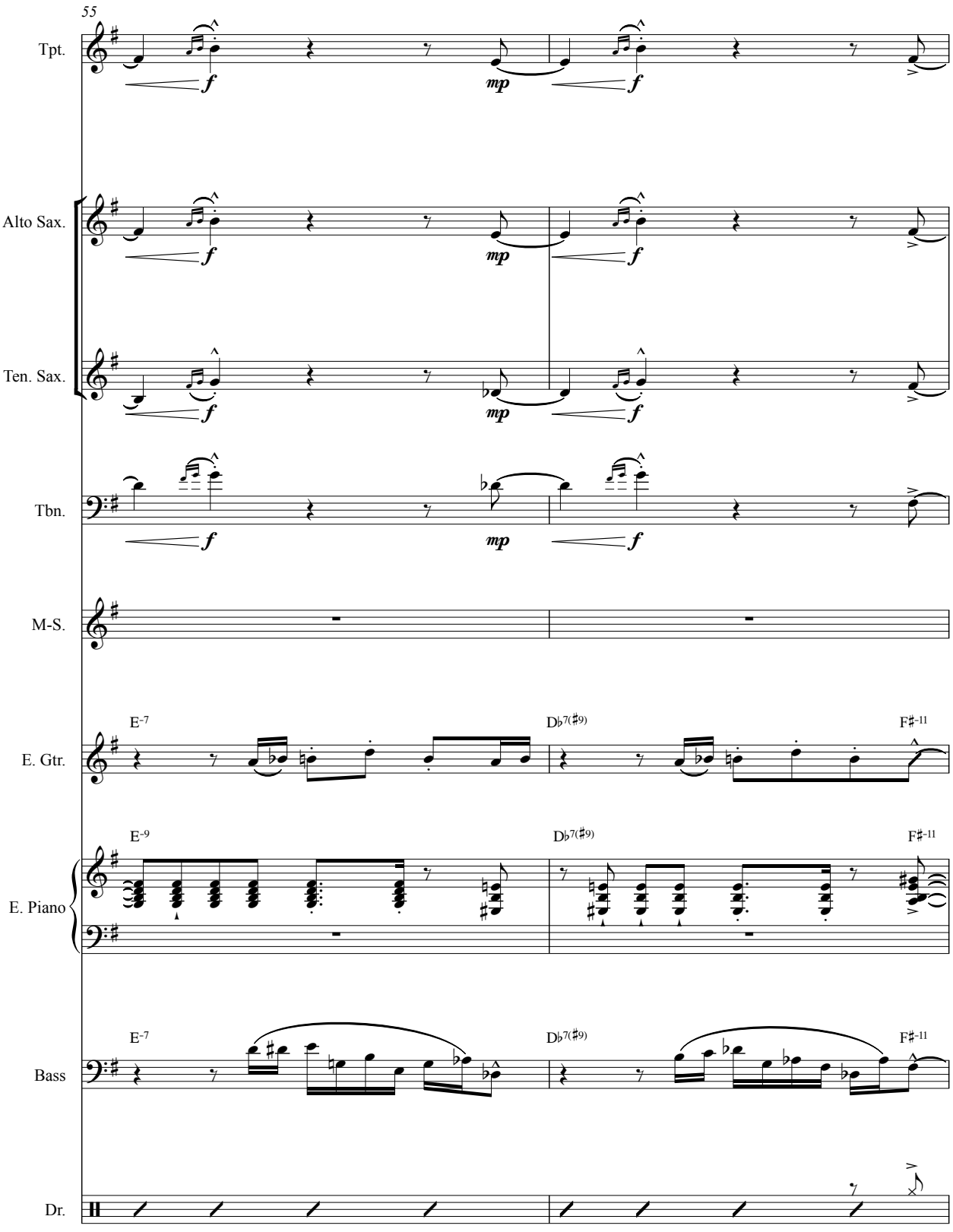

36
B
Tpt.
Alto Sax.
Ten. Sax.
Tbn.
M-S.
world
oh
ahh
oh -
E. Gtr.
E. Piano
D♭-9
E-9
D♭-9
Bass
D♭-9
E-9
D♭-9
B
Dr.

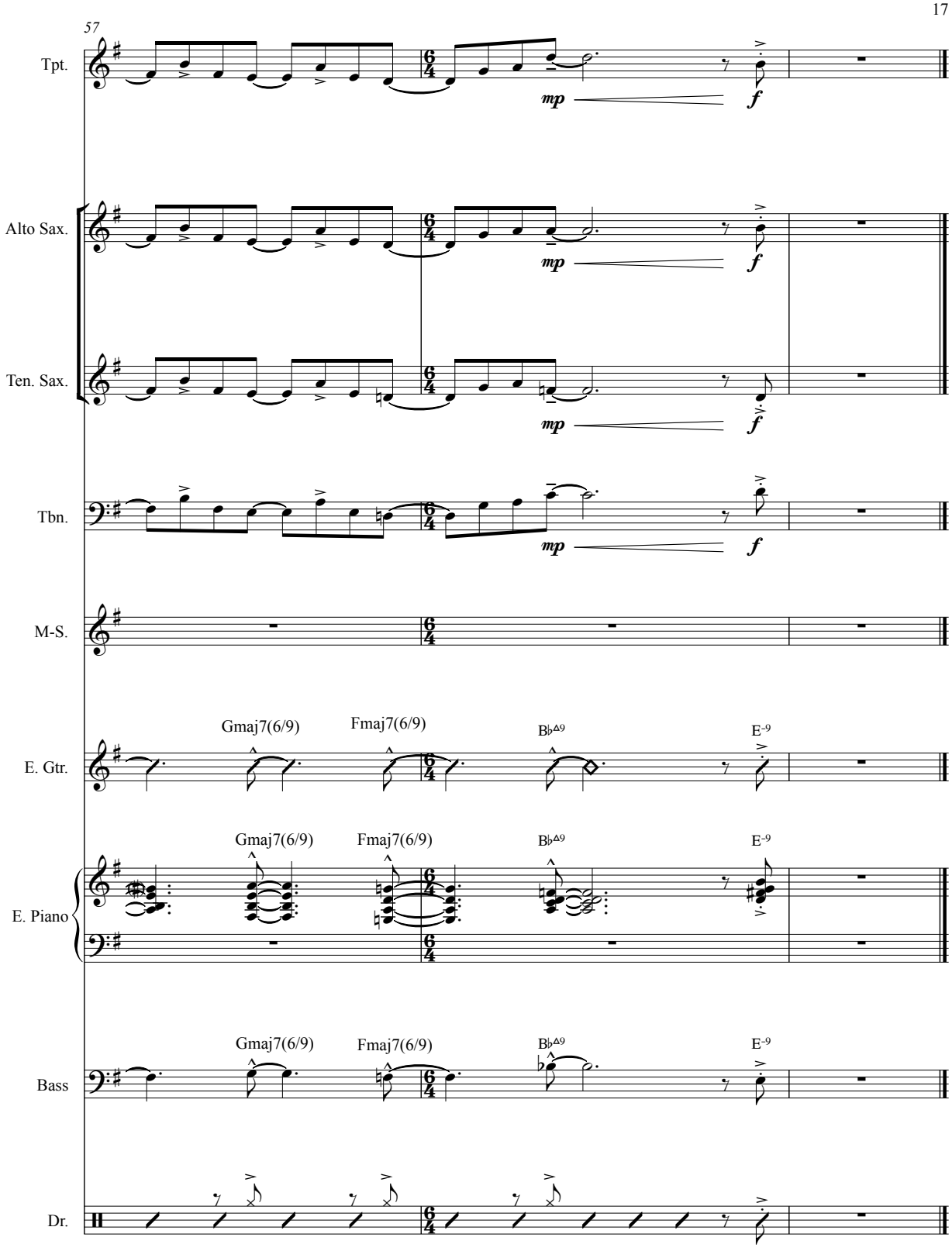

39
Tpt.
Alto Sax.
Ten. Sax.
Tbn.
M-S.
oh - oh
E. Gtr.
E. Piano
Bass
Dr.
mp
mf
mp
E-9
D♭-9


43
C
Tpt.
Alto Sax.
Ten. Sax.
Tbn.
M-S.
The whole pro-blem is that I
half of me here
half is lost in
E. Gtr.
E. Piano
B♭Δ/D♭
A♭-7(add11)
B-/A
A(add4)/D
D(add4)/C
B♭Δ9
A13
Bass
C
Dr.


47
interlude
Tpt.
Alto Sax.
Ten. Sax.
Tbn.
M-S.
your
smile
E. Gtr.
E. Piano
Bass
Dr.
A♭-7(add11)
E-7(add11)
A13(♭9)
E-9
E-7
fill------


52
Tpt.
mp
Alto Sax.
mp
Ten. Sax.
mp
Tbn.
mp
M-S.
E. Gtr.
D♭7(♯9)
F♯-7
B13(♭9)
E. Piano
D♭7(♯9)
F♯-9
B13(♭9)
Bass
D♭7(♯9)
F♯-7
B13(♭9)
Dr.


55
Tpt.
Alto Sax.
Ten. Sax.
Tbn.
M-S.
E. Gtr.
E. Piano
Bass
Dr.
E-7
Db7(#9)
F#-11
E-9
Db7(#9)
F#-11
E-7
Db7(#9)
F#-11


57
Tpt.
Alto Sax.
Ten. Sax.
Tbn.
M-S.
E. Gtr.
E. Piano
Bass
Dr.
mp
f
Gmaj7(6/9)
Fmaj7(6/9)
B♭Δ9
E-9

To illustrate these facets at work, a transcription of “Marta/Smile” has been provided (Figure 17). The composition follows a loose AABC song structure, with a recapitulation of the AABC structure as its conclusion. While the harmonic progression remains constant through the AABC sections, new lyrical material is introduced between the initial presentation of the sections and their latter presentation. This AABC material is bookended with introductory sections, interludes, and an electric piano solo. An outline in textual form can be seen in figure 16. The transcription follows the composition as it was recorded from start to the conclusion of the ‘C’ section. Of the many noteworthy aspects of this recording, perhaps the most interesting is the harmony, which is firmly rooted in the jazz idiom, while Motta’s vocal performance is laden with blues and rock influences. The arrangement for the brass and wind instruments imply a smooth jazz approach, but simultaneously reflect the AOR direction intended for the album. The lyrics—which are presented in English—were released in both Portuguese and English, keeping their essence in meaning and prose between the two languages. Paradoxically, what is most noticeable in this recording the nuance discernible in its composition, arrangement, lyrics, and performance. It is firmly in the funk, soul, and R&B traditions, but there are other things that separate it from the tracks that one would hear in the United

States. Motta and his musicians' individual performances not withstanding, what can be noticed here is an elegance, a new approach, and sophistication to this "American" music being made in Brazil by an artist who knows both Brazilian popular music and North American popular music.

Singing in English and Dreaming in Portuguese

In an interview for the North Sea Jazz Club (2014), Motta summarized how he sees himself as a Brazilian musician creating music heavily influenced by musics of the United States and South America:

> I've been recording my discs for a long time and the language has always been a point of doubt in my mind because I feel that the lingua franca of my music is English. It's where the songs sound closer to the references that I had been listening to since I was a kid. I listened much more to those albums than to albums in Portuguese. However, at the same time Portuguese is a part of my daily life: I dream in Portuguese, it's the way I speak about what's deep inside of me. In that way, it touches another side of the emotion, that is not only music. It has something differs which emotionally carries the weight of being the language that I've spoken since I was born. Because I have always sang in Portuguese and my influences have always been those in English, I have a way of singing in Portuguese with a bit of that [English] sonority and of those references. . . . So my music has a profile of what is internationally and globally known as soul, funk, AOR, everything together, combined with a Brazilian, South American view. (Motta 2014)

