

GLOCALIZATION:
CONNECTING GLOBALIZATION TO LOCAL CUBAN
MUSICIANS AND THEIR MUSIC

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
University of Missouri – Columbia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

By
JOHN C. FINN

Dr. Larry Brown, Thesis Supervisor

MAY 2006

The undersigned, appointed by the Dean of the Graduate School,
have examined the thesis entitled

GLOCALIZATION:
CONNECTING GLOBALIZATION TO LOCAL CUBAN
MUSICIANS AND THEIR MUSIC

Presented by John C. Finn

A candidate for the degree of Master of Geography

And hereby certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

Professor Larry Brown

Professor Matthew Foulkes

Professor Houston C. Wilson

Para Yindra

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many to whom I owe great gratitude and thanks for the success of this study. First, my most sincere thanks go to Igor Tillán, Yasek Manzano and Juan de Marcos for inviting me into their homes, their rehearsals and performances, and their lives for the time I was in Havana. This study would also not have been possible without Lilian Lombera and the tremendous help she provided during my fieldwork in Havana. Additionally, my in-laws, the Sarduy & García families, provided a fundamental network of support that enabled me to focus exclusively on the work at hand and made the fieldwork comfortable and smooth.

Statesside, I owe a great deal to Dr. Larry Brown, my advisor and thesis committee chair, who was not only essential for this study in Cuba, but who has continuously supported my interest and work in Cuba, and who brought me into the discipline of Geography. I additionally offer many thanks to Dr. Matthew Foulkes and Dr. H. Clyde Wilson for their participation on my thesis committee, to the University of Missouri–Columbia’s Department of Geography for their financial support of my fieldwork in Havana, and to Lloyd Weber at TerraSol for his cartographic expertise. Lastly, the support of my wife, Yindra García Sarduy, and my entire family, was indispensable in the completion of this project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|------|
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | ii |
| LIST OF FIGURES | v |
| ABSTRACT | vii |
| REFERENCE MAP OF CUBA | viii |
| Chapter: | |
| 1. INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| <i>El Periodo Especial</i> | |
| Music and Tourism | |
| 2. LITERATURE REVIEW | 16 |
| Music Geography | |
| Globalization and the Cultural Imperialism Debate | |
| Globalization and Cuban Music | |
| Where Globalization and Cuban Music Fit into the Broader Literature | |
| 3. METHODOLOGY | 37 |
| A Qualitative Approach | |
| Research Design: The Case Study | |
| Research Methods | |
| Methods of Data Collection | |
| Methods of Data Analysis | |
| 4. CASE STUDY ONE: IGOR TILLÁN | 54 |
| Biographical Sketch | |
| Case Analysis | |
| On the Road | |
| Socialism Tourism or Death | |
| Cuba's Tech Boom | |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Case Conclusions | |
| 5. CASE STUDY TWO: YASEK MANZANO | 85 |
| Biographical Sketch | |
| Case Analysis | |
| Bach & Dizzy, the Greats of Classical and Jazz | |
| Opening Cuba | |
| Cross-Cultural Interchange, with the Enemy? | |
| Case Conclusions | |
| 6. CASE STUDY THREE: JUAN DE MARCOS | 109 |
| Biographical Sketch | |
| A Musicians Develops | |
| The Buena Vista Social Club | |
| A 20 th Century Christopher Columbus | |
| Case Analysis | |
| A Before/After Dichotomy | |
| The Commodification of Cuban Music | |
| Case Conclusions | |
| 7. CROSS-CASE CONCLUSIONS..... | 144 |
| Authenticity and Globalization | |
| Connecting the Local to the Global | |
| WORKS CITED..... | 157 |
| Appendix | |
| A. POTENTIAL CASE STUDY SUBJECTS | 162 |
| B. SOUND REFERENCES | 163 |
| C. CODING SAMPLE | 164 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| Figure | Page |
|---|------|
| 1.1 The author with percussion instructor Eliel Lazo in 2002 | 3 |
| 1.2 Eliades Ochoa & <i>Cuarteto Patria</i> | 5 |
| 1.3 Tourist arrivals and receipts in Cuba, selected years 1958 - 1996 | 9 |
| 1.4 Posters promoting tourism in Cuba from the 1950s | 11 |
| 1.5 Advertisements for tourists spots in recent havana publications..... | 14 |
| 2.1 Map showing areas where and times when American spirituals were and/or are still sung in gatherings | 20 |
| 2.2 Distribution of members, arrangements of regional districts, and location of state contest and state convention of the Montana State Old-Time Fiddlers Association..... | 22 |
| 2.3 Market share of the “Big 4” record companies | 30 |
| 2.4 Album covers for Los Van Van’s <i>Songo</i> (1988) and David Byrne’s (1991) compilation <i>Dancing with the Enemy</i> | 34 |
| 3.1 Case Study Designs | 41 |
| 3.2 Case Study Method..... | 43 |
| 4.1 Igor with old photos and LPs of his grandfather, Senén Suárez | 56 |
| 4.2 Pre-1990 Filters | 68 |
| 4.3 Post-1990 Filters..... | 69 |
| 4.4 Perpetual Loop Created by Cuban Musicians Increased Travel Abroad..... | 71 |
| 4.5 Perpetual Loop Created by Increased Tourism in Cuba | 75 |
| 4.6 Origin, Location and Styles..... | 78 |
| 5.1 Yasek and Orlando Sanchez performing with Bobby Carcassés | 87 |
| 5.2 Advertisement for Maynard Ferguson's New Vintage | 90 |

| | | |
|-----|--|-----|
| 5.3 | Music on the Street: the Conjunto Folklórico Nacional de Cuba..... | 95 |
| 5.4 | Chucho Valdés at the Havana Jazz Festival, December 2002 | 99 |
| 5.5 | Cuban Foreign Exchange Revenue..... | 101 |
| 5.6 | Influence and Results on Yasek | 104 |
| 6.1 | The author with Juan de Marcos in his home outside of Havana..... | 111 |
| 6.2 | Juan de Marcos & Sierra Maestra – Dundunbanza | 119 |
| 6.3 | Street entrance to the EGREM studios in Central Havana | 122 |
| 6.4 | The Afro-Cuban All-Stars <i>A Todo Cuba le Gusta</i> | 123 |
| 6.5 | The Buena Vista Social Club | 123 |
| 6.6 | Perceived process of rise and decline of Cuban music through commodification..... | 135 |

GLOCALIZATION:
CONNECTING GLOBALIZATION TO LOCAL CUBAN MUSICIANS
AND THEIR MUSIC

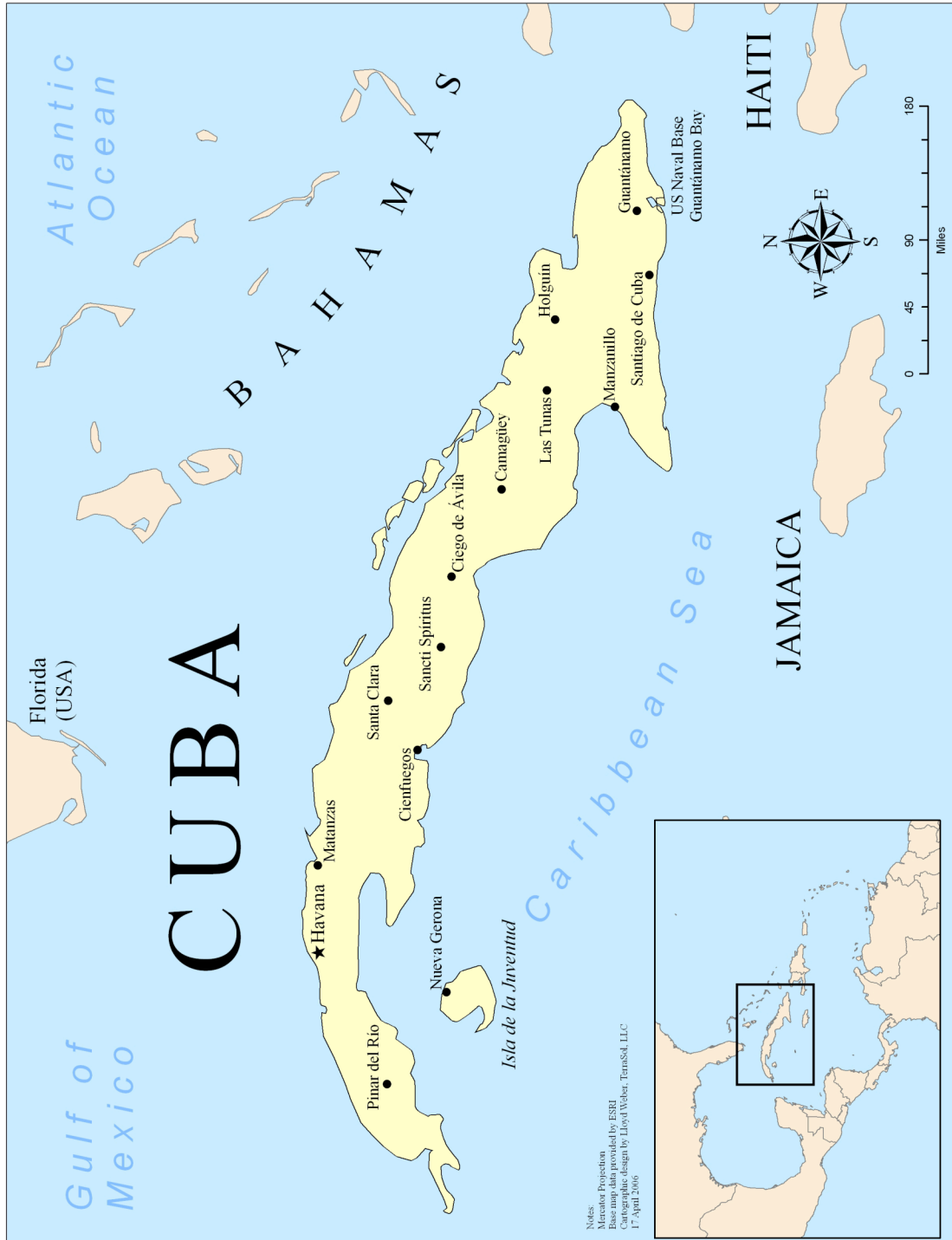
John C. Finn

Dr. Larry Brown, thesis supervisor

ABSTRACT

After nearly three decades of cultural isolation from the West, and a paralyzing economic crisis in the early 1990s, Cuba has increasingly become more active in the global community. Consequently, increased levels of globalization are affecting all sectors of Cuban society. This is especially true for many of the islands musicians whose careers are deeply imbedded in the international market. Using a qualitative case study method, I explore how increasing globalization throughout Cuba is changing and affecting the artistic and musical choices, professional goals and aspirations, opinions, perceptions, and audiences of three Cuban musicians at different levels of their professional development. I report that the relationship between Western consumers of culture and these musicians (in this case the “producers” of culture) is much more complex than past models and theories may suggest.

REFERENCE MAP OF CUBA



I

INTRODUCTION

I first traveled to Cuba in January 2002 as a part of a one-semester study abroad program through Butler University in Indiana. In addition to a rigorous schedule of courses at the University of Havana in history, Spanish language, geography and religious studies, I took private lessons in Cuban percussion – mostly on the congas and timbales. For me, the allure of the Cuban sound was just beginning, as the syncopation and complexity of Cuban rhythms were drawing in my interest. But still, at this point my exposure to Cuban music was somewhat limited. So I immersed myself in the music by studying, listening to records and compact discs and going to concerts all over the island. I borrowed a pair of congas and traveled to my private instructor's house southwest of Havana in Marianão twice a week for lessons. I learned rhythms for many different traditional Cuban styles of music, the *son*, *guaguancó*, *mambo*, *cha-cha-cha*, *pilón*, *conga de comparsa*, and also many contemporary Cuban rhythms such as the *Danzón*,

Mozambique and *Songo*, and for months we worked on improvisation based around the *clave*¹ rather than the downbeat.

My interest in Cuba and in Cuban music was growing, both in terms of performance of Cuban percussion, and Cuban music as an academic course of study. After that first semester in Cuban, I immediately returned to Havana for a second semester, alone this time, with the purpose of completing a number of independent study projects and additionally in order to continue my study of Cuban music. Following this second semester in Cuba, I continued to travel at least twice a year to Havana for a few weeks at a time. With each subsequent trip I became more familiar with Havana, I met and studied with more musicians, and I became closer to friends and colleagues.

Among the friendships that I developed throughout the last four years traveling to and working in Cuba is with Lilian Lombera. Lili is an instructor of musicology and music history at the University of Havana, and is an agent and publicist for a number of different national and international musicians based in Havana. So when I started work on the study presented here, I was interested to in a story that she related to me regarding the international perception of Cuban music and how it is affecting musicians in her country. She said that when a Cuban band plays *son* or *salsa*², they are seen internationally as a real Cuban group. The international consumer purchasing their music (either through recordings or by attending concerts) considers them authentic Cuban musicians playing authentic Cuban music.

¹ In addition to being a percussion instrument, the *clave* is also the name given to the particular rhythm that is at the base of most Cuban music.

² *Son* is a traditional style of Cuban music that comes from Santiago de Cuba. *Salsa* is a more modern form of *son* that also incorporates other, mostly Latino influences.

Figure 1.1: The author with percussion instructor Eliel Lazo in 2002 (photo by author).



But when a Cuban group – and in many cases the same group – plays a genre whose origins are not specifically endemic to Cuba, perhaps jazz or rock or hip-hop, they are perceived internationally as a jazz combo, or a rock band, or a hip-hop group whose members happen to be Cuban. She was frustrated that Cuban musicians generally do not retain their Cuban authenticity in the eye of the international consumer if playing styles of music other than a very narrow cross section of traditional Cuban music.

Lili's frustration represents what I sensed is a broader feeling of discontent toward the international audience among Cuban musicians. Because of international audience's perceptions of what is authentically Cuban, not only do they miss a large part of what is Cuban music, but also they force an outside categorization onto Cuban musicians and their music. Lili feels that the international perception of Cuban music being only traditional Cuban music is having widespread and deep consequences for Cuban music and musicians. For example, one of Cuba's most famous *soneros*, Eliades Ochoa, is pictured in Figure 1.2 with his *Quarteta Patria*. This image represents the international community's common understanding of what is authentically Cuban. This (mis)perception is reinforced by the attention given to these types of images of Cuban music and musicians in order to promote tourism throughout the island.

Figure 1.2: Eliades Ochoa and *Quarteto Patria*. This postcard shot at the *Casa de la Trova* (House of Songs) in Santiago, Cuba represents the international community's common perception of authentic Cuban music. This perception is reinforced by the fact that this type of music is heavily promoted to tourists.



But when did Cuban music become so important in the international market for music? And when did the international market become so important to Cuban music? What is the root of this new founded international popularity? One of my case study participants claims that Cuban music, starting at the end of the 19th century, dominated the market for tropical music for more than 70 years. With the onset of Fidel Castro's revolution in 1959, Cuban music largely disappeared from world markets. But when and how has it come back? In order to fully answer these questions, it is necessary to look at Cuba's political and economic context since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

El Periodo Especial

Immediately after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1989, Cuba entered what is popularly known as the *Periodo Especial*, or Special Period. Until its collapse, the Soviet bloc made up 85% of Cuba's foreign trade (Zimbalist 1994, Honey 1999). Russia and Eastern Europe were the recipients of 75% of Cuba's sugar and nickel, and almost all of Cuba's oil, raw materials, equipment, spare parts and imported food came from the Soviet Union (Honey 1999, 191). With the fall of the Soviet Union came the end of all Soviet aid and trade. According to Honey (1999), the end of this aid and trade, together with the United States' blockade against of the island, "plunged Cuba into its worst economic crisis and threatened to undo the national health care system, free schooling through the university level, and other social programs that many Cubans viewed as the major gains of the Cuban Revolution" (191). Fabienke (2001) calls this period, characterized by currency devaluation, large-scale power outages, shortages of food, medicine, oil and gasoline, other necessary goods, "one of [Cuba's] worst crises ever"

(103). For example, Zimbalist (1994) reports that in December 1992 scheduled blackouts lasted up to eight hours a day and that the government had effectually terminated legal distribution of gasoline to private automobiles. Different sources estimate that by 1993, Cuban exports were between 35 and 55% of their 1989 levels, and the island was only importing between 25 and 40% of their 1989 levels (Fabienke 2001, Jatar-Hausmann 1999). There was no doubt that Cuba was in an absolute and complete economic tailspin.

By 1993 the Cuban government realized that new plans for economic development were absolutely critical if Revolutionary Cuba was going to survive. At the height of the Special Period, Castro (1993) used an important July 26 speech to tell the Cuban public that the government was prepared to make the necessary changes:

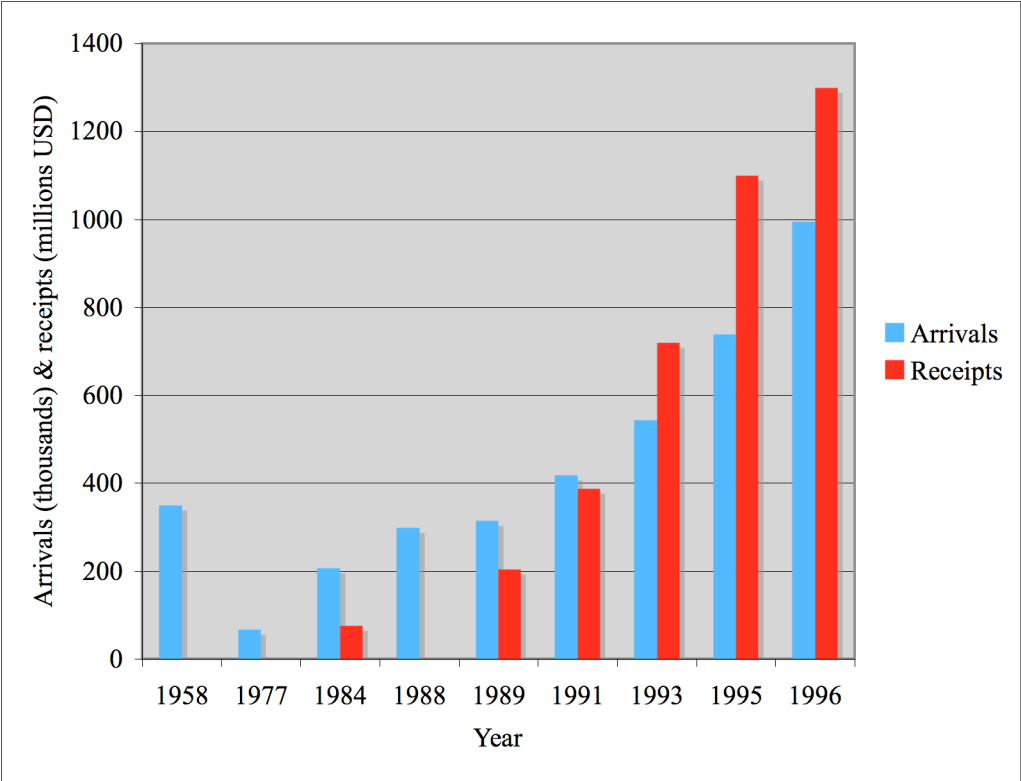
Today we have to save the homeland, the revolution, and the conquests of the socialism... We will never renounce this. This is what it means to say *Socialism or Death*. But today we have had to make concessions... Today life, reality, the dramatic situation in which this uni-polar world finds itself, obliges us to do what we never would have done before...³

The government quickly undertook plans to not only boost productivity and increase conservation domestically, but also to pursue foreign investment and facilitate the island's economic "re-entry into world markets" (Zimbalist 1994). As a part of this economic liberalization the government started heavily promoting joint ventures between private and foreign investors and the Cuban government. These joint ventures, known to Cubans as *empresas mixtas*, have been mostly geared toward tourism (Zimbalist 1994), an industry that was rapidly growing and becoming increasingly important to Cuba's economic recovery. According to one of Cuba's leading daily newspapers, tourism became the country's new "engine of growth," replacing aid and trade from the Soviet Union (Rodríguez 1995, in Honey 1999, 192). The Cuban government cashed in on its

³ Translated from the original Spanish by author.