Motta had been at the center of controversy in Brazil due to the directness with which he shares his cosmopolitan view of music and his own work. In 2015 audiences

reacted negatively to tweets Motta shared, warning fans to not expect to hear popular hits such as his "Manuel" (2006) and urging his Brazilian fans to learn English. Motta remembered the ramifications of that interactions, saying "*Fecharam as portas para mim e eu fiquei um ano passando necessidade*" ["*it closed doors for me and I had a hard year financially*"] (Pan 2017). What lied under this contention was a friction, one characterized by the space between who Motta is and what his audiences believe him to be. For his domestic audiences, many see Motta as an extension of who they are: a Brazilian who is making music for Brazilians. When Motta urged his Brazilian audiences to learn English, many Brazilians took it as a direct attack, placing American culture above the Brazilian culture that bore him. For Motta however, music is an extension of who he is as a person: throughly cosmopolitan and polycultural as an artist, person, and global citizen.

Where does Motta fit then? He is a Brazilian that makes music heavily influenced by the musical traditions of the United States, who makes his living touring the world, performing for people from a myriad of social, cultural, and economic backgrounds. For those caught in this "in between"–that is, the space between the local and global–hard lines that delineate seemingly definite ideas like culture and tradition fade into overlapping layers of grey. The memories of working at Sub Som

Discos in Tijuca, Rio de Janeiro will always remain as one of the defining experiences in Motta's life; the rock albums that will always remind Motta of that adolescence will never cease to be inextricably connected to the North American and British lived experience. Does it make Motta any less Brazilian that the albums that remind him of his Rio de Janeiro neighborhood are in English and not in Portuguese?

Taking Motta's tweets at face value—as incendiary as they were for his audience—would only serve to further distort Motta's message. For individuals like Motta, their lives are connected to many different languages, different places, and different ideologies than only those of their upbringing. Cosmopolitanism takes us only so far in understanding this lived experience, as the term has often been used to refer to individuals who seek out unfamiliar cultures for their novelty. Multiculturalism or interculturalism would take us further, but this conceptualization stops at the arbitrary division that they draw: many cultures existing within one person separately but distinctly (Hao et al. 2016:1258). For Motta, it isn't simply that he likes the music and artistic culture of the United States and happens to live in Brazil, he is firmly in both Brazilian and United States cultures. To use his own words, Motta is "singing in English and dreaming in Portuguese" (Motta 2014).

Motta's reality is not rare, but is rather common amongst those who live in metropolitan centers like Rio de Janiero, Havana, New York City, and others around the globe. Indeed anyone who finds themself part of a diasporic community would live a very similar reality, being caught between the pressures of "assimilating" into the dominant culture or identifying with their "in-group" (i.e., their inherited culture), to use a familiar dichotomy (Rumbaut 1994:755). As the internet becomes ever more ubiquitous, realities characterized by the blurring of cultural lines will become ever more ubiquitous themselves. One predictable eventuality will be these events of friction—like that which Motta found himself in 2015—where words will be taken as offense by some, or as truth by others. The opportunity, though, is to recognize these events as the inevitable ramifications of the lines drawn during the campaigns of nation building and nationalism during the twentieth century softening rapidly in the twenty-first. This softening takes many forms, but perhaps is most noticeable in emerging entertainment trends. Researchers need not look further than international pop musics, which are homogenizing faster than they ever have during the twentieth

century. Taking Brazilian *funk carioca*[13], for example, with mega stars like Anitta and Karol Conka, comparing them with Reggeaton stars like Natty Natasha (originally from the Dominican Republic) and Karol G, with US trap/hip-hop stars like Cardi B and Nicky Minaj, the similarity between them is immediately noticeable, striking, and recognizably deliberate. These artists are—in one way or another—all listening and watching each other. As demographics here in the United States once referred to collectively as "ethnic minorities" continue to sway domestic popular culture economically and politically, the popular musics they support will play an integral role in the development of the international zeitgeist in the future. This interconnection across national lines cannot exist without individuals who are firmly invested in their own cultural realities as well as foreign cultural realities. Rather than being a novelty, lived realities Motta's will become the new-normal.

These issues (i.e., globalization, migration, etc.) would not surprise the people who find themselves part of the many diasporic communities across the globe today. What would surprise them, perhaps, will be the way societies and the people that

---

[13] *Funk Carioca* developed recently in Rio de Janiero, enjoyed mostly by urban youth. At the core of the *funk carioca* culture is a "utopian impulse, a desire to be lifted above the scarcity, vulnerability, and dreariness of poverty and transported to a place of abundance, power, and excitement through the experience of the music in the *baile funk*" (Sneed 2008:60). It has received substantial criticism for promoting violent and demeaning imagery and messages. It has, nonetheless, become popular across Brazil and abroad.

constitute them will flip the diasporic model in the future. Where once there were distinct "cultures," carefully constructed traditions–like *mariachi*, for example–will perhaps take their place. The possibilities are both exciting and worrisome, depending on the perspective with one chooses to peer into the future. The ramifications of an ever more interconnected global community are, however, pervasive and demand attention. This is especially true for individuals like Motta, who find themselves wholly and genuinely in multiple cultural realities.

Lupita Infante: Legacy, *Patrimonio*, and Mexican-American Identity as a Woman Mariachi

Lupita Infante
(Photo: Greg Waterman, January 2019)

I think, as a woman, just showing up; being there despite these men trying to tell you what's "right" for you to wear, or do, or tradition to follow. . . . Normalizing, "yea there's more than one way to do it." [and] "Yes, look at me: I have an education and I know my past, and I come from this legacy, but I'm also doing my own thing and am doing it respectfully."

—Lupita Infante (2020)

Lupita Infante represents a new type of performer: a woman *mariachi* forging her own path, ascending rapidly. The grand-daughter of the famous actor, singer, and Mexican cultural icon Pedro Infante, Lupita has taken up the Infante family legacy in her unique way, both musically and personally. Born in 1986, Infante is a Mexican-American and as such finds herself part of the thirty-seven million hispanics of Mexican descent who live in the United States (Noe-Bustamante 2019). This space of being "in-between"—not quite Mexican, but not quite American—is exacerbated by her taking up her grand-father's mantle as a *mariachi*. Traditionally performed by men and done so with characteristically *machista* bravado, mariachi has only recently been

opened to include all-female ensembles. In many ways, mariachi is not only a symbol of Mexican culture, but also a bastion of machismo where traditional gender mores are acted out in musical and performance practice. Infante represents a breakaway from that, not only for her being a woman in this music, but also for her status as a solo singer in a music where full ensembles are most often seen as the proper manner in which to perform and keep the music.

Infante has received criticism both from audiences in the United States and Mexican audiences for challenging these norms that woman performers resist against domestically and abroad. As a Mexican-American, Infante has been criticized for not aligning herself enough with traditional her Mexican heritage. Conversely, Infante has grappled with the tendency for artists to be stereotypically categorized in the US markets, creating music that is a blend of Mexican, pan-Latin American, and pop influences. Despite these challenges, Infante has received critical acclaim for her breakout album *La Serenata* (2019), receiving a Grammy Nomination in 2019. Infante's approach to resisting and combating these challenges, both domestically and abroad, reflect the changing global community that artists find themselves in.

Corridos and *Rancheras* as Homage and Living Memory

Infante did not begin her career early, instead living "a typical working-class" life in Downey, California (Infante 2020). Infante was raised by her mother, Marisol Esparza and her father, Pedro Infante-Torrentera. Infante's father had pursued a career in music and film, although he never reached the heights that his own father–Pedro Infante-Cruz–did. Pedro Infante-Cruz became an icon during the golden-era of Mexican film[14], starring in over sixty films and remains fondly remembered for his performances in *A Toda Máquina* (1951) and *Tizoc* (1956). For many, Infante-Cruz perfectly reflected, both on-screen and off-screen, some of the most precious and revered ideals in the Mexican national culture: modesty, humility, and simplicity. One account that perfectly represents who Infante-Cruz was for the Mexican people, and how fondly they keep him even to this day, was written in the *The Sun Post* in honor of the 100th anniversary of his birthday:

> One day Pedro Infante went to a restaurant and before ordering, went in the kitchen to wash the dishes. Only when he had finished did he tell the owner: "Toño, I'm done, you can serve me now." He is still remembered today for his modesty, as well as for the talent that made him the great idol of Mexico. (Reviejo 2017)

[14] The Golden Age of Mexican Cinema (1930–1969) when the Mexican film industry reached high levels of production, quality and economic success of its films across Mexico.