3,600 miles of coastland, almost 300 beaches, thousands of islands and cays, and year-round vacation weather (Honey 1999), and started down the path so common in the Caribbean basin. Just three years after Castro deemed necessary certain economic “concessions,” tourism had past the levels where it had been at the height of the pre-Castro tourist era (see Figure 1.3).

Figure 1.3: Tourist arrivals and receipts in Cuba, selected years 1958 - 1996 (source: Honey 1999).



Music and Tourism

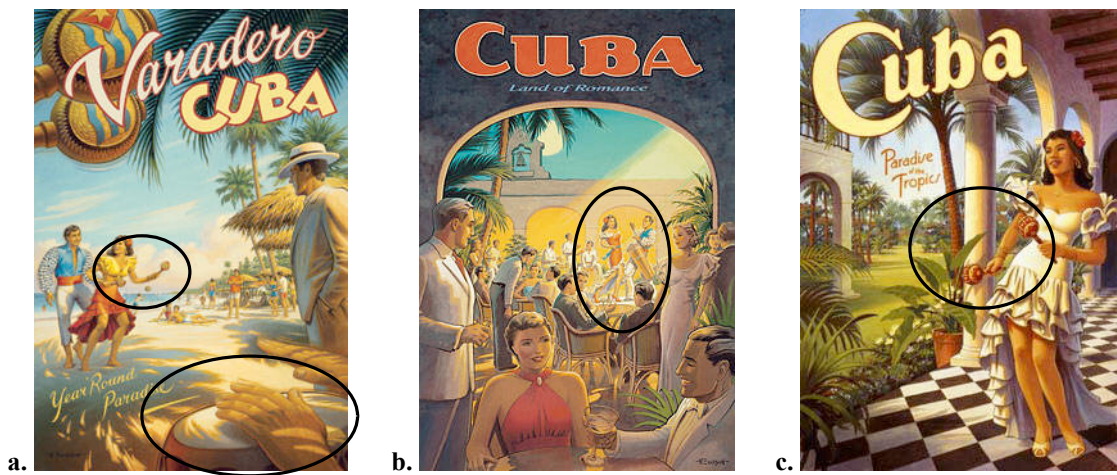
In my interview with Juan de Marcos,⁴ he told me that, “in musical terms... Cuba is the country with the highest number of first category musicians in the world... Musically we are in one of our best moments.”ⁱ Whether this statement is true or not, Cuba is well known for its music and musicians, and this music has long been used as a way to attract foreign tourism (see Figures 1.4a and 1.4b). Cuba has been called a mecca for percussionists specifically (Wenders 1998), and Uribe (1996) asserts:

It is safe to say that in the present day, Cuba (along with Brazil and American popular music) has had the greatest influence on popular music throughout the world. Cuba and Brazil – along with Africa – have also had the greatest influence on all types of American music (18).

I can personally relate very well to these statements, as it was the complex syncopation and daring rhythms of Cuban music that initially got me interested in the music. Even if Juan de Marcos’ above statement is biased, (he is a Cuban musician, after all), it is hard to argue that music has not been a cultural, and now more than ever, economic asset to the island.

⁴ See chapter 6.

Figure 1.4: a. *Varadero*; b. *Land of Romance*; and c. *Paradise of the Tropics*. Posters promoting tourism in Cuba from the 1950s. Notice that all use images of Cuban music in the promotion of tourism.



In 1996 an album was released that made the promotion of Cuban music worldwide, and subsequently the promotion of music tourism in Cuba, much easier for the Cuban government and various other joint ventures. The success of this album, the Buena Vista Social Club (1996), was a shock to its musicians and the producers alike. It was an instant hit in Europe, quickly sold more than one million copies in the United States, and won the Best Tropical Latin Performance Grammy in 1998 (AfroCubaWeb 2006). A year later, German filmmaker Wim Wender's documentary of the same title was nominated for an academy award. And while sometimes criticized as yet another example of the Western dominance of local musics and musical culture due to American country music artist and producer Ry Cooder's participation, this release has enabled the Cuban government and economy to profit greatly by marketing Cuban music as a part of a greater tourist package. The effects can be clearly witnessed in the tourist sections of Havana. In my experience there, it is nearly impossible to walk through these areas at any time of the day or night without encountering groups of local musicians playing the music of the Buena Vista Social Club in bars, clubs, restaurants and other spots. In the rare occasion that they are not playing one of the fourteen songs on the original album, they will almost certainly be able to play any number of them at a tourist's request.

Since the release of this album, the Buena Vista Social Club musicians have continued releasing successful albums, using the *Buena Vista* name to remind their international audience of the association (see Ruben Gonzalez's 1997 release *Introducing... Rubén González*; Ibrahim Ferrer's 1999 release *Buena Vista Social Club Presents Ibrahim Ferrer*; and Omara Portuondo's 2000 release *Buena Vista Social Club Presents Omara Portuondo*). But international success has not been restricted to these

musicians. The reach of fame for many other Cuban musicians has been great, and a number have been nominated for or won prestigious international awards, including Latin and regular Grammys.

Since the beginning of economic changes in the 1990s, Cuban musicians have been increasingly involved in the “concessions” (Castro 1993) that must be made.

Tourism has been an important part of Cuba’s economic recovery from the Special Period, and music has been, and continues to be, an important part of the promotion of tourism to Cuba (see Figure 1.5). This new international success of Cuban music in the last few years has changed its character in the outside world, and has additionally affected and changed its producers – the Cuban musicians themselves. With one single album nearly defining Cuban music to a global audience, musicians at all levels of development are further induced to do certain things, play certain styles of music, and look for certain audiences in order to advance their careers as musicians. But at the same time, with less isolation and further incorporation into a rapidly globalizing system, Cuban musicians are increasingly exposed to and affected by many other outside musical influences. In this study I have attempted to get to the heart of the effects of globalization on individual Cuban musicians. My driving research question in this study is: how are individual Cuban musicians changing and adapting to increasingly strong forces of globalization throughout Cuban society?

Figure 1.5: Advertisements for tourist spots in recent Havana publications. Notice the emphasis on music and dance (a. La Zorra y el Cuervo 2005, b. Cartelera 2005).

The Young Jazz Afternoons
 RUMBATERE with invited
 from Thursday to Saturday
 3 - 7 p.m.

Summer offer
3 cuc
 minimum with
 Special offer
 all for 1 cuc

Hours:
 10:00 p.m. - 2:00 a.m.

Cuban Jazz CD's
 on sale.
 See the DJ, Inti.

For more information:
 23rd. Street and O, Vedado, Havana City.
 Phone: 833 2402 e- mail: zorra@cbcan.cyt.cu

The Making Team
 La Zorra y El Cuervo

A&G

a.

Usted también puede
¡bailar a lo cubano!
 PARADISO le ofrece la oportunidad exclusiva para aprender a bailar
 casino con profesores y demostradores expertos.

Incluye:
 Profesor acreditado
 Pareja de demostradores
 Traducción en inglés, francés e italiano
 (a solicitud para grupos)
 Certificado de clases

Precio:
 10.00 CUC x clase (2 horas) x pax
 5.00 CUC x hora de clase adicional

Lugares:
 Salón Gelabert Hotel Riviera.
 Paseo y Malecón Vedado.
 Tel.: (537) 834.4228
 Museo del Ron, Havana Club
 Ave. del Puerto No. 262, esq. a Sol.
 La Habana Vieja.
 Tel.: (537) 861 8051

Horarios de clases:
 9:00 a 11:00 a.m.
 2:00 a 4:00 p.m.

Contacto: paradis@paradiso.artex.cu

Paradiso
 CLUB CASINO

b.

ⁱ DE MARCOS: Ahora en términos musicales... Cuba es el país, porcentualmente, con mayor cantidad de músicos de primera categoría en el mundo... Musicalmente estamos en uno de los grandes momentos de la música cubana (28).

III

LITERATURE REVIEW

A number of different groups of literature are necessary in order to set up a theoretical framework for this study of the effects of globalization on Cuban music and musicians. As early as the 1920s, geographers were conducting studies and publishing work on the connections between sound and place. This later developed into the broader field of Music Geography and has gone through many phases in the years since. The development of Music Geography will be discussed later. This body of literature is necessary and indeed very useful in setting up a study that is so dependent on music and place.

This study will additionally draw from literature centered on globalization and culture. While different peoples inhabiting the earth have always been interconnected in some form, the boom of the post-industrial age and the onset of modern technology vastly increased the level of interconnectedness between more and less developed countries in the last 100 years. Rooted in issues of globalization, there is an open-ended debate throughout the literature revolving around ways in which these two spheres are

culturally, and more specifically musically, connected. As I will show later, the cultural relationship between the more and less developed countries is not as simple and linear as has been argued in the past.

A third body of literature from which I draw for this study is work directly related to Cuban music. This work, although not necessarily from a geographical perspective, offers much information that is useful in contextualizing the study. What makes this area so important, and somewhat unconventional, is that it not only includes written works, but will also include compact disc liner notes and artwork, reviews, advertisements, the music itself, and other forms of media that I hope will provide a more complete understanding of global effects on local Cuban musics and musicians. This body of literature will additionally be a source of quantitative data that I hope will help place Cuban music in the context of a rapidly globalizing world.

Music Geography

Music Geography is not a new realm of study within the discipline of Geography. Geographers have been researching and writing about music throughout most of the 20th century. As early as the 1920s, geographers were researching and publishing works about sound as an integral element to the landscape (Connell and Gibson 2003). The bulk of this research was focused on how regional distinctions could not only be drawn from visual characteristics, but also through sound. Cornish (1928, 1934) and Abercrombie (1933) worked to connect sound to sight in terms of the appropriateness or inappropriateness of the match in a landscape.

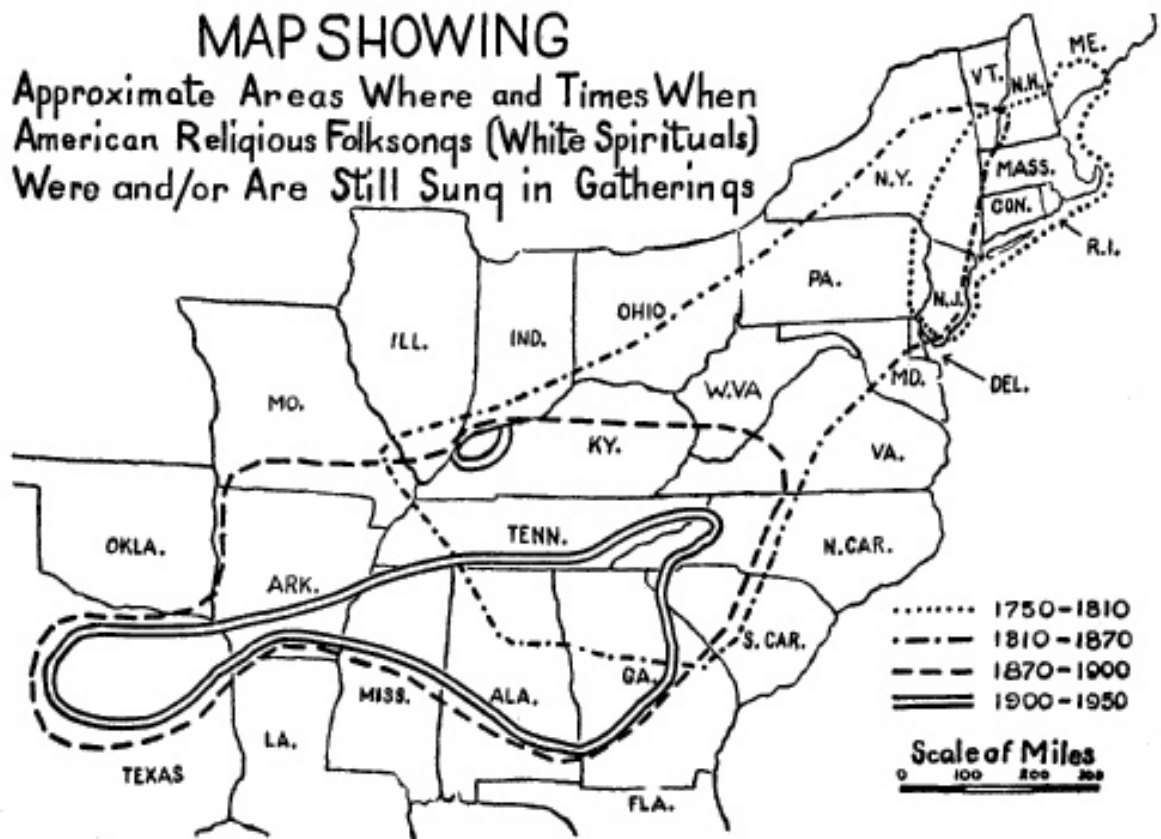
This work later gave way to what Kong (1995) refers to as “broader cultural geographical interests in the tradition of Berkeley cultural geography” (185). She explains this by introducing five major areas of Music Geography research that took place throughout the second half of the 20th century. Important terms and ideas that come from this research are spatial distribution of musical forms, musical hearths and diffusion, delimitation, and thematic analysis. While all clearly geographical, Kong identifies many shortcomings of these studies. First, the social and political context in which the music is created is ignored. Secondly, these types of studies fail to consider “the socially constructed nature of space and place experience” (186), and do not consider that music might play a part in that construction. Thirdly, while production of music is addressed, consumption of music as a form or culture is largely ignored, as is the possibility that “through the process of consumption it undergoes further transformation” (186). Lastly, Kong criticizes these studies for their lack of attention paid to music playing a role in the social construction of national, race, gender and class identity.

Connell and Gibson (2003) additionally point out that in this period, the production and diffusion of musics was quantified and drawn on maps in an attempt to show cultural processes spatially. To music geographers of the time, “popular music...could be represented spatially, explained and described in terms of the location and origins of musical scenes, styles and pieces” (12). While this is true, and some very important studies have come as a result of work under that pretense, Kong’s criticism of this could not be more applicable. This work was focused on a very narrow scale considering the existence, change and diffusion of local musics as unique occurrences.

The connection to the global system, or to any other outside forces was wholly missing from this period of Music Geography.

Jackson (1952), Burman-Hall (1975), Carney (1987), Crowley (1987) and Curtis and Rose (1987) are examples of the type of geographic work that Kong (1995) and Connell and Gibson (2003) criticize. Jackson's 1952 work on American religious folksongs is essentially a detailed description of the movement and diffusion of the white, protestant religious folksong from 1750-1950 (see Figure 2.1). While this work provides information about the movement and development of the white, protestant spiritual, no effort was made to connect this to a larger picture. Kong (1995) criticizes these and similar works for their lack of theoretical consideration. But to his credit, Jackson admitted that the study is not exhaustive. He did ask the *why* and *how* questions. His only response is that he will leave them to others (Jackson 1952, 365). The problem with this study is not its internal validity, for he answers the questions that he set out to answer. Rather, this study is wanting because it does not address higher-order questions or make multi-scalar connections.

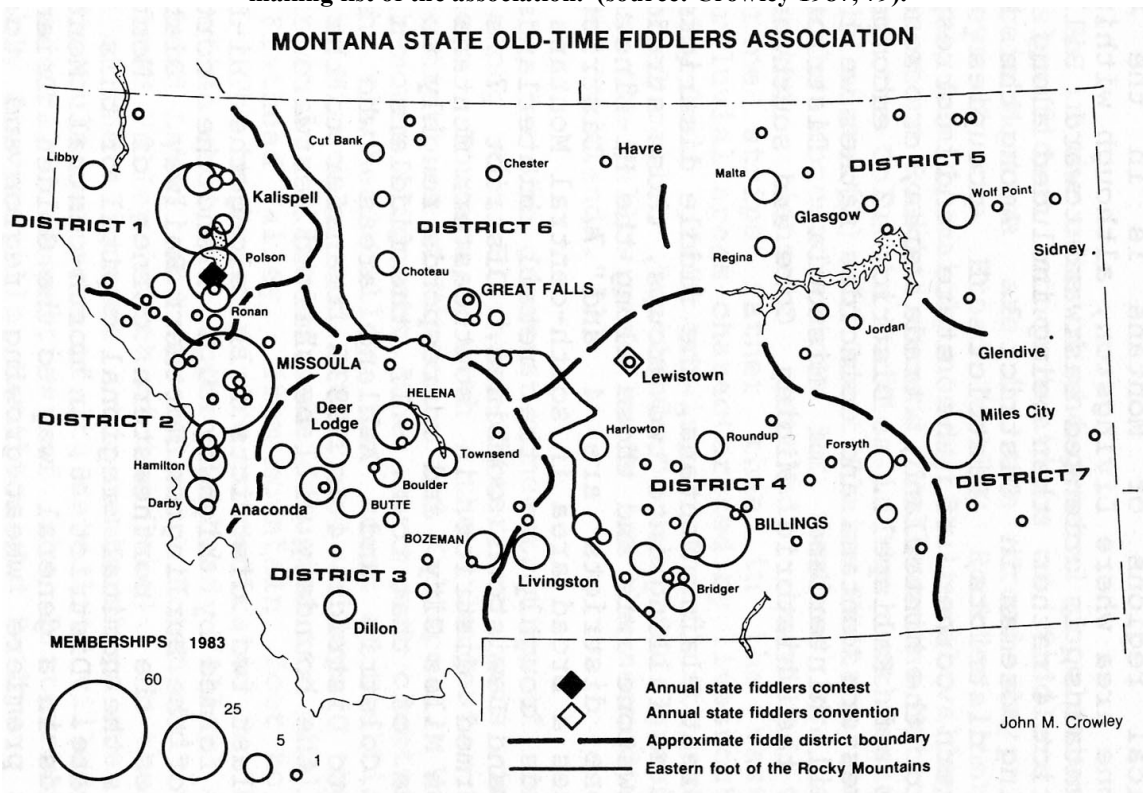
Figure 2.1. (source: Jackson 1952, 367)



Burman-Hall (1975) conducted a similar study with the purpose of establishing the characteristics and defining the regional substyles of the British-American fiddle traditional in the southern states. He described, in laborious detail, the conventions of performance, actual tunes played, and various different styles, such as the Southern Appalachian, Ozark and Western. The author concludes by attempting to explain the diffusion and regional change of British American fiddle music. She then states that the results of the study can be brought into studies of other types of music that have adopted the use of the fiddle. While this may be interesting to some, it again lacks theoretical considerations, and it is difficult or impossible to apply the findings of this study any other situation. In this case, Cohen (1993) provides a valid criticism of these styles of studies stating that they are often “small scale and face-to-face, and this raises the problem of typicality – whether the small part studied can represent the whole – and the problem of incorporating detailed description which may seem banal or tedious” (125). This study succeeds in showing areas that share musical traits, but does not allow for inter-regional or inter-cultural differences (Kong 1995). There is a misplaced assumption of homogeneity.