Musically, Infante-Cruz was known for his ability to sing *corridos* with a croon and charm that made recordings like "Amorcito Corazón" a standard of the repertoire. The genre itself–known as the Mexican *corrido*–can be recognized the lyrical and narrative song form popular in Mexico, which can be traced back to the literary tradition of the Spanish *romance* (Avila 2013). There has been a challenging of paradigms that have separated the Spanish *romance* from the Mexican *corrido* definitively (Paredes 1963; Beusterien 2007; Chamberlain 2001), with researchers attempting to strike a balance between the *corrido's* "peninsular ancestor" while not depriving "the *corrido* of its worth as a creation of Mexican popular genius" (Beusterien 2007:673). Regardless of its categorization, the *corrido* as a Mexican musical tradition solidified during the revolutionary war at the start of the twentieth century:

> While the *corrido* passed on current events from one town to another, it served also as a popular tool for propaganda and as a method of exchanging information on the fighting front. It was during this period that musicians and composers shaped the *corrido*, giving it the lyrical and narrative quality for which it is now known. It also acquired its most popular three-part structure: the salutation or greeting, the description of events (or actions of individual), and the farewell, which often contains a moral to the story. The musician sings, accompanied by a guitar, a *guitarrón* or harp, either in the first or third person, acting as a witness to the event. (Avila 2013)

By the 1930s, the *corrido* had become a music all its own and distinct from other Hispanic ballad genres such as the *bolero* and the *canción*. With regard to instrumentation, *corridos* were most often sung with the accompaniment of the six-string guitar, but as the genre grew in popularity the song form became ubiquitous and interpreted with varying instrumentation. This coincided with the rise of the *mariachi* and its proliferation via newly constructed radio stations across the nation, as well as the popularization of *ranchera* music through Mexico's budding film industry. Indeed *mariachi*, *corrido*, and *ranchera* music are inextricably linked, so much so it becomes difficult to differentiate them from one another once figures like Jorge Negrete and Pedro Infante-Cruz rose to popularity in the 1950s. This is partly so because it was in these films that actors like Infante-Cruz depicted the simpler, nobler life on the *rancho* ("ranch" or "farmstead"). The musical pieces written for films that took place on the *ranchos* were *canciones rancheras* as well as *corridos*. The *canciones rancheras* differ from *corridos* principally in the fact that they are "uncomplicated, with accompaniment in simple chordal progressions in duple or triple meter . . . with verse and refrain" (Romero 2014); *corridos,* by definition, were epic ballads, and by the 1930s, "were incorporated into the national imaginary as a popular form of entertainment and promoted as a sense of nostalgia" (Avila 2013). These musical

numbers were backed by instrumentation characteristic of the Mexican *mariachi* and featured musicians most often dressed in *charro*. The *charro* suits immediately recognizable today are a modern reinterpretations of the hand-made riding garb originally worn by *mestizo* cowboys during colonial Nueva España.

This all together—the setting, the stories, and the music—created an irresistible, romantic imagery full of nostalgia and pride for a distinctly Mexican culture. Singer/actors like Infante-Cruz personified this, all with unforgettable charm and wit. His tenor voice was not known to have a wide range, nor were his performances watched for virtuosic execution. The vocal style typically used in *mariachi* and "early *rancheras* [was] the open bel-canto style from 17th- and 18th-century Italian opera" (Romero 2014), which Infante-Cruz was capable of replicating but not in consummate fashion. Instead, Infante-Cruz's performances became treasured by aficionados and musicians alike for his ability to emote. Very much like the crooners Nat King Cole and Frank Sinatra, Infante-Cruz's genius was in his ability to capture his audiences with who he was, instead of relying solely on how he sounded. In this way, Infante-Cruz became more than a singer alone, but rather an icon of Mexican culture and pride.

Tragically, Infante-Cruz's career was cut short in 1957 in what would be his third and final plane crash. An avid pilot, Infante-Cruz was attempting to fly a war

plane when it crashed in Mérdia, Mexico, ending his life at the young age of thirty-nine. In his short life, Infante-Cruz succeeded in capturing the hearts of the Mexican people while leaving an indelible mark on Mexican cinema and popular music. This included a repertoire that would be kept by musicians across the globe, including his own son and granddaughter. Infante-Cruz's son, Pedro Infante-Torrentera, went on to do exactly this, eventually moving to California, bringing his young daughter Lupita to performances and rehearsals as he followed in his father's footsteps.

It was the loss of her own father that inspired Lupita Infante to begin singing the music that has now made her an internationally acclaimed artist. Infante used the songs she would recite as opportunities to remember and re-connect with her father who passed in 2009:

> I was studying music . . . my dad, he went and saw my recitals because I was doing classical music, and that was really special. Once he wasn't there, there was like this big void . . . I think it was also kind of my healing process, you know, of losing my dad and losing all of those memories, and that inspiration, that connection to our music, to his music, to my grandfather's music. So I think that's one of the big inspirations behind my music and behind this album. (Infante 2016)

For Infante, the music that both her father and her grandfather dedicated their lives to afforded her a means to pay homage, to remember, and to celebrate her father's life. This initial spark would quickly blossom into a mature and serious drive

to follow in both her father and grandfather's footsteps by the time Infante graduated from UCLA with a bachelor's degree in ethnomusicology in 2017. Infante would go on to win a Grammy Award Nomination for her debut album *La Serenata* (2019), something that should not be overlooked seeing as she consciously challenges genre, gender-roles, and tradition in her projects.

"Am I an Artist or Just the Grand-daughter of Pedro Infante?": Breaking out and Breaking Away

Perhaps most characteristic of the Mexican-American experience is the feeling of being caught between worlds. This is exacerbated in the case of first-generation Mexican-Americans, having to balance the often contradicting mores of their inherited culture against those of the United States. The ramifications of such clashes are often felt in all aspects of life, affecting everything from school, work, as well as relationships with oneself and others. Such issues have been well documented and studied for some time now (Melville 1983; Porter and Washington 1993; Baker 1995; Alba 2006; Camarillo 2013; etc.), although their effects on artists have remained unclear. In any case, the reality for many Mexican-Americans—as well as many others living in diasporic communities—is one that is characterized by constant negotiations and compromises. Referred to by many names and described in many processes and

frameworks– "competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation" (Park 1950:161) or "complementary, competitive, colonial, confrontational" (Melville 1983:276)–this cultural friction inevitably leads to one overriding, pervasive, and continuously changing questions for individuals caught in these realities: "who–or worse yet, what–are you"?

For an artist like Infante, her illustrious heritage increases these issues ten-fold, as she is often seen as the inheritor not only of a family legacy, but also of the social and cultural weight that comes with representing a national culture:

> Since he's such a big part of the picture, when I first started I felt "you had to learn all of his songs," like "Cien Años" and others. That's what people want to hear especially if they know where you come from. So I think I played into that and what people expected for awhile. Then there comes a point where [you think', "Ok he's [Pedro Infante-Cruz] is such a big deal that I kind of have to just to do my own thing because I'm never going to be him, so I just have to do what I can do best." I think it's been like that for a long time now . . . maybe like three or four years where [I decided that] I'm not going to think about that . . . trying to live up to whatever I think I need to live up to, or what other people think. That's never going to go away, but there comes a point where [you ask] "am I an artist or am I just the grand-daughter of Pedro Infante?" (Infante 2020)

Musically, Infante has moved away from direct reproductions of her grandfather's work and has focused on highlighting what defines her as an artist and person. Even this move, as Infante elaborated, cannot be done without understanding who and what her grandfather means to the millions that still keep his memory

fondly. Her solution has been to use her musical projects as a means to blur the lines between genres like pop, *mariachi, norteño,* and *corrido,* while at the same time producing renditions that respect her own Mexican heritage and her grandfather's legacy. This strategy is noticeable in Infante's recent reinterpretations of "Amorcito Corazón," one of Infante-Cruz's most well known performances in *Nosotros Los Pobres* (1948). The composition was originally written by Manuél Esperón with lyrics penned by Pedro de Urdimalas, and realized with an orchestral instrumentation. Interestingly, the performance in the film was not what most would consider quintessentially "Mexican" for such an iconic song: it was recorded rubato, with accompaniment following closely to the principle melody sung by Infante-Cruz opposite the playful and interjecting whistles of Blanca Estela Pavón. The arrangement does not reference any distinctly Mexican musical traditions, nor feature any characteristically Mexican instruments. While beautifully done, the only true indicators of it being the product of Mexican artists and not Hollywood arrangers are the lyrics and vocal interpretation. Once again, it was Infante-Cruz's elegant, crooning interpretation that immortalized this composition in the hearts of millions of Mexicans after its release in 1948.

Instead of simply recreating the composition with the same orchestration and arrangement, Infante chose to collaborate with Mariachi Sol de México de José

Hernández, creating a rendition firmly rooted in *mariachi*. Hernández immigrated to the United States at the age of four, later developing a career in entertainment that would include ownership of Cielito Lindo Restaurant in El Monte, California, working with artists such as Selena, Luis Miguel, and Vicente Fernández, and even founding the Mariachi Heritage Society which offers music education in the *mariachi* tradition to Los Angeles youth. The collaboration between Hernández and Infante recast the composition with full *mariachi* orchestration: violins, harp, guitar, *vihuela, guitarrón,* trumpet, and full chorus to support Infante's powerful vocal performance. Important to note is that Infante did not choose to replicate the *mariachi* bel-canto style that is typical in this music, but rather used her full vocal range in a breathy, soulful manner, creating a performance that adds a sense of modernity and uniqueness to the arrangement. The result is not what her grandfather made famous some seventy years earlier, nor is it something completely detached from those who would recognize the composition (i.e., older Mexican and Mexican-American audiences) upon first listening, all while delivering a distinctly new, and very "Mexican" aesthetic to audiences who might be unfamiliar with her grandfather and Mexican music. Infante chose this rendition for her performance in the twenty-first annual Latin Grammy Awards aired in November 2021, receiving critical acclaim.

Infante's Grammy Awards performance was culmination of her deliberate strategy meant to break away from her grandfather's legacy in a respectful, creative, and genuine way. The album for which Infante received her Grammy nomination, *La Serenata* (2019) featured similar artistic choices, but across many Mexican genres. Tracks like "Tu Con Ella y Yo Con Él" and "Yo He Nacido Mexicana" both feature accordion very much in the *norteño* style, which is not typically found in *mariachi* musical tradition. These tracks were contrasted by others like "Serenata" that are firmly in the *mariachi* tradition with respect to arrangement and instrumentation, but tells the story of a love lost from the point of view of the woman; flipping the gender of the protagonist in this way—while seemingly innocuous—is noteworthy in the genre, especially for a breakout artist like Infante. As can be noticed, the connective artistic decision that ran through the entire album was the same as that in "Amorcito Corazón": a *mariachi* backing to a myriad of distinctly Mexican genres, done in a way that respects the Infante legacy, Mexican culture, as well as who Lupita Infante is *within and apart* from that culture. Musically, this is accomplished by blurring the genres of distinctly Mexican genres and musical traditions, utilizing vocal performances that emphasize Infante's powerful, classically trained voice, but also her pop sensibilities.

Infante's outward image is such that it places her firmly in the Mexican market, while allowing her the space to make creative decisions true to who she is and how she wants to be received as a solo artist. Admirably, Infante has actively challenged managers by resisting their push to reference the Infante legacy solely for publicity (Infante 2020). She instead looks to icons like Selena and Jenny Rivera—woman artists that were able to dominate both the Mexican and US-Hispanic markets—for inspiration in moving forward with her career both domestically and abroad (Infante 2020). Selena Quintanilla is an interesting case for many reasons, if not only for the fact that she was not fluent in Spanish until after she became a superstar. Born in Lake Jackson, Texas, she made a name for herself blending *tejano* musics with R&B and Caribbean elements, popularizing them with her characteristic charm and unapologetically Mexican-American aesthetic. Despite her tragic death at the age of twenty-three, and her inability to speak Spanish, she dominated markets on both sides of the boarder and touched the hearts of millions, singing in both Spanish and English. Likewise, Jenny Rivera was a Mexican-American vocalist, born in Long Beach, California. She rose to stardom singing *norteño, banda,* and *mariachi* in the 2000s, with albums like *Parrandera, Rebelde, y Atrevida* (2005). She was the target of gender-based discrimination across California during her ascent due to her being a woman singing

banda, which until her commercial success was a male-dominated genre. Rivera would also suffer an untimely death in 2012, but not before she became widely popular in the Mexican and US-Hispanic markets, very much like Quintanilla did some ten years before her.

Despite the success of these two woman icons, artists like Infante continue to be the targets of discrimination as they work to forge careers in traditionally male-dominated musics. For Infante, she finds herself contending with very much the same types of issues that both Quintanilla and Rivera contended with in their careers: gender-based discrimination, cultural biases, and gatekeeping. The challenge for Infante is expounded and intensified exactly because of the surname she carries, a factor that Quintanilla and Rivera did not have to account for. For Infante, succeeding commercially means more than simply selling records: it's breaking out of the mold that continues to be pushed onto her, breaking away from preconceptions and expectations, and being seen for who she is as an artist and as a woman.

Patrimonio Mexicano and Mexican-American Identity

For a woman artist like Infante, any strategy–be it musical or for market and publicity–must account for the often unspoken challenges that *machismo* and *patrimonio Mexicano* ("Mexican patrimony") present. The affects of misogyny existing

within Mexican–and pan-Latin American–culture, has been the focus of extensive research and scholarship recently (Ingoldsby 1991; Hölz 1992; Mensa and Grow 2019). Within the context of Mexican music and *mariachi* specifically, it is rare to see women artists leading mariachi groups, although this has begun to change with groups like Mujer Latina, Flor de Toloache, and Mariachi Las Catarinas. These groups, however, feature women exclusively and are very much still a novelty in the genre. This is opposed to the exclusively male *mariachi* groups which are commonplace across Mexico and the Untied States. Part of the challenge for woman *mariachi* artists is that the aesthetic itself is connected to so many other distinct facets of Mexican national culture as well as Mexican masculinity. Take for example the *charro,* which is the standard style of dress for *mariachi* performers. A typical *charro* suit is immediately identifiable for its ornate embroidery along the shoulders and length of the pants, ornamented ties and shirts, and exquisitely crafted leather accessories (i.e., belts and boots), all culminating with the iconic *sombrero*. This style of dress originated in during colonial Mexico, when it was illegal for indigenous, *mestizo*, and African males to ride horses without express permission (Nájera-Ramírez 1994:2). The *charreada* as a sport began as a way for men of lower classes to prove their worth as a *charro* or cowboy, which among other skills was epitomized by one's skill on horseback. To earn