Another example of a study to which similar critique can be made is Crowley (1987). His study on old-time fiddling in Montana is a tedious description of the spatial placement of different fiddling events and fiddlers throughout Montana. More than the studies previously mentioned, this paper displays no attempt to even start connecting to anything on any larger scale. Theoretical considerations are not addressed as he simply displays where the actors are, where they gather and how they categorize themselves (see Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2: Distribution of members, arrangements of regional districts, and location of state contest and state convention of the Montana State Old-Time Fiddlers Association. Compiled from the 1983 mailing list of the association. (source: Crowley 1987, 79).



This and similar studies (e.g. Carney 1987b, Carney 1987c), provide extremely meticulous descriptions but are lacking in at least two other ways. First, they cannot provide an understanding of the patterns of distribution. Questions of *how* and *why* are completely omitted. Second, these studies do not provide insight into the “inner workings” (Wagner and Mikesell 1962, 5) of culture, not can they explain the political or social context of the landscape in which these musics were developed and popularized (Kong 1995).

While this literature in Music Geography does provide a useful background of the sub-discipline, the lack of theoretical considerations and cross-scale connections leaves many important gaps. The past generation of Music Geography’s research was clearly focused on descriptive studies involving methodologically intense quantitative data (Kong 1995). This body of work, while useful in many ways, was generally very small-scale and specific. In this study of globalization and Cuban music I attempt to address some of the shortcomings that exist in this research. Specifically, my research focuses much attention on the political, social, and economic context in which music is produced. I have additionally taken into serious consideration the role of the consumer, the process of consumption, and the way that consumption further transforms the production of music.

Globalization and the Cultural Imperialism debate

Throughout recent decades academics in many disciplines have been compiling a growing body of literature that addresses cultural expression and globalization. Stokes (2004) provides an excellent overview of work connecting music to globalization. To

Stokes, the critical questions in terms of changes and social transformation as a result of globalization are: “For whom, for whose benefit, how, and when?” (47). He cites the difference between the rhetoric and the actual agenda of international record labels as a prime example of the complexity of these questions. For example, in 1987 the major record labels invented the world music genre as a tool for marketing popular music from other parts of the world. Heavy promotion in the United Kingdom and the United States quickly popularized the term. Within just a few years Billboard began a world music chart and a Grammy category was devised for world music (Stokes 2004, 52). The phenomenon of world music thus became a central theme to research connecting globalization to local musics.

The central consideration in this work is the connection between the West, which is home to the international recording industry, and the lesser-developed world, whose population produces the majority of this music known generically as world music. But this relationship is not clear-cut and easy to define. Throughout the last twenty years social scientists have worked toward developing concepts and models to explain the connection between local cultures and the global system. Possibly one of the most colorful debates is the ongoing discussion of cultural imperialism.

This debate revolves around several central questions: Whose culture is changing? How is it changing? Why is it changing? Who is responsible for the change? Goodwin and Gore (1990) directly address some of these questions in their input into the debate surrounding cultural imperialism, specifically in the realm of world beat music (a subgenre of world music). These authors write that there are generally two sides in the cultural imperialism debate, and that both are insufficient in describing or explaining the

musical relationship between the West and the lesser-developed world. Rather, they contend the way in which culture, and music specifically, is spread and mixed throughout the world is much more complex.

Proponents of cultural imperialism generally relate this thesis to Marx's ideas of capital and ownership. According to Goodwin and Gore (1990), proponents identify colonial-style, financially and culturally unbalanced relationships between the West and the developing world in which the Western music industry exploits and likely even harms the traditional culture and music of these countries. But music, unlike most goods that are exported from the developing world, is not a resource that can be depleted. Therefore, in economic terms, music is not scarce, thus how could it be exploited? Proponents of cultural imperialism retort that it is not the music that is being exploited; rather the musicians in lesser-developed countries are the subjects of Western exploitation. In this case, the musicians are the equivalent of cheap labor of which the Western capitalist record industry is taking advantage.

In addition to being too cynical, Goodwin and Gore argue this idea does not describe either the production or consumption of world beat music. Patterns of production and consumption are much more complicated and non-linear. It cannot be assumed that "third world" culture and music passively receive and adapt to influence from the outside. It is also incorrect to assume that music from outside the West does not play a role in shaping and influencing Western music. Indeed, the sheer existence of world beat represents an open line of communication from musicians in lesser-developed nations to the international market for world music. While certainly the international

music industry does have input as to what world music is marketed and distributed, the producers of this music have at least partial input into what they produce.

Some critics of cultural imperialism appear blindly optimistic in their reaction. Goodwin and Gore contend that this group claims that world beat music is really in a sense a “progressive intervention within Western culture” (64). To these authors, critics of cultural imperialism express doubt in the dominance of the Western music industry and tend to believe in the existence of equal power and equal exchange between musicians of the lesser-developed world and music consumers in the West (Goodwin and Gore 1990, 74-75).

But this argument dismisses any notion of the possibility that through the creation, production, and consumption of world beat music, some kind of exploitation takes place. This argument assumes a perfectly level playing field. While the level of exploitation is debated, the authors here contend that it is wholly naïve to assume that there exists “*proportionate* reciprocity” (78). Indeed, in terms of the recording and publishing of music, there is a certain imbalance of power and money between the West and the lesser-developed world. Goodwin and Gore point out that capital almost always flows to the multinational record companies principally based in the United States, the United Kingdom and France. There is no balance between dominant and lesser-developed countries in the case of the international recording industry. But it is equally untrue to state that there is a linear, vertical relationship in which the dominant culture completely dictates what happens in the third world case. Neither argument fits reality.

Garofalo (1993) adds more to the discussion of culture imperialism and how it relates to and affects the international music scene. He presents three main criticisms of

the cultural imperialism thesis that create a base of argument against the simplistic, one-way nature of cultural influence from the West to the lesser-developed world. According to Garofalo, the first problem with this concept is that the role of external forces tends to be exaggerated while movements of resistance and opposition working against domination are generally underemphasized. If the basis of cultural imperialism is accurate, then an analogous relationship must be assumed between the power of the current international recording industry and the Western colonizer's former complete political and economic domination of their colonies (Laing 1986). While the international recording industry may be powerful, it is very unlikely that they are as dominant as the colonizing powers of the United States and Western Europe during the colonial era.

Garofalo's second major point of contention with regard to cultural imperialism is that often the buying power of consumers in the lesser-developed countries is discounted. Proponents assume passivity on the part of local and national actors in decisions regarding their choice as a consumer of music. To Garofalo, cultural imperialism assumes a general lack of choice on the part of the third world consumer. By doing this, the market power of the international recording industry is vastly overestimated.

Garofalo's third, and perhaps most important criticism of cultural imperialism is that it assumes the culture of the developing world is pure, organic, authentic, etc. while the culture of the West is "inauthentic" and "manufactured" (18). But is this really the case? Is it accurate to assume such a strongly stated dichotomy? When Paul Simon heard South African popular music, he said: "it sounded like very early rock and roll... black, urban, mid-fifties rock and roll (quoted in Feld 1988, 33). According to Garofalo,

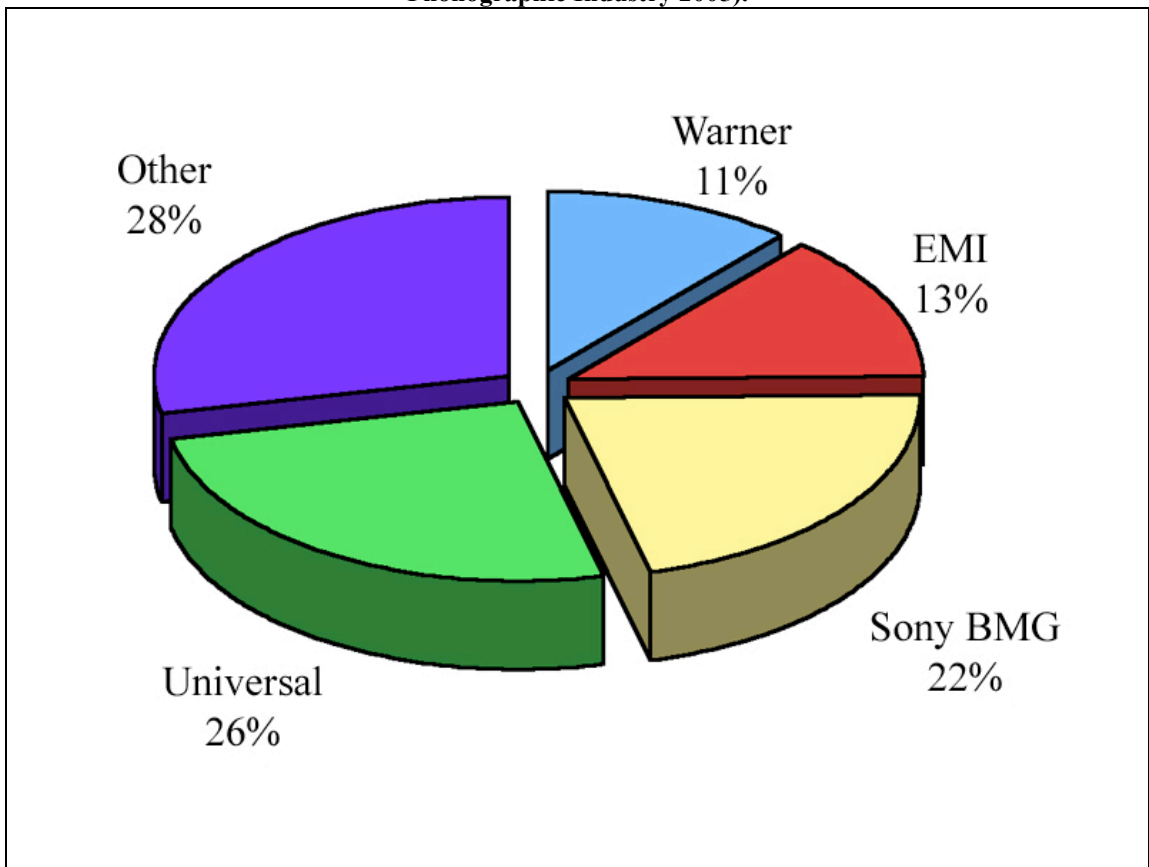
this should have been no surprise at all. Simon's *Graceland* (1986) depended on the use of South African township jive, *mbaqanga*, *kwela*, and Zulu choral music. But these same South African styles had been greatly influenced by many genres and styles of Western music, including African-American rhythm and blues, soul, jazz and gospel from the 1950s and 60s (Garofalo 1993). Collins (1992) even goes so far as to say that this could be considered "the culture of the African diaspora returning home, rather than a clear-cut instance of cultural imperialism" (189). Wallis and Malm (1984) additionally contend that while the world has been flooded with Anglo-American music since the middle of the 20th century, this has not stopped local musicians from creating their own styles according to their own cultures.

Throughout human history there has always been communication between different cultures and societies. Cultural mixing is an inevitable result. It is overly simplistic and naïve to assume that music from the developing world is wholly "authentic" or "pure" or "organic." There is too much cultural, and more specifically, musical mixing and cross-fertilization happening throughout the world to assume that simply for originating in a lesser-developed nation its music is any of these things.

My purpose with the previous discussion of cultural imperialism was to show that this concept, or model, is inadequate in explaining the musical relationship between the developing world and the West. But the point here was not to argue that there is an equal relationship between local cultures and musics and the record industry of the West. Indeed, as mentioned above, no "*proportionate* reciprocity" (Goodwin and Gore 1990, 78) exists between the influences of the West and those of the lesser-developed world. To be sure, the international music industry has a bottom line – it is an industry whose

main goal, according to Gebesmair and Smudits (2001), is to recover high profits as a result of the global distribution of a standardized product. This industry is a clear oligopoly, dominated by only four companies: Universal, Sony BMG (after a recent merger), EMI, and Warner. The “Big 4” as they are often called, control 75 – 85% of the international market for music (Gebesmair and Smudits 2001, Matheson 2003, International Federation of the Phonographic Industry 2005) (see Figure 2.3). Their oligopolistic control of the industry is certainly implicated in global economic inequalities (Garofalo 1993). But the level of influence and domination between the international industry based in the West and the local musics and cultures of the developing world is much more complex than what the cultural imperialism thesis is able to explain.

Figure 2.3: Market share of the “Big 4” record companies (source: International Federation of the Phonographic Industry 2005).



Globalization and Cuban Music

The continuing debate throughout the last 20 years of cultural imperialism and music is of specific interest in my study of the effects of globalization on local Cuban music. It is so important because the actions of players at all levels (individuals, national governments, and international organizations and businesses) affect how local music is perceived and changed as a result of increasing involvement of Cuba and Cuban culture in the globalized world. On the national level, Guilbault (1993) proposes that two basic actions are taken by lesser-developed nations regarding their local music. First, politicians and social activists often work for the protection of their indigenous music so as to not lose their local cultural identity. To these people globalization has created a situation that severely threatens the existence of local culture and local identity. Indeed, many scholars have commented that global culture is one without memory or roots, and is “one that does not respond to real necessities or to formative identities” (Lima 2001, 221, also see Gebesmair and Smudits 2001). As a result, protectionist policies try to preserve local, traditional cultures, shielding them from invasion by a transnational and artificial global culture.

Equally prevalent and not necessarily mutually exclusive from protection is promotion. According to Guilbault (1993), promotion can be seen as a path to economic and social development in many lesser-developed countries. Promotion of local cultures is a way of entering and participating more actively in the international market. In many places around the world, especially among the lesser-developed countries, the importance of tourism is ever increasing in the countries movement toward economic development.

Local culture, and especially local music, if marketed correctly, are effective ways to increase tourist interest in many locales.

As discussed in the introduction chapter, a result of Cuba's increased international participation, and Cuban music's increased global popularity, is that this second option of promotion has become dominant in the government's model of the development of a tourist industry. The rejuvenation of Cuban music's popularity is largely due to the 1997 release of the Buena Vista Social Club compact disc and Wim Wenders' 1998 documentary film about the album. And even though the album is sometimes pointed to as yet another example of the Western dominance of local musics and musical culture, this release has gone tremendously far in the promotion of local cultures to tourists.

The promotion of Cuban music has played an important role in the development of Cuba's tourist industry. But what effects has this renewed excitement for traditional Cuban music internationally had on local Cuban musicians? This question is at the heart of my study and is one that I hope to be able to answer. My central research question, how individual Cuban musicians are adapting to, and changing as a result of, increasingly strong forces of globalization throughout Cuban society, is directly connected to the theoretical debate of how Western music and the power of the international recording industry affect and change local and indigenous cultures and musics.

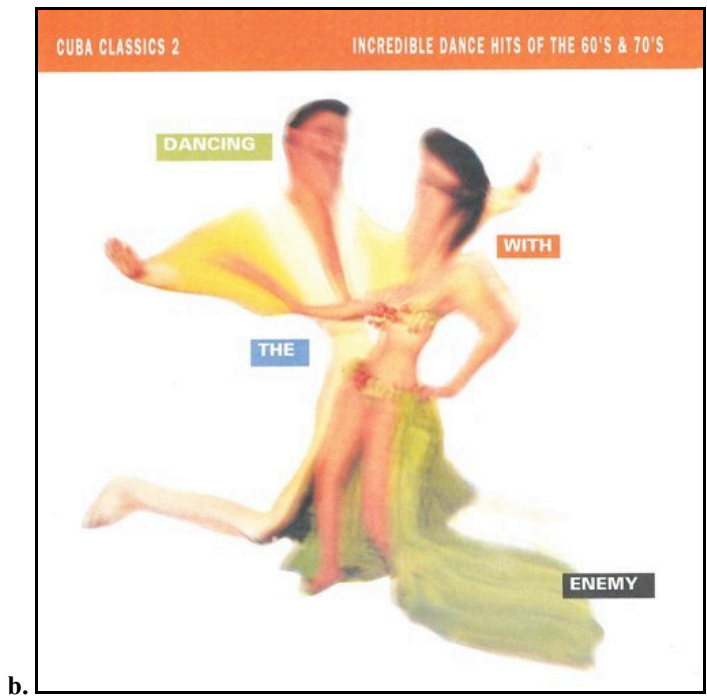
Hernandez (1998) directly deals with some of these issues. She addresses initial difficulties getting Cuban music into the international market after culture avenues between the United States and Cuba began opening in the 1980s and early 1990s. Through this argument she implies Cuba's incorporation into the world market for music and culture, as well as the island's general level of "globalization," may have been

delayed for a number of different reasons. She lists the United States' blockade against Cuba, and Cuba's protectionist and heavily subsidized economy as possibly having been the two most important factors in the island's relatively late start in the world market for music and culture of the late 20th century.

Hernandez provides an example of an attempt to incorporate Cuban music into the global market that predates the Buena Vista Social Club and acts as a very good comparison. In 1988 the London-based record label Mango, a subsidiary of Island, release an album called *Songo* from the Cuban band *Los Van Van* (see Figure --). This album, one of the original releases of a genre know as *Timba Cubana*, sold very poorly. Timba rhythms, while largely based on the rhythms of traditional Cuban music, sounded out of place for what the world recognized as Cuban music. Unlike what the rest of the world knows as Cuban music, this release included instruments such as the electric guitar, drumset and synthesizers, and generally had a sound much more infused by Jazz and Rock and Roll (sound reference 1). At the time of the release, this very contemporary Cuban music was too new and unfamiliar for the Western market (Hernandez 1998).

Three years later, American pop star David Byrne (1991) of the Talking Heads released a compilation album of Cuban dance music called *Cuba Classics 2: Dancing with the Enemy* (see Figure --). This album, unlike *Songo*, met with large international success. But there are two important differences between the albums that may have played a part in the different outcomes of the two albums. First, because of Byrne's status in the international recording industry and popularity among music consumers, he was able to effectively market this album to the West. Possibly even more important to

Figure 2.4: Album covers for Los Van Van's *Songo* (1988) and David Byrne's (1991) compilation *Dancing with the Enemy*.



the success of this album was that it was not contemporary *Timba Cubana* or any other genre unfamiliar to the West. Rather this was an album made up of much more traditional Cuban music that carried with it a sense of Cuban authenticity in the international marketplace.

Because of the nature of global market forces and the power of the international recording industry, the international market's specific demand for what consumers deemed as authentic directly affected the success of local musicians on a very individual scale. This situation has serious implications as to what could be necessary for contemporary Cuban musicians to do in order to have a successful career playing music. In the example cited above, *Los Van Van* released an album of music that they undoubtedly identified as authentically Cuban. Internationally it was seen as anything but that, and as a result it was a complete and utter failure internationally. With this study I hope to look at Cuban musicians and their music in terms of the global order in which they are producers of music. Through this lens I hope to identify and understand the ways in which Cuba's increasing participation in a global community is affecting these local musicians.

Where Globalization and Cuban Music Fit in the Broader Literature

Throughout the last century Music Geography has gone through a process of evolution and development. In the early 1900s simple connections between sounds and places were being made in an attempt to "align sounds with scenes of appropriateness or inappropriateness; the honk of a car horn in a country lane, or the sound of a gramophone in the open air..." (Connell and Gibson 2003, 11-12). The middle of the 20th century

brought a phase in Music Geography dedicated to tedious and detailed descriptions of musical diffusion, mostly centered on American music, in which cartographies of musics and musicians were common. During this period, methodological detail received serious attention, but very little priority was given to theoretical considerations or connections between the local and global (Kong 1995, Connell and Gibson 2003). Additionally, for more than twenty years there has been an on-going discussion within Geography and other disciplines attempting to devise models that explain the relationship between local musics, their music, and the broader global system.

This is where my study on the effects that globalization has local Cuban music and musicians fits. Unlike the past generations of music geography, this study considers the context of the music producer, and the importance of patterns of music consumption. Through gathering data from case study subjects, as well as other sources, I present findings that connect the local musician to globalization in such a way that I hope to contribute to the larger debate on the relationship between globalization and local culture.

III

METHODOLOGY

In order to investigate the effects of globalization on individual Cuban musicians and their music, I have conducted qualitative case studies of three different musicians at various levels of professional development. I emphasize the qualitative nature of this research from the beginning because the approach of a study dictates the way in which data is collected, interpreted, analyzed and understood, and the way in which knowledge is created. This section will explain the theoretical basis of my qualitative case studies and detail the methods of data collection and analysis that I have employed in conducting the study.

A Qualitative Approach

Before I can address the particulars of the study being presented here, it is necessary to explain my qualitative approach in conducting this study on globalization and Cuban music and musicians. Creswell (1998) defines qualitative research as a process of study and understanding based on exploring a social or human problem. The

role of the researcher is to assemble a “complex and holistic” picture through analysis of data originating from the detailed reports of informants in their natural setting (15). I have used this qualitative approach to explore the effects that increasing globalization is having on particular Cuban musicians.

I designed this study according to qualitative research methods for many reasons. First, this study is exploratory. Instead of trying to discover *why* something happens, my purpose is to ask *how* globalization affects music and musicians. There are no clearly identifiable variables in investigation the ways in which globalization affects cultural actors – in this case Cuban musicians specifically. There is no coherent theory that explains the ways that globalization affects these actors, nor predict what will happen in the future. The purpose of this study is to explore the effects that globalization has on Cuban musicians and their music. Qualitative research fits this purpose.

This study is also necessarily qualitative because I seek an insider’s perspective of each particular musician in his immediate, natural setting. Unlike in quantitative research where the subject of investigation should be removed from its context and natural setting, in this study the context of each individual is vital to the outcome of the study.

According to Guba and Lincoln (1981), “it is virtually impossible to imagine any human behavior that is not heavily mediated by the context in which it occurs (62). Removing the context of each case would eliminate the basis of that case. Because the case’s context could potentially be an important influence on each case, the results of the study would be fundamentally altered. Additionally, because of the multiple realities that exist between different individuals and the importance of individual perception of the world in decision-making processes (mental maps describe a perceived world full of individual

bias, not the “truth” of the objective world), it would be of no use to attempt to quantify the ways globalization affects musicians and their respective quantities. The importance of the context of each individual case study deems the method necessarily qualitative.

Lastly, this study must be conducted with a qualitative approach because my goal as a researcher is to be an active learner in this study. I will attempt to tell the story from the participant’s perspective. In relating each story from this insider’s perspective, I strive to understand each phenomenon in its original contexts, rather than view the phenomena as “an expert who passes judgment on participants” (Creswell 1998, 18). As a result, my analysis of each case study, and the cross-case conclusions, should reflect not only the raw data, but also the situation in which it exists. Overall, the method to answering my stated research question is necessarily qualitative: my ultimate goal is a deeper understanding of musicians, their music, and how these two are affected, either directly or indirectly, by globalization.

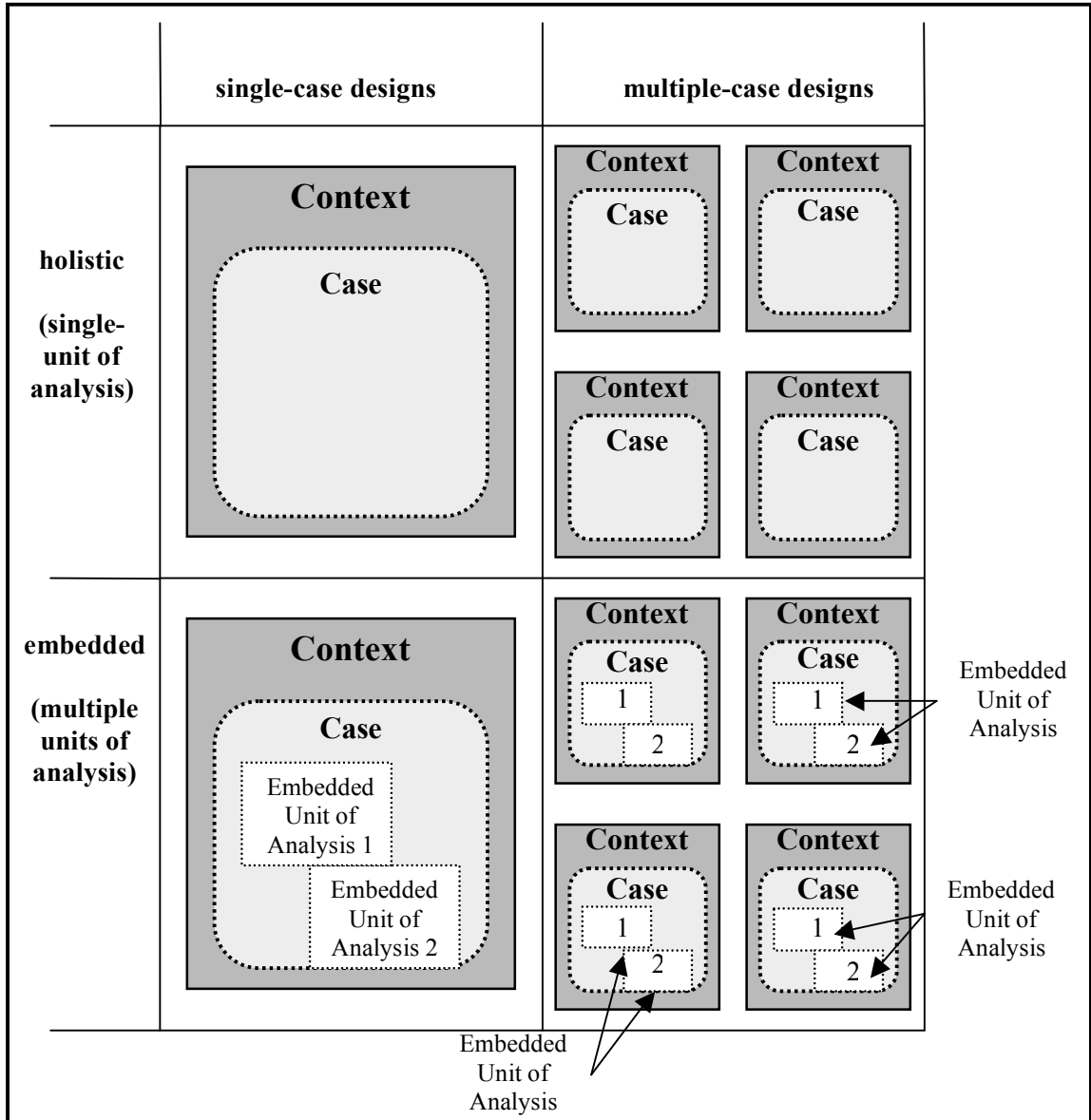
Research Design: The Case Study

The case study is one of many ways to conduct qualitative research. Yin (2003) states that the case study can be used in multiple situations throughout many disciplines when the objective is to add to knowledge of a certain person, group or people, or phenomena. Creswell (1998) uses more detail defining the case study by stating that it is an exploration of a “bounded system” – the case – restricted by time and place, through the use of multiple sources of in-depth data (61). In a case study, the context is central to the study because it situates the case within its physical, social, historical, economic and political setting (Creswell 1998), thus providing a point-of-reference for the study.

For this study I have chosen to use what Yin (2003) specifically refers to as multiple-case, embedded case studies (see Figure 3.1). The study is multiple-case because more than one case will be analyzed. The term *embedded* comes from the practice of considering data from more than one unit of analysis when constructing the case.

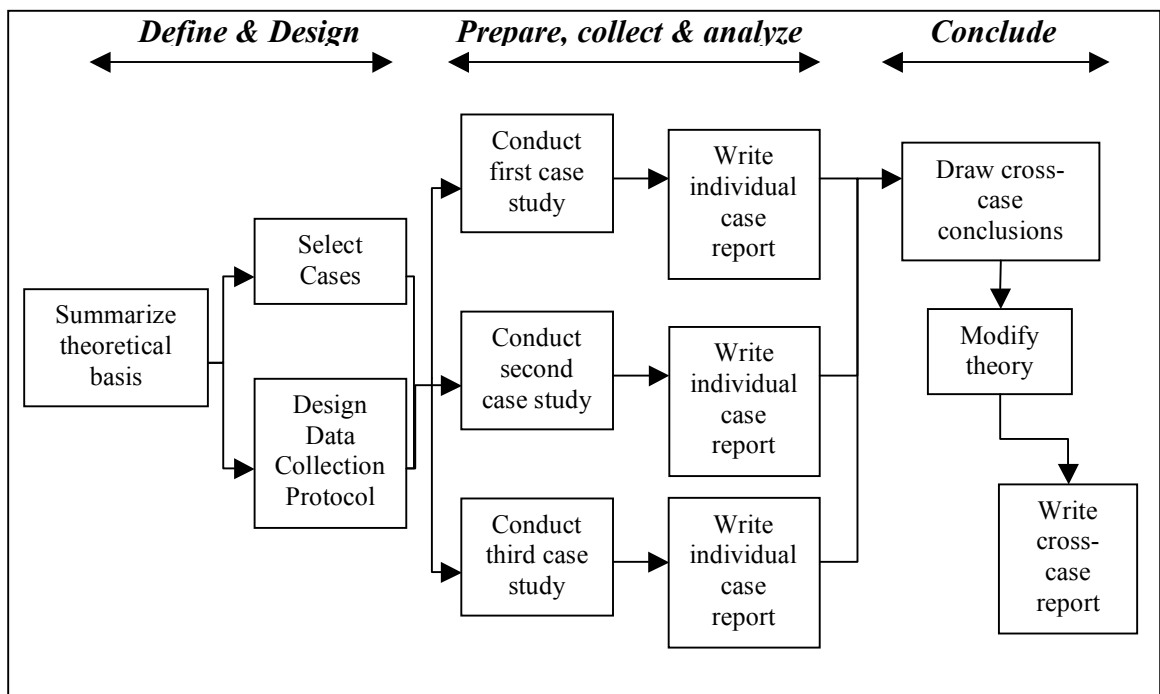
While Yin (2003) does contend that the single-case case study is both methodologically and theoretically sound, I use three separate cases in order to add additional depth and breadth to my analysis and create a more robust study. Yin (2003) supports the multiple-case case study design in similar situations for two additional reasons. First, the contexts surrounding each individual case will at least slightly vary. If under these different sets of circumstances the same conclusions can be drawn, external generalizability of findings can be greatly increased. Secondly, Yin points out that multiple cases serve the pragmatic purpose of blunting criticism from those concerned about the potential uniqueness and non-transferability of a single case.

Figure 3.1: Case Study Designs (adapted from Yin 2003, 40)



It is important that these three unique case studies not be viewed as three *samples* from which to extrapolate conclusions. Rather, each separate case study must be considered individually, and separate conclusions drawn from each specific study. The existence of more than one case study effectually provides a larger set of conclusions that can be compared and contrasted in order to support or negate a theory. To borrow quantitative terminology, each different study be considered as a separate *experiment* that is testing the same theory (see Figure 3.2). Each case serves a specific purpose, mainly to examine the effects of globalization on musicians at different levels of professional development. I will use “replication logic” in considering each of these distinct cases instead of using “sampling logic” by considering multiple cases to be similar to multiple respondents of a survey (see Yin 2003, 47 for complete discussion). Through the use of replication logic and the comparative method, I arrive at systematic, theoretical-level conclusions that apply to all three cases and could be applicable in other similar situations.

Figure 3.2: Case Study Method (adapted from Yin 2003, 50)



These case studies are also termed embedded studies due to the multiple units of analysis considered within each study (Yin 2003). While each study is primarily focused on the individual and how he is affected by and adapts to increased globalization throughout Cuban society, it is important to consider other levels of analysis – both on a larger and smaller scale – that play a role in the final outcome. It has been necessary for me to pay close attention to the international market for music, the international record industry, and other forces of global scale. Promotional materials, reviews of recordings, compact disc and LP liner notes, and even the music itself are among documental data that provides data at a much smaller unit of analysis. As a result of the importance of scale, from global market forces to local and personal interactions, all levels of analysis will be considered, thus making these cases studies embedded.

Research Methods

In this study I use a number of different methods that together make up the complete methodology. Because the process of collecting data and the process of analyzing this data are very different, I will use the following sections in order to outline these various methods. I will conclude by describing how these different processes and methods work together in creating the grounds on which I base my conclusions.

Methods of Data Collection

After several months of preparation and pre-fieldwork research and reading, I performed fieldwork for this study in Havana, Cuba during July 2005. Because this was not the first time visiting Cuba or conducting research on the island, there was little to no

period of adjustment. In many research settings where there is a language barrier present, it can become inhibitive to the research and the project being conducted. This was avoided altogether because I have a high level of proficiency in oral and written Spanish gained through many years of study, more than a year in residence in Havana, Cuba, and a Cuban wife with whom I communicate almost exclusively in the Spanish language. In the months before the trip, family and other connections proved beneficial in setting up the groundwork for the case studies presented here. Lilian Lomera, a friend of four years, instructor of music and music history at the University of Havana and active participant in the Havana music scene, assisted me in setting up meetings and interviews with key participants in this study.

The participants in the cases presented in the following chapters are Juan de Marcos Gonzalez, Yasek Manzano, and Igor Tillán. Before I can go any farther, it is important to ask the questions: Why these three individuals in particular as opposed to any other of the hundreds, if not thousands, of talented musicians throughout the island?

There was much preparation in order to be sure that I selected the most appropriate subjects for these multiple case studies. I first created a list of similarities that I thought that all participants should share. I also created a list of traits that I thought should separate each musician in the study. These similarities and differences are discussed below. As a result, selection of each individual was a careful and laborious process, not without many problems and frustrations.

Because this study is specifically interested in the effects that globalization has on individual musicians and their music, it was necessary to select musicians that were highly active in at least the local and national music scenes. A second quality that I

wanted participants to share was that they all have at the very least a small amount of exposure to the international music scene. This study is specifically interested in the effects of globalization on musicians that currently are, or that are working toward, using music as their profession. While globalization is certainly felt by musicians while working both on the island and while traveling abroad to play music, I wanted all musicians to have had at least a small amount of exposure to both. I was very interested in finding case study subjects that matched these few prerequisites because they would all be participants that live in Cuba but at the same time have positions in the international music scene.

I also wanted to achieve diversity among cases in some areas. I was most specifically interested in working with musicians at different levels of their professional development and musicians that played different instruments. By working with some musicians that have already achieved high levels of both national and international success and others that are just starting down the path toward professionalization, I have been able to see ways in which these musicians experience different effects and pressures from the same forces of globalization. And through having examined the same question in different contexts, among different musicians that play, record and perform different styles of music, I have been able to add the desired breadth and depth to this study. Consequentially, results have more external validity and are more generalizable.

After creating this list of prerequisites and variables in which the ideal individuals for the study would fit, I had to locate and contact potential participants in order to make this study happen. My past history and experience living and working in Cuba became very helpful in this step of setting up and designing the investigation. I had been

studying Cuban percussion and staying up to date with Havana's music scene for many years. I had additionally been academically studying Cuban music and society. As a result, I was familiar with many of Cuba's working musicians and ways that I might go about getting in touch with them. Based on my knowledge of the scene and my personal connections with Cuban musicians, and in close association with my colleague Lilian Lombera, I made a list of musicians with whom I would have like to work, broken into three categories based on their level of professional development (see Appendix A).