one's way into being a *charro* was to prove one's mettle as a worker, skill as a cowboy, as well as one's agency and status as a "self-made man" (Ibid.). By the nineteenth century, *charros* had been used not only as farm hands but also as loyal and efficient militiamen. For many Mexicans, *el traje de charro* was a business card for someone who could "outride, outrope, outshoot, outdrink and outwomanize any cowboy from whatever land" (Vanderwood 1981:53). It would be during the Golden Era of Mexican cinema that the *charro* aesthetic would be used as a vehicle for reflecting Mexican masculinity, becoming popular across the nation through the interpretation of none other than Pedro Infante-Cruz, Jorge Negrete, and others. In the contemporary era, *la charreada* (also called *la charrería*) has become a national sport and remains vehemently protected as a point of national pride. The *charro* suit has likewise risen to become more than just riding attire: to wear *un traje de charro* is to wear "both a national symbol and a cultural construction of maleness" (Nájera-Ramírez 1994:2).

For woman artists like Infante, simply wearing *un trade de charro* can open her for attack and offense:

> I'm finding out that Mexicans are . . . very protective of their culture, probably their identity, maybe all of these things that they feel are being . . . exploited [or] disrespected. . . . They're very nationalistic: like, a lot people don't like the way I wear *el traje de charro*. Somebody said, "You should go into the UNESCO website; *la charrería es un patrimonio de México,* you're not doing it right, you're disrespecting it." And what's funny to me is that I see my grandfather

> with the same kind of bow[tie], or just because I don't have my hair back, tied-up, you're automatically not doing what is *patrimonio de México* and they're very protective of that. So it's almost like you have to know the rules really well before you start breaking them otherwise people are going to start to attack you. . . . I'm still learning how to navigate it. (Infante 2020)

Because the genre has been accepted as a symbol of Mexican culture, the codification of the tradition—despite its deliberate fabrication in the nation building efforts of the early twentieth century—often quickly becomes the unofficial duty of those so interested in protecting such a bastion of Mexican identity. This usually takes the forms of critiquing manners of dress and performance style; what most would deem innocuous. However, with the wide availability of social media (e.g., Instagram, Twitter, Facebook) these critiques can be sent directly to the artists themselves, in private message but most often as posts in the digital public space that is the comment section of a picture or video. Because these spaces are not intended for structured or informed debate—by their developers or the users themselves—these comments can easily range from nonsensical to outright offensive and demoralizing.

To complicate the situation further, Infante is unapologetically Mexican-American, a fact that sometimes does not sit well with some segments of her fanbase. While scholarship has often focused on the social challenges that diasporic communities face from the dominant culture and dominant systems of power (Pérez-

Torres 1998:157), intra-racial bigotry—used here to refer to prejudice that originates from one's own national/cultural/ethnic group—has not seen the same amount of attention. Moreover, something like the kind of prejudice that can be found amongst Latin Americans—originating amongst Latino/s and directed towards other Latino/s—doesn't yet have a name: what is it called when Mexicans are prejudiced against other Mexicans or Mexican-Americans? Racism and colorism both point to the colonial era and its ramifications in Latin America, exploring why individuals continue to value lighter skin tones and European physical features. Research like Marta I. Cruz-Janzen's "Out of the Closet: Racial Amnesia, Avoidance, and Denial - Racism among Puerto Ricans" (2003) focuses on racism and colorism of this type amongst Puerto Ricans. Kathy Russel's *The Color Complex* (1992) takes aim at similar prejudices among African-Americans in the United States. Still, these perspectives fail to fully capture this other form of prejudice; sometimes it has nothing to do with skin tone, but everything to do with the accent with which one may speak a language or where one might have been born. This prejudice, like racism and colorism, can be both quiet and pernicious, as well as loud and overwhelming, alienating, and demoralizing. As common as it is, it still remains lacking in substantial literature, scholarly attention, and even terminology to define it. What is it called when a Mexican denies another Mexican

their own heritage? What terminology should be used to refer to the emotional, psychological and spiritual pain suffered when one's own people refuses them? How should researchers attempt to understand the limbo that many Mexican-Americans—as well as those in other diasporic communities—find themselves in, especially when put there by their own race, ethnic, or cultural group?

> We ran this campaign . . . through my Instagram. . . . like a little video with me singing and [it had] "Luptia Infante es una cantante Mexico-Americana" and a lot of Mexicans . . . were so mad: they were like "Ah no, *que le vaya cantar a los gringos* ['let her go sing to the white people']." This other guy commented: "*No sé por qué los norte-americanos piensan que pueden venir a México* ['I don't know why north-americans think that they can come to Mexico]" . . . and basically exploit the music and get paid here and live in the US. . . . Another person commented: "*Creo que deberías quitárte ese titulo de 'México-Americana' porque no te está ayudando (*'I think you should get rid of that 'Mexico-American' title because it's not helping you')" or whatever. (Infante 2020)

It would make sense, in a way, to cast these comments as simply reactions against the power dynamics—economic and political—at play between the United States and Mexico. It would be even easier to disregard these comments as envy, spite, or blind cynicism. These comments were not shared trivially, however, and to interpret them as such would prove insensitive to the injury they were meant to inflict. Whatever the initial intent was, the effects of these comments are felt personally, aimed at stripping someone of that which can be most comforting and inspiring when money, prestige, and fame fail. These words were meant to strip an

individual's history, family, and cultural heritage. They were meant to remind Infante that—no matter what her last name is, no matter how hard she works, no matter how much positive attention she brings to Mexican culture, and no matter how many other woman artists she inspires with her work—she will never be Mexican enough. Infante is neither here, nor there; she is no where.

Of the little literature that exists on this topic, some have yielded theoretical models that prove useful in understanding the complex relationship individuals of diasporic communities are forced to develop between their ethnic group, cultural heritage, and place in society. Research (done primarily with minority youth) focusing on ethnic and racial identity (ERI) has attracted attention recently, "being considered central to the normative development of ethnic and racial minority youth" (Umaña-Taylor 2019:2). The ERI model continues to be developed, generally being seen as being a "multidimensional, psychological construct that reflects the beliefs and attitudes that individuals have about their ethnic-racial group memberships, as well as the processes by which these beliefs and attitudes develop over time" (Umaña-Taylor 2019:3). In this model, ethnic identity is defined in "relation to how a youth views membership in his or her own ethnic group and reflects, in part, the value the individual places on that membership" (Williams 2012:2); conversely, racial-identity is

"the significance and meaning [individuals] place on race in defining themselves" (Sellers 1998:19). It has been widely accepted amongst those developing the ERI model that race is determined by "out-group members," while ethnicity is determined by in-group members (Williams 2012:1) and often reflects the values and customs of the inherited culture. Weighing against ethnic and racial identity are "centrality" and "salience," which are the "importance of one's race as an aspect of social identity" and "the awareness of one's [racial identity] at a particular moment in a given context," respectively (Williams 2012:2).

This is all to say that as youth reach adolescence it becomes increasingly important for their psychological and emotional well-being to sort out where they feel they belong. Attacks on this construct (i.e., racial discrimination) can cause detrimental effects in the long-term, with "expected discrimination" (i.e., harboring a certainty of prejudice) being directly associated with "both increased depression and decreased self-esteem" (Rumbaut 1994:785). Until research aimed at adults experiencing intra-racial prejudice is conducted there can be no definite measure or understanding of its effects. Extrapolating the ERI model and the data collected with youth participants can provide an idea of what individuals on the receiving-end of intra-racial prejudice feel and contend with when it does occur.

For Infante, the path forward though this type of prejudice is rooted in her resilience as a woman and as an artist. Despite her critics, Infante has been the focus of critical acclaim in both the United States and Mexico, continues to release musical performances online, as well as perform amongst international superstars like Becky G, Prince Royce, and Maluma. Infante grounds herself in legacy and tradition, while focusing on the future and the message she intends to share through her music and her personage. She does this focusing on the effect that such a message can have for the next generation of Latin American woman artists:

> I think, as a woman, just showing up; being there despite these men trying to tell you what's "right" for you to wear, or do, or tradition to follow. . . . Normalizing "yea there's more than one way to do it." "Yes, look at me: I have an education and I know my past, and I come from this legacy, but I'm also doing my own thing and am doing it respectfully." (Infante 2020)

Strikingly reminiscent of Etienne Charles, Infante is well aware of the traditions that she finds herself a part of, as well as the legacy that she is taking responsibility for. Infante takes this in stride as she begins to build a career separate from her grandfather's, being seen for who she is: a Mexican-American, woman artist, who can wear *charro* one day, a gown the next, sing a *corrido,* pop, and everything in between uncompromisingly. Like Motta, however, Infante finds herself the target of offensive critique—often directly through social media—for taking such a stand. The effect of

hearing these critiques are felt personally, psychologically, as they are intended to strip her from those things that she values most: her family, her tradition, and the connection she's forged with her father and grand-father through music. Infante is feeling the effects of being caught in the grey-area that characterizes the lived experiences of many first-generation minorities in the United States and indeed across the globe. Interestingly, it is this very lived experience that is allowing Infante to take the musics of her father and grand-father in new and culturally relevant directions. Therein lies the paradox–the blessing and the curse–of being caught in-between: if one doesn't fit into existing group, sometimes they are forced to make a group to fit into. For Infante, being raised in Southern California is part of who she is as a person, as a woman, and as an artist. It is also something that she is targeted for, by her own people most often, and that presents challenges to her musical career. Like Moreno and Arocena, Infante relies on her individuality and her creativity to meet these challenges and overcome them. The fact that she has been recognized by the Grammy Association and is continuing to experience a rapid ascent into international popularity speaks to the fact there are many individuals who resonate with her message and example. If for nothing else than this fact alone, attention must be paid to the challenges faced by individuals like Infante across the globe.

Conclusion: "I'm Not Talking About My Village; I'm Talking About the Planet"

In an interview with David Unger for the Paris-based music venue The New Morning, Ed Motta was asked about his musical influences, specifically, if Brazilian music had played a part in the production of his 2013 release *AOR*. Motta responds by admitting that it was not only the influence of Brazilian music that shaped the album and its lyrics, but also influence from "the planet:"

> Absolutely; I might say everything. Because my music talks about the planet and the influence[s] I got from the planet, not only Brazil. Usually people [say] that if you're talking about your village, you're talking about the world; I don't agree with this at all. I'm not talking about my village, I'm talking about the planet. . . . and I'm not paying too much attention to my village. (Motta 2016)

As incendiary as this statement might seem at face value, what Motta is describing is much more than a cultural or musical hierarchy. Indeed, many people—especially in Brazil—took it as just that: a qualitative hierarchy that Motta was creating, placing musics of the United States above other musics (and cultures), including his own. If a closer look is taken at his words, however, it can be noticed that Motta is in fact paying homage to Brazilian musics *along with* influences from other parts of the world. Motta is outward-facing when it comes to music, gastronomy, art, and the like; what Motta was describing was the way he interacts with the global community, and

conversely, the way the global community influences his art. I wanted to delve further into this statement, because I wanted to hear his own interpretation of his words, especially seeing as some time had passed between his interview with Unger in 2016 and the interview for this project in 2020. After a long laugh, and what felt like a moment to remember the issues he experienced in Brazil in this regard, Motta responded by acknowledging the "strong effect" that his words had (Motta 2020). I confided in Motta that when I first heard that segment of the interview with Unger, I would've been certain of malicious intent if had they had been said by any other artist. I knew, though, that Motta's respect for Brazilian musical traditions equaled that of musics from the United States, and of the funk and R&B that he loved so much. Motta responded by admitting that while his interests as a young man favored musics originating in the Unites States, his interests were never rooted in an attempt to assimilate into United States culture, or to be "North American," but rather to be "international":

> It was never about being "North American," it was about being international. Here there is this thing since my beginning: "Ah Ed Motta wants to be American." No, it's not [that]: because there's French influence, there's lots of things on several levels of this work. So I don't know. [. . .] The range is bigger; I'm not being arrogant saying this, I'm being honest. (Motta 2020)

There was a noticeable pain in Motta's voice as Motta said this. A pain that spoke to years of being judged, but most of all, misunderstood. Motta's scope was bigger than Brazil alone, his interests did comprise of more than Brazilian musical traditions and culture. Interestingly, Motta had experienced commercial success in Brazil with singles like "Manoel," a song that is firmly in the funk and soul idioms but features lyrics in Portuguese. It seemed though, that when Motta went on to explain how it is that such a music could come to be developed–that is, an infatuation with music and culture from the United States, reflected in a composition about the lived experiences of Brazilians–his words were interpreted as offensive. Once again, there is a dissonance here, a grey-area that points more to politics than anything else, but the likes of which have economic, psychological, and artistic ramifications.

The fact remains that–despite how an individual chooses to interpret his ideas–Motta is pointing to a lived experience that comprises of many cultural influences, more than his own or that of the United States alone. Motta is not alone, indeed every artist interviewed for this project finds themself in a very similar situation. As technological advancements continue to allow faster, more intimate, and ever more continuous access to one another across national, socio-economic, and cultural boundaries, these types of lived realities will become the majority. Perhaps such is

already the case; it is clear that the ethnographic and musicological data in this project point to that being the case.