After compiling this "short-list" of potential study subjects, I did encounter some minor problems in setting up the individuals for the case studies presented here. First, due to the difficulty of cross-straight communications between Cuba and the United States, telephone communication with people in Cuba was next to impossible. Getting someone on the phone is difficult enough, and when it finally happens, a normal rate is close to \$2 per minute from the US to Cuba. The little preparation that I did manage to achieve before actually going to Cuba was set up through email. But because email access in Cuba is limited, even that was difficult.

When I left for Havana in the first week of July 2005, I had all three participants lined up and tentative schedules made. These three participants were Igor Tillán, a *trovador* and student at the University of Havana whom I had know for a number of years; Julito Padrón, a jazz and traditional trumpet player huge in the Havana jazz scene, but also somewhat well known in Latin jazz circles internationally; and Jesus "Chucho" Valdés, the internationally acclaimed Cuban pianist. The three tentative study subjects matched the profiles of participants that I hoped to have as my cases, and I had been able to confirm plans with two of the three.

In his syllabus for a course in geographical fieldwork, professor Bernard Nietschmann sarcastically remarks that the field worker should laboriously and carefully plan every step of the investigation beforehand. But, upon arriving at the study site, these plans should be immediately discarded because they will not work anyway (Nietschmann 2001). In my case, this could not have been closer to the truth. Quickly after arriving it became apparent that for a variety of reason I would only be able to work with one of these three. Music festivals take place throughout Europe and the Americas during the summer, and many of Cuba's musicians spend the summer touring internationally on this festival circuit. Julito Padrón and Jesus Valdés were both in Europe on tour for most of the summer. Valdés returned to Havana during the last week I was there, but after talking at length with his agent, it proved impossible to get the face time with him necessary for this study. Additionally, by that point I had already started working with someone else in his place.

The summer tour schedule not only made it impossible to work with two of the three musicians whom I had originally wanted to work, but it also narrowed the pool of alternatives therefore making substitutes more difficult to find. After many stressful days working closely with Lilian brainstorming, calling people all over the city, and meeting with many different musicians, we cemented the participation of the people with whom I finally worked. The three case studies that I present in the following research are of Igor Tillán Suárez, Yasek Manzano, and Juan de Marcos González. As shown in Figure 2, I present results from each separate case study in individual case reports (chapters 4, 5 and 6), followed by a cross case report (chapter 7) that brings together information gathered

in all three case studies in order to draw theoretical-level conclusions. I will discuss each of these participants in more detail shortly.

While I do use multiple sources of data for each case study, a number of in depth interviews with each participant form the basis of each case study. I conducted all interviews during my short tenure in Havana. Interview subjects decided the time and place of each interview, and in all cases, interviews took place in the subject's home. I recorded all interviews only with the permission of the participant. With Igor and Yasek, I conducted multiple interviews on multiple days. With Juan de Marcos, because of his complex rehearsal and tour schedule, I was only able to conduct one 3-hour interview.

I conducted all the interviews for this study in the Spanish language and digitally recorded them. I spent the days following each interview reviewing and transcribing the most important parts in preparation for the next interview with the same subject. In the weeks following the interviews, all recordings were transcribed in the original Spanish. Because of my comfort working in the Spanish language, and because of the importance of the original context of each of the studies, I have chosen to analyze data in its original Spanish language. Where segments and quotes from these interviews appear translated in this text, the translations are my own and I have included the original Spanish version in endnotes of each chapter.

As mentioned above, in addition to in-depth interviews with each of the participants, I have used other data collection methods in order to supplement each case study and add rich contextual material for better understanding of each case. Participant observation of the interviewees in their "natural" states as professional musicians was an important outside source of information and data. I attended various concerts, rehearsals

and recording sessions with Igor, Juan de Marcos and Yasek. Not only did these experiences help me understand each individual on a more personal level, but they also proved very helpful because it exposed me to each of my three case study participants as producers of music rather than only as an interview subjects in a controlled environment.

A second outside source of outside data comes from analysis of different texts related to each case. These texts are varied and come from many different sources. The central texts I have used to help contextualize and place the three cases presented here are news stories about, and interviews with, the case study subjects. An additional vital source of textual data that I have used is the liner notes from compact discs, cassettes, and LPs of these and other connected musicians.

A third source of outside data that I use in presenting these three case studies comes in the form of musical analysis. Much in the way that describing the Mona Lisa in words is, at best, a weak substitute for seeing Leonardo da Vinci's original masterpiece, writing and reading about music is attempting to appeal to the wrong sense. Analysis of the actual music played by these and other artists is an important key to understanding each specific case in its native context. At points throughout the work where I think that it would be particularly helpful for the reader to hear certain selections, I have inserted a sound reference. The artist, song title and album name are listed in Appendix B.

Only through many hours of in depth interviewing together with the analysis of multiple forms of secondary data has it been possible to come to a complete understanding of each of these case study participants in their unique context. By embracing the idea that context matters, and therefore rejecting the idea that the subject

of scientific inquiry should be studied objectively and free from its natural state, I have been able to capture the intricacies of each of the cases I present in this research.

Methods of Data Analysis

After many weeks spent in the field, and many more spent transcribing recorded interviews and proofing those transcriptions, the next vital question in the design of this investigation was what to do with hundreds of pages of interview transcripts. How can this data that I have collected help me in answering my central research problem?

Because of the qualitative nature of this study, and because each of my case studies are considered as separate cases, not multiple “samples” within one single experiment, I put each case through a rigorous process of open and axial coding to attempt to break each case into its parts (through open coding) and build it back together in a categorical and theoretically sound manner (axial coding).

First, it is very important to state from the very beginning that, as described in Figure 3.2, I maintained each of the three cases separate during the entire process of data analysis. Each case is independent of the other, and I made every attempt to keep the results of coding one subject’s interviews separate from the other cases. As a result, in the following descriptions of my processes of open and axial coding, unless directly stated otherwise, data analysis of each case study was completely self-contained and the results of analysis of one case do not have bearing on the analysis of the other two cases. I draw systematic, theoretical-level conclusions that synthesize all three cases in chapter 7, the cross-case conclusions.

My first step of data analysis was to conceptualize the data by breaking down each interview in order to glean meaning from stories, anecdotes and comments. This process, referred to by Strauss and Corbin (1990) as open coding, starts with a procedure of labeling. They additionally state that in this first analytical step, the data are deconstructed, and each piece scrutinized for similarities and differences. I moved through the interview transcripts of each of my subjects, breaking the contents down into smaller concepts and phenomena, and labeling these important pieces of information as they arose. This was by no means a static and unresponsive process. Rather, there existed a constant state of revision and update. When phenomena were repeated – the same label was assigned. I created new labels as needed throughout the process. In some cases, labels had to be modified or slightly changed in order to accurately represent the concepts to which they were assigned. While technically farther ahead in the analytical process than open coding, categorization of these discrete parts does either consciously or unconsciously happen during open coding.

Overall, I coded transcripts by word or by line, but never on such a general basis as by paragraph (see Appendix C for coding samples from interview with Igor Tillán). Such a detailed initial analysis was necessary because of the open-ended nature of the interviews. The subjects did not follow a set, organized line when responding to my questions. In answering the questions they were simply talking to me; relating stories and sharing memories. As a result, many times multiple subjects were considered in relatively short periods of time. It was necessary to code the transcripts by word or by line in order to extract the most complete picture possible from each interview.

While open coding is used to break concepts found within the interviews down into small parts, the purpose of axial coding is to categorize these concepts and build them back together into a web of relationships and interconnections that can successfully describe and explain the phenomena in a complete and theoretically sound manner. As mentioned above, I did not use open and axial coding in a strict sequence in which everything was first open-coded and later axial coded. Quite on the contrary, it was necessary to move back and forth between the two modes of analysis. While moving through the interview identifying and labeling concepts in the process of open coding, I was additionally categorizing concepts, either consciously or unconsciously in real time.

Through this process of axial coding I was able to construct the cognitive maps of each of the case subjects and trace the relationships of globalization with their perceptions of the situation of Cuban music globally, and their actions as a professional musician on a local level. It is in this way it became possible to see the multiple dimensions of the effects that globalization is having on the specific cases presented in this study. The remainder of this work will present the analysis and results of these methodological processes.

IV

CASE STUDY ONE: IGOR TILLÁN SUÁREZ

*Mamá yo quiero saber
De dónde son los cantantes
Que los encuentro muy galantes
Y los quiero conocer
Con sus trovas fascinantes
Que me las quiero aprender*

*Mama I want to know
Where do the singers come from
I find them very gallant
And I want to meet them
With their fascinating songs,
How I'd like to learn them*

- Miguel Matamoros, *Son de la Loma* (sound reference 2)

The day starts for Igor Tillán as most other days in the Havana. Somewhat late out of bed, coffee with his grandfather Senén, a few phone calls – most importantly one to the theatre agency that was supposed to pay him more than three weeks ago – and out the door, guitar in hand, for *La Habana Vieja* – Old Town Havana. Six days a week Igor plays with his Quartet on the patio of the Hotel Sevilla, a mammoth, colonial-style hotel situation on *Paseo Martí*, the tree lined boulevard running through the heart of Old Havana. The daily sets are long, almost four hours, and because tourists move in and out irregularly, breaks are usually few and far between. In our first interview he smugly told me:

Normally it is 45 minutes playing and 15 minutes on break. But tourists don't come every 45 minutes. The tourists come whenever they feel like

it. We have to play where there were tourists, and if the tourists are there the whole time – and hour and a half, two hours – we have to play the whole time.¹

The audience is here sometimes for an afternoon snack or an early dinner, sometimes only for a *Mojito* – the decidedly Cuban drink made from rum and mint leaf – or sometimes just to relax and escape the noise and heat of the city in the sheltered patio of the Hotel Sevilla. But what makes this hotel’s patio in particular so inviting are the sounds of the traditional Cuban music coming from Igor’s quartet. This group, made up of Igor on the guitar and *tres*, together with a bassist, percussionist, and singer, performs a repertoire full of Cuba’s most famous songs and styles: *Sones*, *Boleros*, *Cha-cha-chas* and *Guajiras*, some dating as far back as the 1920s. These styles of traditional Cuban music are today in high demand from tourists as a result of the international success of the Buena Vista Social Club starting in the late 1990s.

While Igor’s long-term goal is to play original music to an audience that comes to hear him playing it, he is quite content for the time being to be running the tradition repertoire of Cuba’s rich musical history. Traditional Cuban music was an important part of Igor’s childhood and upbringing. So for him, traditional Cuban music comes naturally. But he considers himself a singer/songwriter, and is interested in playing his own original music – some of it influenced by traditional Cuban music, but other parts based largely on global musical influence.

Figure 4.1: Igor with old photos and LPs of his grandfather, Senén Suárez (photo by author).



To achieve this goal of musical independence – to be a Cuban musician and not be forced to stick to tradition Cuban music – he feels, ironically, that he must leave Cuba. For the past months, between playing at the Hotel Sevilla and working on various other musical projects and recordings, he has been preparing the paperwork in order to move to Madrid. With the assistance of the singer's sister, who is already living in Madrid, the whole quartet is going in hopes of being able to maintain their Cuban roots while exploring new rhythms and musics, developing their own unique sound.

The above paragraphs display the clearest ways in which an increasingly globalized Cuba has directly affected Igor, his professional goals and musical repertoire. The relationship between the global system and this particular local musician is far more complex and multi-lateral than previous models have suggested. While certainly putting pressure on Igor for certain musical styles and actions, this new global context in which Cuba found itself has provided Igor with many opportunities that he might not have had before.

Biographical Sketch

Due to subsidies from the Soviet Union throughout the 1970s and 1980s, shortages of any kind were rare. Economically this was one of Cuba's most comfortable periods of the 20th century and certainly the period in which the government was most politically and economically independent from the West. But an important side effect of that economic prosperity and independence from the West was an associated cultural isolation. Western – especially American – cultural icons and idioms were considered counter-revolutionary. John Lennon, the Beatles, and their music were banned

completely from the island. Rock music operated largely underground. Jazz was seen as the music of the enemy and the Russian language was a much more common second language than English.

Following the fall of the Soviet Union and the subsequent loss of massive amounts of Soviet trade and aid, the *Periodo Especial* began. As discussed in the introduction chapter, shortages of all kinds characterized Cuban society, and the Cuban economy was on the verge of collapse. The Cuban government found that a way out of this crisis was a vast economic opening of the country. Foreign investment, especially in the tourist sector, was actively sought, and the tourists from all over world became targets of increased marketing. This economic opening additionally set the stage for increasing cultural influences from the West, and especially from the US. Not only are the Beatles a welcomed group, John Lennon is the subject on one of only two statues of a musician in the entire country. Certain Cuban rock groups have become internationally famous, and Havana plays host to an extremely popular annual Jazz festival. While Russian names are still commonly heard (there are plenty of Vladimirs, Katias and Borises), this is only because people with these names were in the 1960s, 70s, and 80s. English is now the dominant second language and it has always seemed to me that Cuban students are very informed of, and up-to-date with, US news and current events. This cultural warming between the United States and Cuba has created accelerated cultural influences from the West in Cuban society. This increased global presence could not be more apparent than in the minds of the Cuban musicians trying to negotiate their way through it.

It was in this social, political and economic context that Igor Tillán Suárez was born in Havana, Cuba on May 24, 1977. Long before he was born, music has played a

central role in his family. His grandfather, Senén Suárez, was an influential musician in Cuba, and continues to be an important music historian in Havana (sound reference 3). According to Igor, “He bequeathed this musical talent onto me... I always talk about him because there was always this musical piece in my life. There was always a musician in the family.”ⁱⁱ Music was central for him growing up, and his secondary and university education, although not directly related to music, were centered on his desire to be a musician.

But he did encounter problems early on. His grandfather, Senén, had had a very difficult life as a musician. As a result, Igor’s mother was unwilling to allow her son to start down a path that would result in a similarly difficult life. So even though music was central in his family (even his mother is a talented musician), Igor was not allowed to go to music schools and could never officially study music as a child. He completed a technical-school degree as an auto mechanic and joined the military service for two years. Although he had left music for a number of years during high school and technical school, while in the military, music started to creep back into his life. Different military and political activities required musicians, and he discovered that he had lost neither his musical talents nor interests.

After two years in military service, he was discharged and decided right away that he was going to study music at the university level as a vocalist. He spent weeks preparing himself for auditions at the Superior Institute Art (ISA), Cuba’s premier music and fine arts institute, but failed the audition. While this temporarily shelved his academic study of music, he took the time to start his first professional gig with an old friend and colleague of his grandfather, Laíto Sureda – another well-known and

important *sonero* from the 1950s and 1960s (sound reference 4). At this time the Buena Vista Social Club album had just been released and traditional Cuban music was in high demand. Laíto's group worked often throughout Havana, often to large audiences. Igor remembers the largest concert of Laíto when they played at the famous *Tropicana* Cabaret. But soon after the gig started, Sureda passed away. "Once again I was left empty-handed." ⁱⁱⁱ

At this point, 21 or 22 years old, without advanced education and having just lost his best chance for jump-starting a professional musical career, Igor heard that the University of Havana (UH) had a number of choirs, many of very high caliber. While there is no music program at UH, the idea of being able to sing in the choirs convinced him to enroll. He spent some time studying for entrance exams, passed them, and started work on a degree in Library Science and Information Technology – exclusively to sing in the choirs. The degree program was of little consequence. "I didn't like [my major], it didn't interest me." The degree program was "so that I could be in the University" in order to sing in the choir.^{iv}

During five years at the University of Havana, Igor was an active participant in various university musical groups. Not only was he able to refine his music performance and theory skills during these years, but he also had the opportunity to perform with a group that, "while not necessarily professional, was of professional quality."^v While neglecting his academic studies, mostly getting the equivalent of Cs and Ds in his regular classes, Igor took full advantage of the music education he was receiving. In addition to singing in the large choirs and groups, he sang in duos, trios and quartets. He wrote original compositions and made many arrangements of other songs. To him, the purpose

of being in the University was a music education. Since there is no official music degree¹, this extra-curricular music program became his principle course of study, while his actual major was an excuse for being in the University.

Igor's five years in the university's extracurricular music program was vital in setting the stage for his subsequent start in a music career. As mentioned above, this is where he started arranging and composing different styles of music for different instrumentations. While with these groups he started traveling as a performer often. Most of the trips were domestic, in order to participate in different competitions and festivals. But on two different occasions the university choirs provided him the opportunity to travel outside of Cuba, to Ecuador, in order to participate in international festivals. The university choirs and groups in which Igor participated won many awards, both nationally and internationally, and performed for United States President Jimmy Carter during his 2002 visit to Cuba.

Also during this period Igor started working professionally with Yanet, another singer from the University's choir. They formed a group called *Duo Contrastes* and started putting together a repertoire. At first they stayed mostly in the realm of traditional Cuban music. "We started with the idea of covering traditional music – things that my grandfather had written but never sang."^{vi} Most of the duo's first songs were in traditional Cuban styles, many old songs of Senén Suárez, and some original compositions.

After putting together a repertoire, getting it on tape was the next step in what Igor perceived to be the path to professional musicianship. At first the recordings were not

¹ While the University of Havana there is no music program, the Superior Institute of Art is home to one of the best music programs in Latin America.

going to be used to promote themselves at all. The idea was that their original recordings were going to be strictly for their personal use and improvement. They would serve as a way from them to study their own songs, their technique, and their sound. But the result of that first recording of just five songs was much larger than they had originally imagined. Their music got out and people seemed to like it. Igor remembers commenting:

We started doing television and radio programs. It grew a little, some people started to know who we were – we had a very small public. So we recorded four more songs. Things continued getting a little better, and finally we did a concert at the university – our first concert. And the people liked it.^{vii}

They continued playing, recorded a few more songs, and played concerts on a regular basis. For Igor they had completed an important first step in becoming professional musicians, but their audience at this point was mostly made up of young Cubans from the university.

While Igor enjoyed popularity and recognition for his music among his Cuban contemporaries, his goals still involved playing music professionally, which is nearly impossible to do only with a Cuban audience with very few financial resources. Igor and Yanet joined up with another singer and a bassist, and started working as a quartet in various tourist spots. At the same time Igor was also playing as a guitarist and background vocalist with at least one other group in other tourist spots. While not nearly as fulfilling on a musical level, tips and CD sales from playing the tourist circuit provided him with an income of about \$120 USD per month, an enormous income in Cuban terms².

² A standard wage for people working for the state is between \$10 and \$20 per month.