Yet, what of those who are interested in only "talking about their village," to use Motta's analogy? Is there a way to truly only talk of one's village anymore? Perhaps keeping "traditional" musics are a way to do this; codifying musical and other cultural activities such that they can be preserved and practiced as they were before processes of globalization creeped in and began corrupting them. Indeed many cultural groups have been created with this goal in mind. They bring people a sense of belonging, of community, and a connection with the past. With regard to Latin America, however, these "traditions" in their inception developed out of the (forced) confluence of many existing cultural practices, violently, chaotically, and in unprecedented fashion. The traditions themselves were the result of cross-cultural germination; the birthmark that musical practices originating in the New World bear is one characterized by necessity, innovation, resistance, and perseverance. The mosaic that comprises any of the New World societies—that of the United States, Mexico, Cuba, and all of the others—is not a patchwork of histories, people, religions, or ideologies. It is a blend of wool, cotton, and silk tightly loomed such that the strings of one cannot be discerned from those of another. It is a bronze made from iron, tin, and copper melted together in an

imperfect kiln. Just as a garment fades and metal bends out of shape, it takes the skill and care of those who keep these heirlooms to repair them and make them new. With such repair, it ceases to be what it once was, becoming something else if only just a little every time it is remade. The traditions of the New World have been made, remade, kept, and cared for in this way since their inception. The advent of the internet forever changed the way in which people interact with one another, allowing the processes of globalization—similar to those that made the many cultures across the Americas as we know them today—further reach and invasiveness. Where Motta needed brick-and-mortar record shops to experience the music that would change his life, a young person living in any major metropolis today needs only their phone. As people continue to look outward, to become inspired by the many, many villages in the world, exactly which village should we speak of?

Politics of Change

There must be an acknowledgment of the politics inherent in any discussion of inter-cultural dynamics. The meaning encapsulated in any one cultural practice, which is kept by those who consume and practice it, is often directly linked to constructs like identity, race, and heritage. As has been the case in countless musical

traditions—in the New World and across the globe—cultural practices often become the tools through which the politics of the time are executed. As was the case with *mariachi,* the musical tradition was carefully constructed to create an imaginary that epitomized Mexican male ideals. This music and aesthetic—one that was characterized by bravado, nobility, and humility—was packaged within the visage of the *charro,* going on to become a symbol of Mexican culture and nationalist pride during the Goldern Era of Mexican cinema. Further, it became the music of Mexican export to the world; the outward image of Mexican-ness to the global community. As individuals began to remake the tradition and music to reflect modern values on the international stage—namely, woman artists recreating *mariachi* in less male-centered terms—the change was not taken as a welcome innovation, but as an offense to Mexican values, tradition, national culture.

This was such that even artists like Lupita Infante, grand-daughter of one of the actor-musicians that made the *mariachi* popular during the Golden Era of Mexican cinema, was made target of critique, bigotry, and prejudice for her reinterpretations of the tradition. She was made to feel as if she was an outsider to her own heritage, to the legacy left for her by her grand-father, and to her own people. The effects of this type of prejudice—the likes of which has been vastly understudied—are profound and

are felt psychologically, artistically, and spiritually. Such is the case for those living in diasporic communities, as well as the children of immigrants, who often find themselves “not enough” for their inherited culture, but also alien to the culture in which they live.

Where an artist like Lupita Infante relies on her individuality, sense of self, and responsibility to her grand-father’s legacy to meet these challenges and prejudice, Daymé Arocena looks inward to her faith, her family, and her traditions for grounding. For Arocena, her religion is a foundation on which her musicality and personhood is firmly established, affording her a confidence to be who she is truly and unapologetically. Arocena does not feel a need to “push” anything, that is, emphasize her womanhood, her Afro-Cuban heritage, or her caliber as a singer; she trusts in her *santos,* her family, and herself to be who she is fully and without compromise. Musically, this can be appreciated in the way in which she fuses *Santería* religious music with electronic instruments, as well as jazz and funk influences, producing music that is actively re-making *Santería* musical traditions on the global stage. Through her own artistic and spiritual work, women like Arocena are claiming aspects of *Santería* religion, changing religious practices to reflect their perspectives, lived experiences, and place in the religion, music, and global community.

With respect to Brazilian music, Joyce Moreno began working towards these goals since the young age of nineteen. When she chose to write poems and lyrics that placed the woman in a position of power, with sovereignty over herself and her decisions, she made herself a target for those who took her music as a challenge. Moreno chose to rise above these attacks, however, producing music with a virtuosity and lyricism that were appreciated, respected, and sought out by some of the most iconic artists in Brazilian popular music. She never allowed pressures from her critics –men or women, artistic or otherwise–to comprise her own ideals. Moreno did not align herself with feminism, but instead chose to make the perspective of the everyday Brazilian woman–what Moreno calls *femenina*–to be her own unique type of feminism. Through her music, she brought attention to the challenges faced by Brazilian women, their triumphs, and their stories. Moreno changed Brazilian music in this way, forging an internationally successful career in the process, her own way.

In many ways, this grappling with the politics of change is part of the dialogue that characterizes Etienne Charles's music. Using Trinidadian carnival music as a vehicle, Charles is able to recreate through sight and sound the social critique that is intrinsic to the tradition. As a matter of course, this critique is made relevant multi-dimensionally: Charles uses his own training as a jazz trumpeter, composer, and

arranger to realize compositions that are both informed, as well as innovative. Indeed, this innovation is part of the carnival tradition; as it is remade in new ways, with multiple cultural and musical influences–both familiar and foreign–the tradition forces a meditation on the issues that continue to plague Trinidad, the United States, and the world.

In similar fashion, Miguel Zenón sees the folkloric musics of Puerto Rico as a means to explore constructs like identity and race in ethnographic and musical fashion. Further, by using music and culture as a means to connect, Zenón is active in creating avenues through which individuals can become informed of cultures foreign to their own. Zenón, however, realizes the importance of "balance" and being "rooted," that is, of exploring the history of the music itself, its origins, stories, and its keepers. It is in this way that the music can be made new, relevant, and shared with the local and global community.

It is this interplay between tradition, culture, and creativity that many artists find themselves living and working. Further, each of the artists presented in this project found themselves in the "grey-area" between cultures, and in fact, used that area to forge their careers, their identities, and as fountains of inspiration for their art. For artists like Infante, Moreno, and Motta, this dissonance proved to be a challenge

as they became the targets for criticism and even prejudice. For Arocena, Zenon, and Charles, this dissonance proved to be a place where they could push their music to new horizons. In every case presented in this project, the individual found themself firmly in multiple cultural realities at once, with their music reflecting these realities directly. While models like multiculturalism have succeeded in the past for bringing attention to the many cultural spaces and influences that individuals contend with, it fails to fully capture the dynamism that characterizes the contemporary era. The processes of globalization that affected the careers and lives of the artists presented in this project will only hasten, become ever more invasive, and farther reaching as technologies like the internet are more readily accessible across the globe. Polyculturalism, however, serves to more clearly illustrate the lived realities of these artists and indeed the lived realities of countless individuals living in major metropolises across the globe. As the global community becomes ever more interconnected, issues that arise as musics are re-interpreted and innovated, reflecting these polycultural realities will continue to materialize with greater frequency. Further research is needed to explore the ramifications that this “grey-area” can have on mental health and well-being, as well as how it can be utilized pedagogically, to create a more informed, culturally sensitive, and respectful global community.

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