With income earned through these various contracts and gigs, Igor, both with his duo and with the quartet, was able to put together money to continue making recording and promoting them. Their objective: to continue growing this quartet both in the tourist sectors and among their Cuban audience. It was also at this point that the group came up with the idea for traveling to Spain in order to broaden their musical career. Igor dropped his other gigs, and dedicated more time to playing with the quartet, by this point at the Hotel Sevilla. While playing six days a week, they also continue recording, composing, arranging, and rehearsing in preparation for auditions for different jobs throughout Spain.

I started working with Igor just weeks after the quartet had stopped working the Hotel Sevilla. Yanet and her sister (the director of the quartet) had already left for Spain, and Igor was just waiting on his final paperwork to come through the Cuban bureaucracy before he joined them in Madrid. During the weeks I spent with him, conducting interviews, listening to him play his music, speaking with his grandfather and trading music, it became clear to me that Cuba's increased participation in the global system, both musically and politically, has had profound influences and effects on his goals as a person and a musician. These forces of globalization have put enormous pressures on many different musicians at all different levels in terms of what they play and where they play it. Igor is certainly no exception. But increased access to global markets, technology, and increased ease of movement on a global scale have also provided many opportunities for him and the advancement of his musical career. The subsequent analysis will explain the depth and complexity of how the forces of globalization are affecting individual Cuban musicians, in this case through the lens of Mr. Igor Tillán Suárez.

Case Analysis

In the literature review chapter of this text I discuss a number of works that claim that globalization affects cultural actors, specifically musicians, in much more complex ways than what both proponents and opponents of the cultural imperialism thesis have argued in the past (see Goodwin and Gore 1990, Collins 1992, Garofalo 1993). This case study with Igor Tillán confirms that no simplistic, one-way explanation can describe the multidimensional effects that globalization seems to be creating. In this section I will explain and analyze the complex variety of ways in which globalization is profoundly affecting Igor and his music.

Igor's perception that the next step in his career advancement is leaving Cuba and going to Spain is based on his understanding of how Cuban music fits into the global music scene. This understanding is shaped heavily as a result of the increasing forces of globalization in Cuba. The recent boom of globalization in Cuban society has laid the groundwork for high-level changes for Cuba's music and musicians. From the multiple interviews I conducted with Igor, it became clear that he sees three major movements in Cuba in recent years, directly connected to globalization, that have been central in shaping his understanding of Cuban music's fit into the world scene. First, he sees that more Cuban musicians are traveling internationally for the purpose of performance. Secondly, and as mentioned above, the tourist industry has grown rapidly in Cuba in recent years. As a part of the tourist industry, traditional Cuban music is a specific cultural aspect that attracts many more people to the island than in the past (for further discussion of music and tourism, see Gibson and Connell 2005). The third factor is technology and telecommunications. As is the case throughout most of the rest of the

world, communications and technology became much more inexpensive and easier to access in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. This has been very important for Cuban musicians, as it is a way to facilitate production and distribution of music. Increased technology has also increased the ways in which both musicians and the general public are exposed to outside musical influences. These changes in Cuban society due to increasing influences of globalization that affect the island's musicians have a complex web of results and feedback loops. It is vital to understand these connections in order to see how they play a profound role in shaping Igor's decision-making with regards to his music.

On the Road

One effect of Cuba's increased participation in the global system is the increased ease at which Cuba musicians can travel abroad. This has serious implications in many ways to many different people. In the past when travel was more restricted and uncommon than it is today, the very few musicians and groups of musicians that traveled played a vital role in "exporting" Cuba and "importing" all kinds of outside influence. That is changing as an increasing number of musicians travel abroad for the purpose of performance. According to Igor, these changes are felt, and acted upon, by many musicians at all levels, including himself.

To start to understand the importance of musician's foreign travel it is important to consider this phenomenon in its historical context. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, travel by Cubans to countries outside the Soviet sphere of influence was much more difficult than it is today. Musicians were among the few demographics that actually could

travel abroad, to the “first world” with relative ease. But these trips were much more difficult than they are today. As a result, only the most developed and most important Cuban musicians and groups from this era were accustomed to traveling outside of Cuba.

At the same time, as I discussed earlier in this chapter, Cuba was culturally isolated from the rest of the world, and especially the West and the United States. As a result, the few groups that traveled abroad became the vehicles for the insertion of musical influence from outside of Cuba into the Cuban music scene. According to Igor it was the groups that traveled often “that kept track of what was going on [musically] outside of Cuba.”^{viii} And not only did they “keep track” of what was going on, they introduced these foreign elements into the Cuban music that they were playing:

Los Van Van never let an important outside influence that appeared get by them... When rap became popular, they did a song with rap. When the electric guitar became more and more common, they added the electric guitar.^{ix}

Outside influences brought to the island by the few groups that were traveling spread to musicians all over the island through recordings, concerts, and radio and television exposure. Cuba became “a laboratory”^x in which these specks of outside influence were mixed with all different kinds of Cuban music by many different types of groups.

These few groups that were able to travel abroad to play music were not only the vehicles through which Western musical influence got to Cuba, but they were a vital choke point between the outside world and the world of Cuban music in Cuba. All information, influence, etc. going *in either direction* had to go through them (see Figure 4.2). As Cuba’s musical ambassadors to the world, they were the filters between Cuba and the outside world. They were the voice of Cuban music onto the rest of the world.

When Cuba started opening in the 1990s following the collapse of the Soviet Union, many more musicians began traveling abroad. A single musician's or single musical group's role as a filter, or part of this "choke point" diminished in this period because of the increase in the total number of musicians and musical groups traveling (see Figure 4.3). And because many more groups were going abroad, they were not only taking many different types of Cuban music out with them, they also started bringing back popular music from all over the globe at a much higher rate.

Figure 4.2: Pre-1990 filters

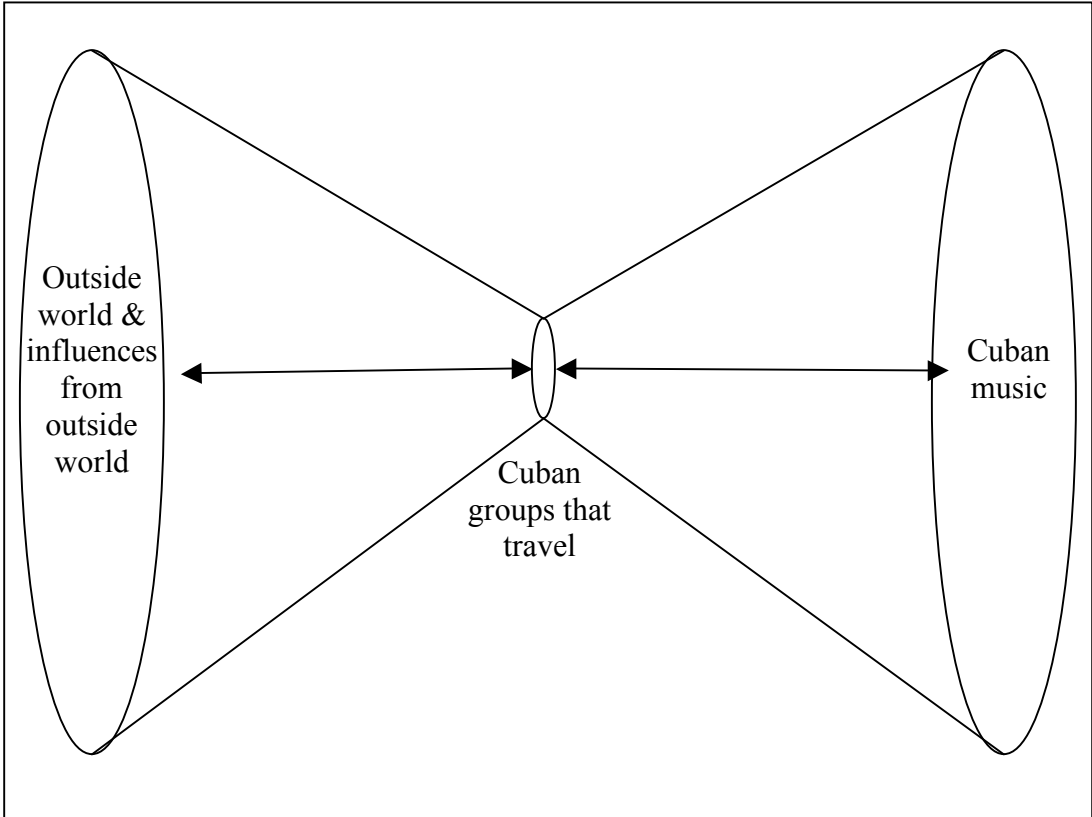
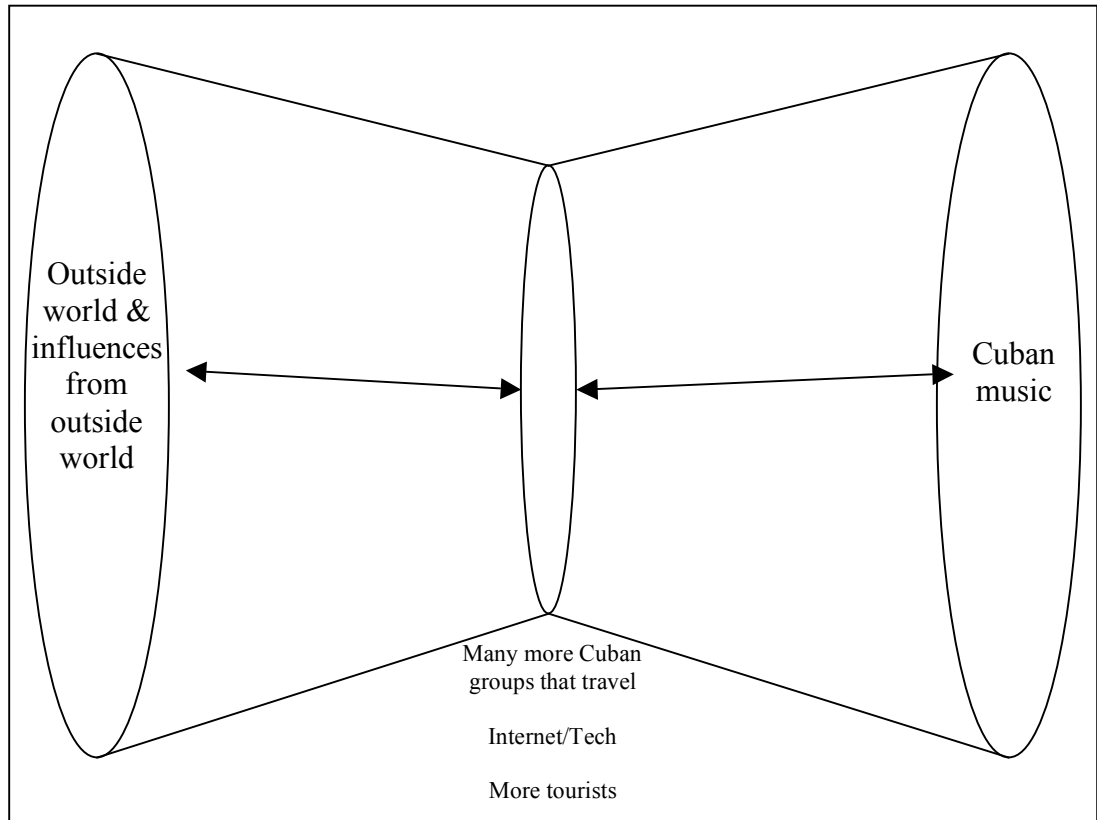


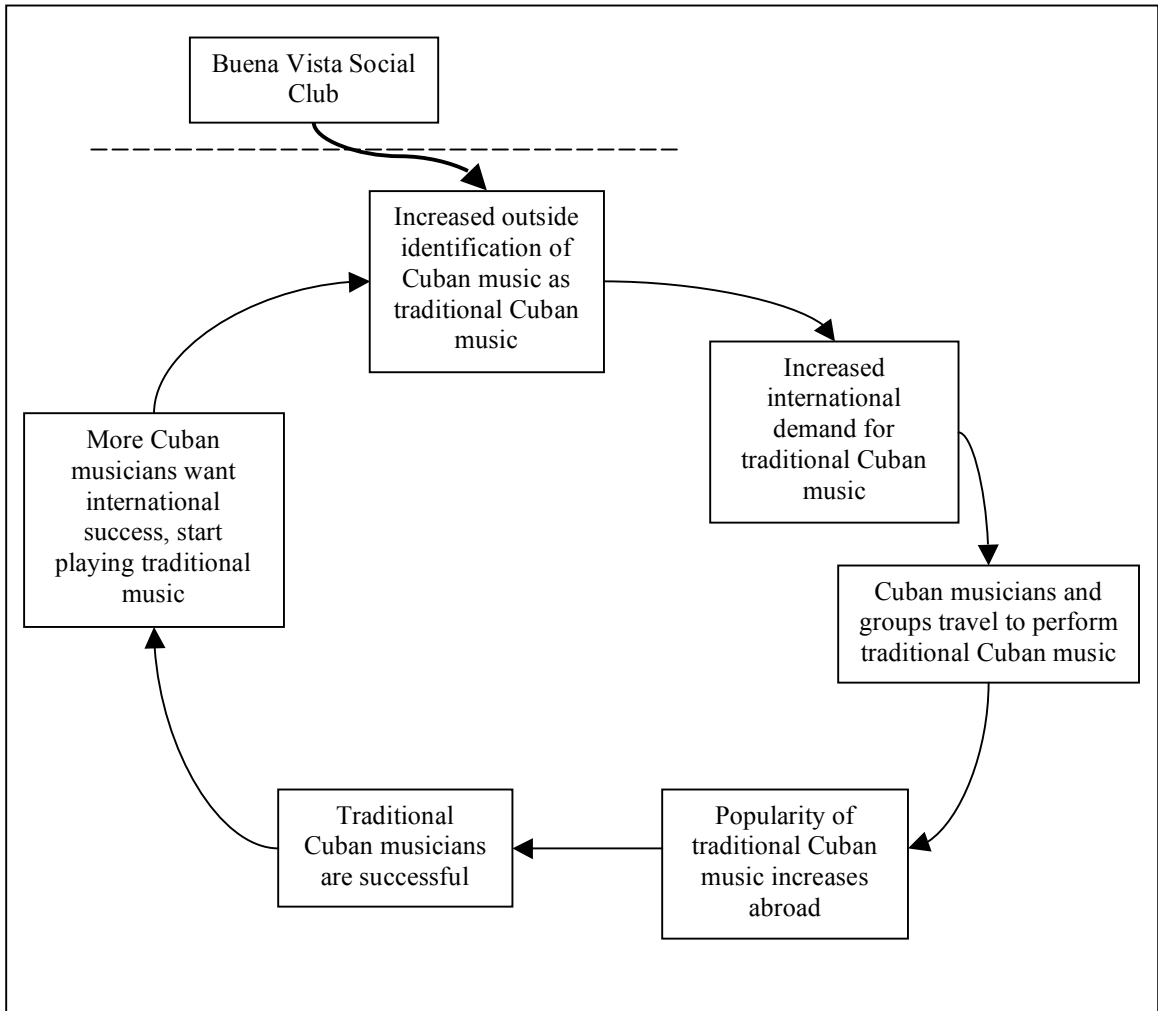
Figure 4.3: Post-1990 Filters



This increase in foreign travel by Cuban musicians and musical groups in order to play their music has had many far-reaching and important effects that play an important role in influencing Igor. First, there is an important feedback loop that takes place as a result of Cuban's musicians increased travel abroad for the performance of their music. The 1996 release and almost instantaneous international success of the *Buena Vista Social Club* gave an initial push to the resurgence in Cuban music's popularity internationally. It additionally furthered an already existent notion that authentic Cuban music is, *and must be*, traditional Cuban music. It contributed to reinforcing the way that people all over the world identified Cuban music as such. The release of this record was an important catalyst in this feedback loop. The release increased global demand for traditional Cuban music. The existence of consumers willing to pay for traditional Cuban music drives more and more Cubans to play this style of music. These musicians start traveling in order to perform traditional Cuban music, and while they travel more, the popularity of this traditional music continues to grow. The musicians and groups that play traditional music and are successful internationally are rewarded financially. They in turn go home and spread the news that traditional Cuban music is hot in Europe, Asia and the United States³. This results in more Cuban musicians playing traditional music in hopes of international success. This then perpetuates the identification of Cuban music by the non-Cuban as specifically traditional Cuban music (see Figure 4.4).

³ Tourism is fundamentally connected to this issue as well, and will be discussed in the next section.

Figure 4.4: Perpetual Loop Created by Cuban Musicians Increased Travel Abroad



But not only does this feedback loop exist in which non-Cubans influence Cuban musicians, but there has also been a pattern of increased outside influence on Cuban musicians as a result of more people traveling abroad. Prior to the increase of travel by musicians and musical groups in the 1990s, musicians and groups that went abroad brought back sounds, styles and influence from all over the world (see Figure 4.2 and 4.3 above). Today this certainly continues, but because there are larger numbers of musicians traveling, the entrance of these foreign sounds, styles and influence has been greatly accelerated. In Igor's case, friends and fellow musicians that traveled abroad to play introduced him to many of his favorite musicians and groups. For example, Igor named Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, Gal Costa, Ella Fitzgerald, Louis Armstrong, the Prathers, and Queen, along with important Cuban musicians, on his list of his most important personal influences. Increased exposure to music from the West creates an increased demand among the Cuban youth for popular music from the West.

Thus the net effect of the increased travel of Cuban musicians is very interesting. The international music market demands traditional Cuban music. Igor says that he clearly feels this, as do many other musicians. They scramble to comply, and in the process create a feedback loop that leads to a perpetual increase of the identification of Cuban music by non-Cubans as strictly traditional Cuban music. At the same time, the musicians that are a fundamental part of the aforementioned feedback loop are central in bringing back and introducing foreign musical influence to the domestic market for music. As traditional Cuban music becomes more and more popular and more highly demanded in the West, Cuban and Western music with global influences becomes more popular and more highly demanded in Cuba.

Socialism Tourism or Death

The opening of Cuba's economy due to the economic crisis of the early 1990s has been centered on turning Cuba into an important tourist destination, not only for Europeans, but also for people from Latin and North America. Just as the increased travel of Cubans to the outside world has had important effects, so has the travel of more outsiders to the island of Cuba. They bring their ideas and conceptions of what is authentic Cuban music and they bring with them millions of dollars per year with which to buy that version of authenticity.

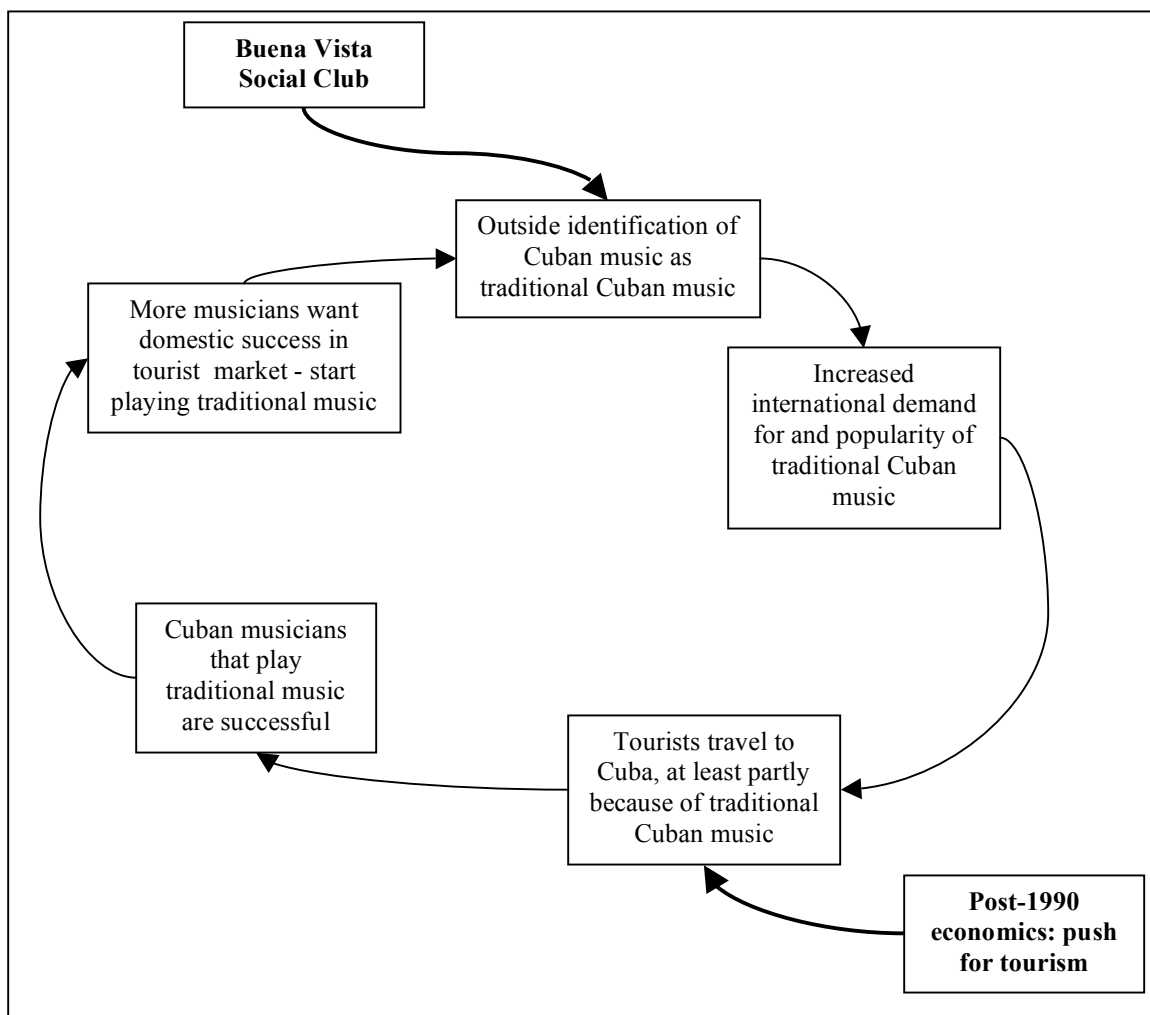
As a result of the increased numbers of foreigners, mostly in the form of tourists, a slightly different feedback loop exists between these buyers of Cuban music and the producers. As is the case above, the international success of the *Buena Vista Social Club* was an important catalyst in the worldwide popularity of Cuban music and also the identification of Cuban music by non-Cubans as *traditional* Cuban music. But where in the previous example the result was an increased demand for traditional Cuban music in the tourists' home country and therefore the movement of the producer, in this case the consumer has the same demand, but it is that consumer that travels instead of the producer.

As is the case in the previous example, the Buena Vista Social Club catalyses the identification of Cuban music as strictly traditional Cuban music among non-Cubans. The same album also helps peak the international popularity of traditional music, and therefore its demand internationally. This increased demand for traditional Cuban music, pared with the fact that the Cuban government, since the early 1990s has been heavily investing Cuba's tourism industry, makes Cuba a popular destination for tourists, whose

reason for being on the island is at least partly for the music. In this case, musicians and groups that play traditional music can be extremely successful in the tourist sector of the domestic music business. Instead of being rewarded with travel and the financial gains acquired through travel (as in the previous case), they are rewarded with financial gains locally in Havana or at other tourist hotspots. As local, domestic musicians become financially successful playing in the tourist sector, other Cuban musicians are drawn toward the economic benefits of this sector. The number of local musicians playing traditional Cuban music increases. While to the Cuban musicians, this is simply a good way to make a living; the tourist interprets this as a Cuban affirmation of the authenticity of traditional Cuban music. The outside identification of Cuban music as strictly *traditional* Cuban music is thus perpetuated (see Figure 4.5).

Similar to the previous example in which Cubans travel more, the increased presence of foreigners in Cuba has a profound effect on Cuban musicians. In the case of Igor, it is what drove him away from playing and performing his own original music in favor of playing traditional Cuban music for a foreign audience. But yet again there is an interesting catch. Igor has been very successful financially in performing traditional music domestically for an international audience of tourists. But this money has been used, for the most part, to support him in writing, recording and promoting his original, non-traditional Cuban music that is highly influenced by European, North American, and other Latin American musical styles.

Figure 4.5: Perpetual Loop Created by Increased Tourism in Cuba



Cuba's Tech Boom

As in most places around the world, the boom in telecommunications technology is changing Cuba in many fundamental ways. The implications of this increased availability of first world technology are huge, both for the average Cuban citizen and especially Cuban musicians. Like so many other changes as a result of globalization, the increase in technology has served to make outside music much more accessible. For the artists, the use of the Internet is also important for musical influence. Igor can look up, investigate, see, and most importantly, hear, most musicians, bands, and musical groups around the world. A second benefit that increased first world technology and internet gives to Cuban musicians, and especially musicians on a lower level, is the availability of relatively low-cost mechanisms for the recording, production, distribution, and promotion of their music without the requirement of the international record industry.

In addition to the accelerated rate at which outside musical influence enters Cuba vis-à-vis the increased number of Cuban musicians traveling (see Figures 4.2 and 4.3), the availability of the Internet and digital technology has been an important way in which Cuban musicians and the Cuban public are exposed to global musical influence. Downloading music and file sharing are common practices, as are burning and trading compact discs. Because digital technology knows very few international boundaries, it is quite simple to get music from Europe or the United States. In this way, global sounds and influence have become much more readily available to the public and commonly heard in the street. As a result, popular music trends in the United States, and especially trends in other Latin American countries, are closely followed in Cuba. Igor mentions that while many Cuban musicians play traditional music for mostly foreign audiences

(both in and outside of Cuba), these musicians, and the Cuban public, are up-to-date with the latest releases from American pop artists such as Eminem, 50 Cent and Beyoncé, and Latin artists such as Shakira and Juanes.

While the Internet has created new ways in which musical influence from the outside affects musicians, the availability of high-tech hardware and software has been vital in allowing musicians to record and produce near-professional quality recordings relatively inexpensively and fully independently. Local, national, or international members of the music business are no longer necessary to finance, engineer or produce these recordings. As a result, musicians have become more independently empowered to control their own business. In Igor's case, he has recorded and printed two compact discs (sound reference 5). Increased availability of digital technology and the Internet has also enabled them to distribute and promote their music nationally and internationally. This was never before possible without the direct intervention of major actors in the music business. As a result, not only is there a local, domestic market for globally influenced music, but there is also at least the potential for musicians to make high quality recordings relatively inexpensively and promote that original music on an international scale.

Case Conclusions

Local results from these large-scale effects of increased globalization are somewhat paradoxical, and results in Igor being pushed in many different directions at the same time. The increasing pervasiveness of the international identity of Cuban music as strictly traditional music, both in Cuba and abroad, pushes Igor to play traditional

Cuban music in order to be financial self-sufficient. At the same time, increased ease of exposure to outside music, and hi-tech hardware and software that facilitate professional-quality, yet independent recordings, added to the increased popularity of global pop music among a Cuban audience pushes Igor to branch out much more in terms of the genre and style of his original music. As is clear in Figure 4.6, the origin and location of the music consumer generally determines the pressure felt by the producer.

Figure 4.6: Origin, Location and Styles

| Origin of Consumer | Geographic location of consumer | Resulting pressure on musician |
|---------------------------|--|--|
| Abroad | Abroad | To play traditional Cuban styles |
| Abroad | Cuba | To play traditional Cuban styles |
| Cuba | Cuba | To play styles with global influence and global sounds |

The first set of pressures on Igor, those that come as a result of the cemented outside identification of authentic Cuban music as on exclusively traditional Cuban music, plays a huge role in the daily choices that Igor makes concerning his music. Because of the increasing international popularity of Cuban music – Cuban music defined as *traditional* Cuban music – Igor can make a significant salary by selling himself in the role of entertainer of foreigners.

This is not only the case while he is in Cuba entertaining tourists in Cuba, but this is also what he suspects will be the case when he travels abroad in the near future:

Right now I am not in the position to play whatever [type of music] I want. Right now to play, I'd have to play what the people in the venue want to hear. I'm going to have to ask, we're going to have to go around and study what type of music is being played in these types of venues. If what they play is *Juanes*, we're going to have to learn *Juanes*... But if we could make a CD, and if some record company would get interested in that type of work, then we could do some promotion. If that happened, then it would be so-and-so playing *his* music in the venue. In this case, I would play my original music. But since we will be an unknown group, our hook will be our [traditional Cuban] songs, not our group's name [or its original music].^{xi}

The way an event is marketed and promoted is important. If Igor is going to play a club that is marketing Cuban music, Igor must comply by playing the audience's expectation of Cuban music (i.e. traditional Cuban music). But the situation would be different if the event were to be marketed and promoted differently:

If you're invited to some city [to perform] and the booking agent that bringing you there sends your CD first, and they promote your music and people hear *you*, then everyone will know who *you* are and people will come to hear *you*. You won't have to play *Son de la Loma*⁴ or anything like that. But if you're going to get a little gig like the one we're going to have in a little café, or an intimate bar, in which it is expected that it is a group – we're unknown and we don't have any promotion – it is expected that the “hook” will be to play songs that people will recognize.^{xii}

Even by crossing the ocean, moving to a new country, and working as a musician among a completely new and unfamiliar public, he will not be able to escape the fact that people understand and identify Cuban music as strictly traditional Cuban music. Until their audience is there to see them for their original music, Igor will be somewhat restricted to what he plays. He will feel immense pressure to play recognized Cuban music – or traditional Cuban music. To the booking agent, the club, or the audience coming to see him he is not Igor Tillán the singer/songwriter. Rather, he is a Cuban musician and

⁴ *Son de la Loma* is a famous traditional Cuban song that Igor refers to as the quintessential traditional Cuban that fits the foreigner's perception of authentic Cuban music (sound reference 2).

therefore it can be expected that he play what the booking agent, club or audience expect a Cuban musician to play – traditional Cuban music.

The second set of pressures comes from the increased popularity of music with global influence among Cuba's youth. As discussed above, both increased travel of Cuban musicians and the increase in tech available to most Cubans (both musicians and non-musicians) have increased the exposure to and popularity of music from outside of Cuba and Cuban music with a distinct global sound (sound reference 6). This creates an enormous pressure for Igor to play music that fits into that mold, if not for economic gain, then for many other reasons including popularity among peers and local reputation and recognition as a creative musician. Because while traditional Cuban music is perceived as authentic among foreigners (both inside and outside of Cuba), according to Igor, "the least commercial [among Cubans] is traditional music... What is popular and in style is what is on the radio and the most popular groups play the music that's in style. Traditional music is only sung abroad." ^{xiii} According to Igor, young people simply do not listen to traditional Cuban music. He illustrates this point by saying that once his quartet, with a repertoire of traditional Cuban music and accustomed to performing for tourists, performed their music for a Cuban crowd:

We played once in this nightclub, everyone smoking, the lights way down, and I don't know what was going on, but no one was paying attention to us. We told ourselves, 'oh man, we must be really bad,' but that's the thing, it's just that a [Cuban] crowd doesn't listen to what we were doing. ^{xiv}

Globalization does create an increased awareness of Cuban music abroad, driving foreigners to pressure Cuban musicians to play traditional music. But at the same time globalization also creates increased awareness of other global sounds within Cuba,

pressuring Cuban musicians to play a variety of different genres (both Cuban and non-Cuban). That is, anything except traditional Cuban music.

In addition to these two significant sets of musical pressures that are a result of increased globalization, there is an important group of benefits that do not necessarily affect the styles of music that musicians play, but rather that increase their ability to negotiate on the international level. These benefits mainly come from the increase in advanced technology available in Cuba. Because Igor has a solid base in the tourist economy, he makes a relatively large salary based on tips and CD sales in his daily performances at the Hotel Sevilla in Old Havana. The result is a salary that is significantly higher than state salaries paid to almost all state employees.⁵ With this income, large compared to Cuban state salaries, he has the ability to buy access to advanced technologies that have facilitated him in his journey to being a professional musician.

With this technology that Igor is able to utilize he has been able to make a number of high quality, “basement” recordings that never before would have been possible. In these recordings not only was he able to record instruments and vocals, both live and through overdubs, but he was also able to use samples, loops and digital effects much like what might be done in a recording studio in North America or Europe. The recent increase in technology has additionally given Igor the necessary tools to distribute and promote this music internationally.

The irony is clear. Igor states about his recordings:

⁵ As an illustration of this, the state should be paying him and his quartet a monthly salary for their work at the Hotel Sevilla. Because it is so insignificant in comparison to what they make informally from tips and CD sales during the performances, he does not think that it is worth the bureaucratic red tape recover his musician’s wages.

We have a *son*, we have a *guaracha*, we have a *samba*, we have a waltz... We did some American music. We did [a song] as though it were country, country but Cuban at the same time, but a heavy influence of country...⁶ But it was always Cubans playing samba, Cubans playing country, Cubans playing... We didn't want to do an exact copy.^{xv}

Due to the perception of Cuban music as strictly traditional Cuban music, and the increased popularity of this traditional Cuban music due to the catalytic effect of the Buena Vista Social Club, Cuban musicians are pressured to play traditional Cuban music, both in Cuba and abroad (See Figures 4.4 and 4.5). Igor has taken advantage of this situation, at least partly for economic reasons. The more he plays to a foreign audience (in order to make money for recordings and to save money for his move to Spain), the more he is pressured to play traditional Cuban music. But the money that he earns playing traditional Cuban music to foreigners is spent making records of original music. His original music is heavily influenced by North American musical traditions as well as other Latin American musical styles. He records this original material on equipment available as a result of increased globalization in Cuba. These recordings are then mostly for a Cuban audience that wants to hear music with global influence – anything but traditional Cuban music.

⁶ *Son* and *Guaracha* are traditional Cuban styles while *Samba* is Brazilian and the Waltz and Country influences are clear references to North American musical traditions.

-
- i La norma era 45 minutos tocando y 15 descansando, pero como el turista no venía a los 45 minutos – el turista viene cuando le da la gana – Teníamos que tocar cuando hubiera turista, y si el turista estaba ahí todo este tiempo, una hora y media, dos horas, teníamos que estar tocando todo el tiempo (11).
- ii Él fue él que me legó a mi la parte musical. Te hablo de esto porque siempre, aunque después vayamos a hablar de la música sí siempre estuvo esta pedazo musical, como había un músico en la familia. Siempre estuvo esto ahí (1).
- iii ... y se me quedé así otra vez... (4).
- iv No me gustaba. No me interesaba... para poder estar en la Universidad... (31).
- v ...Aunque no era profesional hacía un trabajo profesional... (4).
- vi Lo empezamos con la idea de rescatar la música tradicional, cosas de mi abuelo que tuviera, que no cantara (5).
- vii Empezamos a hacer programas de televisión y radio. Y entonces, ahí, bueno ya fuimos cogiendo un poquitiquito, que la gente nos conocía – algo, entiendes? Teníamos un publiquito. Grabamos entonces 4 temas más en el mismo estudio. Fuimos mejorando un poquito más, entonces, hicimos un concierto en la universidad – el primer concierto que hicimos. Que, que a la gente gustó mucho (6).
- viii Ellos eran los que marcaban la pauta de lo que... de que es lo que está pasando afuera (15)
- ix Van Van ahí también, que siempre estuvo marcando ahí, esa gente no se dejan caer a cualquier influencia nueva que ha aparecía. Que si apareció.. Entró el rap y ellos hicieron una canción con rap. Entró...que están fusionando con la guitarra eléctrica y no sé que y metieron guitarra eléctrica (24).
- x Pero siempre esto fue un laboratorio aquí (15).
- xi Ahora mismo yo no estoy en la posición de poder tocar lo que yo quiera. Entiendes? Yo hoy para trabajar en un lugar donde voy a montar lo quiera la gente. Yo voy a preguntar, nosotros vamos a estudiar lo que toca la gente en este tipo de locales. Yendo a otros locales parecidos a ese, entonces si vemos lo que se toca es *Juanes*, entonces hay que montar *Juanes*... Entonces si pudiéramos hacer un disco, si a alguna disquera le interesaría ese tipo de trabajo, entiendes?, ya habría respaldo de una disquera que promocionaría eso y lo haríamos ya. Es decir, se está presentando este disco, fulano está presentando este tipo de trabajo en tal lugar. Ya tocaría

-
- entonces la mayor parte de repertorio... pero como no tenemos disco, somos como un grupo desconocido que el gancho sería los números, no el grupo (37).
- xii Si se promociona o no se promociona, también afuera porque si vas a...si te van a invitar a alguna ciudad, y el empresario que te lleva, se lleva el disco primero, te da promoción y te da promoción y la gente te oye, y dicen ‘coño, este es Johnny, esto es lo que hace Johnny, esto es lo que quiero oír si Johnny viene... No tienes que recurrir a tocar *Son de la Loma* ni nada de esto. Pero si vas a hacer una pincha como vamos a hacer allá ahora en un Café, en un bar íntimo que se supone que es un grupo – nosotros no nos conocemos, no tenemos.... no nos conocemos ni nos promocionamos de ninguna otra forma – se supone que el gancho sea tocar canciones que se conocen (36).
- xiii Lo menos comercial, aquí, en el país – es la música tradicional... Que lo que está de moda es lo único que ponen en la radio. Y las agrupaciones de primera línea hacen cosas que estén de moda. Y, que lo tradicional nada más queda para cantar en el extranjero (19).
- xiv Nosotros tocamos en un lugar que era un club nocturno eso, todo el mundo fumando, las luces semi-apagadas, y no sé qué cosa, y nadie nos hizo caso. Y nosotros nos dijimos, ay diós mío, que malo somos, pero oye, qué, óyeme. Pero no, lo que pasa es que esa gente no oye ese repertorio (21).
- xv Tenemos un son, tenemos una guaracha, tenemos una samba, tenemos una Waltz, tenemos esto, ahora hace falta alguna música americana – así que hicimos uno como si fuera un country. Un country, pero un poquito más para aca... Que no dejara de ser cubanos tocando samba, cubanos tocando country, cubanos tocando. No queríamos hacer una copia fiel (7-8).

V

CASE STUDY TWO: YASEK ALBERTO MANZANO SILVA

Because of the significance of the context in qualitative case studies, it is vital to work with research subjects in their natural environment. In the case of Yasek Manzano, that means it was necessary for me to be present in Havana's jazz clubs many nights – both weeknights and weekends – and then in any number of different theatres on weekend afternoons. It is in this setting that Yasek is most natural and feels most at home, and it is in this setting that he becomes a professional – trumpet in hand, backed up by either his own quintet, or by one of the many other ensembles in which he regularly appears.

Yasek is an active participant in the city's music scene. And while his main gig is with his jazz quintet, his participation in the local music scene is not only restricted to the jazz sector. He is also an active member in the world of traditional Cuban music – both the *Son* and the folkloric styles, and performs classical music with notable Cuban orchestras on a regular basis. According to Yasek, "I really do enjoy playing [traditional *Son*], but I also can very easily blend in with a group playing pure North American

Jazz.”ⁱ But he does admit, “my favorite at the moment is Johann Sebastian Bach.”ⁱⁱ A bit of a musical chameleon, in the weeks that I had the opportunity to work with Yasek, I saw him perform bebop standards in jazz clubs, traditional *Son* in the Theatre of the Museum of Fine Arts, and a Haydn trumpet solo at a July 26 celebration for none other than *El Comandante* himself, Mr. Fidel Castro¹.

It is precisely this varied musical existence that defines Yasek in who he is and where he wants to go as a musician. Yasek’s world is a place where a form of musical synthesis occurs, bridging many styles of North American music with Cuban music and its diverse roots in Europe and Africa. He plays jazz with a touch of *cubanía*,² and told me that when talking about Bach, “we’re not really talking about Jazz, but on a certain level we really are talking about jazz... because with Bach, the progressions, the counterpoint, these are things that are very enriching for any musician – and especially a jazz musician.”ⁱⁱⁱ His improvisation in jazz comes with a touch of Bach and a hint of his Cuban musical heritage.

¹ Fidel’s revolutionary movement started on July 26, 1953, and that day is among the most important holidays celebrated in Cuba.

² *Cubanía* would probably best be translated as “Cubanness”, in such a way that captures the political, economic, historical and cultural essence of being Cuban.

Figure 5.1: Yasek (standing on left) and Orlando Sanchez (standing on right) performing with Bobby Carcassés, Havana's Museo de Bellas Artes, July 2005 (photo by author).



Yasek's approach to performance is that the artist should first address the music being played, later adding a touch of personal influence. Yasek told me,

I think that at least a little bit of a jazz musician's roots will always be apparent. [One will know] where he is from. What I mean is, if the musician is from the south of the United States, you'll be able to feel it. If he is from the north, it will be more northern – there's a difference.^{iv}

For Yasek personally, this means that he plays Bach as Baroque, or Miles as Bebop, but all the while he is subtly and quietly adding his *cubanía*: his roots and his feeling. This approach is solidly based on effects of growing up in a country that is being increasingly affected by globalization. And this approach is very telling when trying to uncover these complex ways in which globalization plays a profound role in shaping him as a musician today, and will continue shaping him into the future.

Biographical Sketch

Yasek Alberto Manzano Silva was born in the winter of 1980 to a family that, while not actually musicians themselves, loved and appreciated many different styles and genres of music. Among his earliest memories are the times when his father, then a mechanical engineering graduate student, would stay up late into the night studying. Yasek would fall asleep those nights to the radio playing instrumental music, and especially classical music, that his father used to calm his nerves from the stress of graduate school.

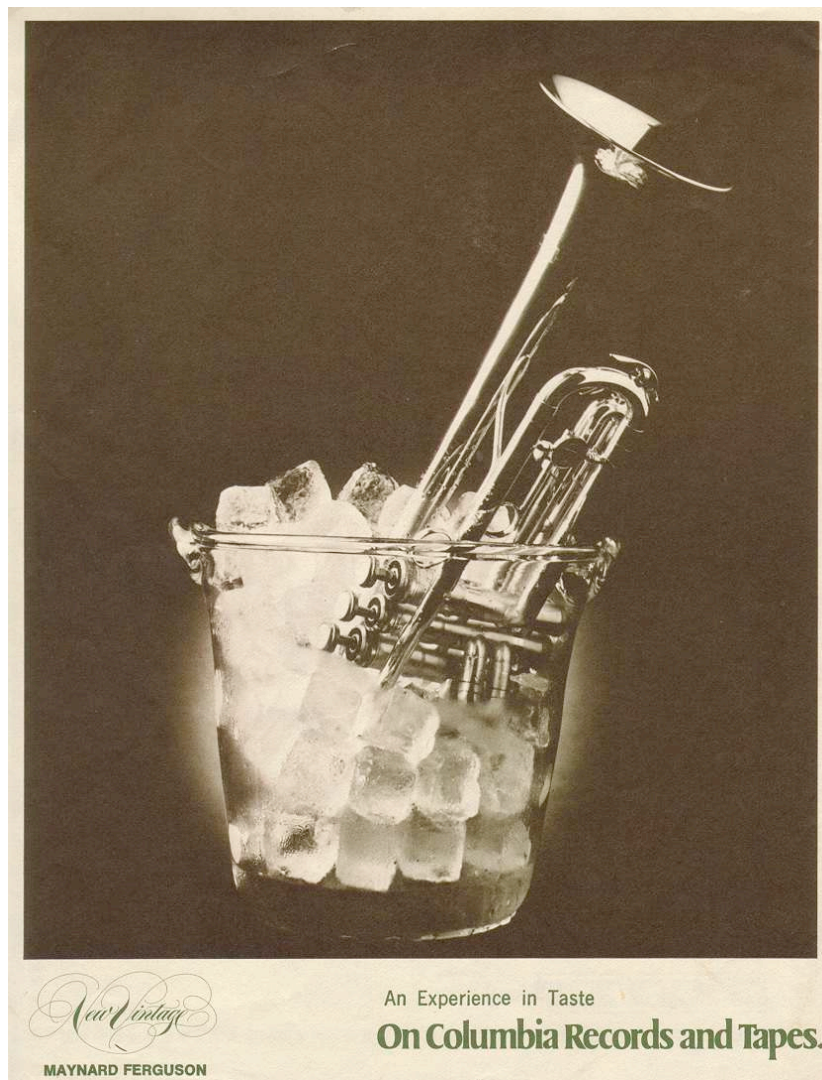
Starting when I was 6 or 7 years old, and going until I was 11 or 12... I listened to this music every night. This started subliminally developing my musical ear, and it was very satisfying... Classical music has that specific quality... Early on I also learned some of the pieces that they put on the radio... That was great for my musical ear.^v

Yasek also identifies his father's turntable and collection of records of many genres of music as an important factor in the development of an ear accustomed to and comfortable with many different kinds of music. Along with classical music every night, Yasek grew up listening to the greats of Cuban music and the greats of North American jazz. Among the records that he still remembers, and indeed still has, are Dizzy Gillespie, John Coltrane, the Leningrad Orchestra, and his favorite from that time, Maynard Ferguson's *New Vintage* (Ferguson 1977):

I don't remember what the album was called, but it was the one with the trumpet in a glass of ice. It had an anthology of songs like [West Side Story's] Maria, Scheherazade, Oasis, the main title from Star Wars. All of [the songs] were done in a really jazzy version arranged for trumpet and a band. I learned the whole record... and it was with this record that I began to know that the trumpet was the instrument that I liked the most.^{vi}

When Yasek had to decide whether go to a regular school with a normal curriculum, or to go to a school with a curriculum centered on the study of music, he chose in favor of an academic career dedicated to music from a very early age. Yasek went to various elementary, middle and high schools especially designed for music students. While he did study and become proficient on other instruments (among them most other brass instruments, and the piano), he focused his studies on the trumpet.

Figure 5.2: Advertisement for Maynard Ferguson's New Vintage, Yasek's first favorite album and the album that made him want to play the trumpet (Fanaddicts for Ferguson 1978, 6).



By the time he graduated from high school at the *Amadeo Roldán* Music Conservatory, he was a superb player and he decided to intensify his study of music at the Superior Institute of Art (ISA) in Havana, Cuba's top music and fine arts university. Unfortunately, though, after only one year at the ISA he had to put his musical education on hold while he joined the military, compulsory for all Cuban males. But he does remember being able to play the trumpet while in the military: "While I was doing the military service I still had the opportunity to go to some jazz festivals, and I also would play some gigs... I played at *La Zorra y el Cuervo*³ and I did some other gigs."^{vii} While Yasek admits he would have preferred to have just continued his musical education, the year and three months spent in the service was not simply lost time.

After being released early from his military service by accident – he still has no idea why he was discharged after serving only 15 months of a 24-month term – Yasek was presented with a tremendous opportunity to continue his music education, this time in the United States. In early 2000, he auditioned in a special audition to study under the direction of Wynton Marsalis at the Julliard School in New York City. In addition to being highly renowned for his original composition in jazz and being a master of the trumpet, Marsalis is another of Yasek's important influences. He saw this opportunity to study with one of the jazz and trumpet greats of the 20th and 21st century as something that he could not pass up. In the winter of 2000, he left for New York City with a full scholarship to study at The Julliard School.

In more than two years at the Julliard School under the tutelage of Marsalis, Yasek not only advanced his education as a performer, but he also followed an in-depth course of study in music theory and history. This served him well in the short term –

³ *La Zorra y el Cuervo* is a Havana jazz club popular among both Cubans and tourists.

Yasek has become a music scholar and an excellent technician as well as improviser on the trumpet. But more importantly, his advanced knowledge of music theory is vital as he is now starting to compose music for his quintet “That’s what I’m working on right now, writing the music, writing the songs...”^{viii} His ample understanding and knowledge of the history of jazz, classical music, and Cuban music is additionally impressive. He knows where these musics have been, and the path they have traveled to where music is today. His deep understanding of the theory and history of not only Western music and musical traditions, but also Cuban musical traditions, provides him a solid foundation on which to base his career in music – he has a clear understanding of where he fits and how he fits there.

After two years in the United States, Yasek returned to Havana with an advanced education in music, plenty of performance experience, and a desire “to play the music that I have in my head... to develop a style of jazz that is very modern – a fusion of modern jazz with Afro-Cuban elements.”^{ix} In the few years since his return, he has wasted no time in starting toward those goals. He has formed his own quintet – the Yasek Manzano Quintet – that can be seen many nights a week in different Havana Jazz Clubs. He was also able to start his recording career early after winning the chance to make a full-length album for promotional purposes in a grant competition sponsored by one of Cuba’s state-run record labels. And unlike many Cuban musicians who work on a pay-by-gig basis with arrangements worked out directly between the club and the musician, Yasek and the other four members of his quintet are on state salaries because they pertain to what I would best describe as a musicians union, only that it is also run by

the state.⁴ Additionally beneficial is that their status as salaried musicians with this company does not interfere with other performances and activities in which the musicians might have a different deal directly between the club and the musicians.

Young for the success that he has had, Yasek's career and future in music revolves around the way he is affected by the increasing influence of globalization in Cuba. The rest of this chapter will explore the specific ways in which globalization is affecting and changing Yasek and his music.

Cases Analysis

In the case of Yasek Manzano, globalization has played a huge role in shaping him as a musician and as a person. There are really three high-level factors that have been central in shaping and controlling the way that Yasek fits himself into the world of music. On a strictly musical level, he grew up exposed not only to Cuban music, but also many different Western musical traditions, making him feel very comfortable with these different styles and sounds. Additionally, the socio-political context in which he grew up in the 1990s and now into the 2000s is very different from the previous 30 years of Cuba's relative isolation from the west. This new internationalist context has important effects on this musician. Lastly, the political and economic opening that Cuba has been experiencing since the 1990s have made possible many practical opportunities to advance his musical success. This section will explain why these three factors, which all existent

⁴ In Cuba's centralized economy, musicians and other artists will often pertain to some state-run company that provides them with a salary in exchange for a certain amount of work. In Yasek's case, he receives a generous state salary and is therefore under contract to take part in four activities per month. These can be performances or rehearsals.

because of increased globalization in Cuba, have played an important role in shaping Yasek as an international, Cuban musician.

Bach & Dizzy, the Greats of Classical and Jazz.

[In Havana], there is music everywhere. Cuba is a country that is extremely rhythmic... We have a really strong tradition of music; it's a daily necessity. Music on the street corners, music blasting everywhere you go, especially in places with high densities of people.^x

As with most Cubans, from very early on, music was important in Yasek's life and culture. Yasek had the added advantage of being exposed to a large array of outside musical influences in addition to an enormous variety of different Cuban genres and artists. As I mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, his earliest memories are falling asleep every night as a child to classical music while his father studied. Through his parents he was also exposed to a large variety of other styles, among them North American Jazz and Dixieland, that would later become one of his favorite styles of music and the largest influence in his decision to play the trumpet.

Figure 5.3: Music on the Street: the Conjunto Folklórico Nacional de Cuba. Havana, Cuba, February 2002 (photo by author).



This early exposure to various styles and genres of music is important because in addition to being a part of a strong culture of music already present domestically, Yasek was also exposed to, and strongly influenced by, music from all over the world. North American musical influence has been particularly important because of the importance North American jazz as a child. Yasek told me that for him, “Louis Armstrong was like a *Chapotín*⁵ with the trumpet.”^{xi} In this way, he was highly influenced from an early age by the great jazzers of the United States.

The importance of music in Cuban culture and society, along with exposure to many different styles of music, have been important because while Cuban, Yasek identifies classical music and North American jazz as equally important influences as the musical tradition and heritage of his country.

I would feel very comfortable play [traditional *son* music], and in fact, I’ve done it. I’ve always been able to enjoy this music. But I’ve also been able to prove that I can play with groups that are purely North America. Once while at Julliard we did a whole section of Duke Ellington... But right now I am most interested in Bach.^{xii}

He is equally at home with New York City bebop as he is with *son* from Santiago de Cuba; equally comfortable with Baroque composer Johann Sebastian Bach as is with the folkloric Afro-Cuban rhythms from the city of Matanzas on the northwestern coast of the island.

Opening Cuba

That Yasek was born in 1980 is significant and is the second factor in influencing the way Yasek fits himself into the world of music. Because he was born in 1980, with the exceptions of the first ten years of his life, he grew up and was educated in the post-

⁵ Felix Chapotín was an influential Cuban trumpeter, active in the 1920s & 1930s.

1990 social and political climate. As I explain in the introduction chapter, Cuba experienced a thaw in the post-Cold War period due to the loss of Soviet subsidies and a need to look elsewhere internationally for economic development. In addition to trying to attract foreigners as tourists, Cuba was actively looking for foreign investors. Starting in the late 1980s, and more fully developing in the early 1990s, Cuba started leaving its economic and political isolation in exchange for a much more internationalist approach to economic growth. The change in the Cuban government's approach to international relations mirrored similar changes throughout Cuban society and culture.

For Yasek, this meant growing up in a country that was increasingly more internationally oriented. For more than three decades before, the island had been largely isolated from the West. As a result, Yasek's personal, political and musical outlook is at least as international as it is Cuba-oriented. In terms of music, he told me that he identifies with roots of the roots of American jazz in the same way that he identifies with the roots of Cuban music:

Old fashion for us is the *son*, and for you it is music from New Orleans.
But I feel like I exist halfway between the rhythms of the Dixieland bands
of New Orleans and the syncopations of the old *son* orchestras [of
Cuba].^{xiii}

His personal understanding of his unique position somewhere between the traditions of North American music and the traditions of Cuban music exemplifies the post-1990 attitude of a new generation of Cubans, a generation that is looking globally as much as locally for musical influence and cultural change.

But while Yasek may prefer jazz to *son*, and would most like to pursue a career in classical music, his *cubanía* is most definitely present. He told me “the Cuban spirit, the way that Cubans feel music, has always been admired throughout the world.”^{xiv} And he,

like most other musicians that I have had contact with in Cuba, made sure to point out that Cuban music is not Puerto Rican music, or any other music, “because [Cuban salsa] has its own sonic qualities that are very characteristic, and can easily be differentiated from Puerto Rican salsa, or Panamanian salsa.”^{xv}

Yasek pointed out that many Cuban musicians, such as Juan de Marcos, see themselves as Cuban first, and then part of a broader classification or genre – either Cuban or other. Yasek considers himself in a slightly different light. He sees himself as a Cuban member of the international music community. He made this clear through two examples of internationally renowned Cuban pianists. Jesus “Chucho” Valdés (see Figure 5.4) follows an example set forth by his father in playing a brand of Afro-Cuban jazz that has been endemically Cuban since its creation in the 1940s and 1950s (sound reference 7). Yasek compares Chucho to pianist Gonzalo Rubalcaba, who plays a brand of jazz in which his Cuban heritage and *cubanía* is definitely present, but barely audible and far below the surface (sound reference 8).

Gonzalo Rubalcaba is Cuban, but he plays jazz... that is not exactly Cuban. Gonzalo’s music... falls a bit more on the other side of the border, but there is a lot of *cubanía* in his music. His temperament, his passion – you can really feel the Cuban spirit, and you can feel a little influence of Cuban rhythm, mostly in the way that he mixes his piano patterns.^{xvi}

Using this comparison, Yasek told me that what is after is something much more in line with Rubalcaba, and that it would be his dream for his music “to be recognized for its style, for its particular sound.”^{xvii} Yasek hopes to be a Cuban part of the jazz world, like Rubalcaba, more than a jazz part of the Cuban world, like Chucho.

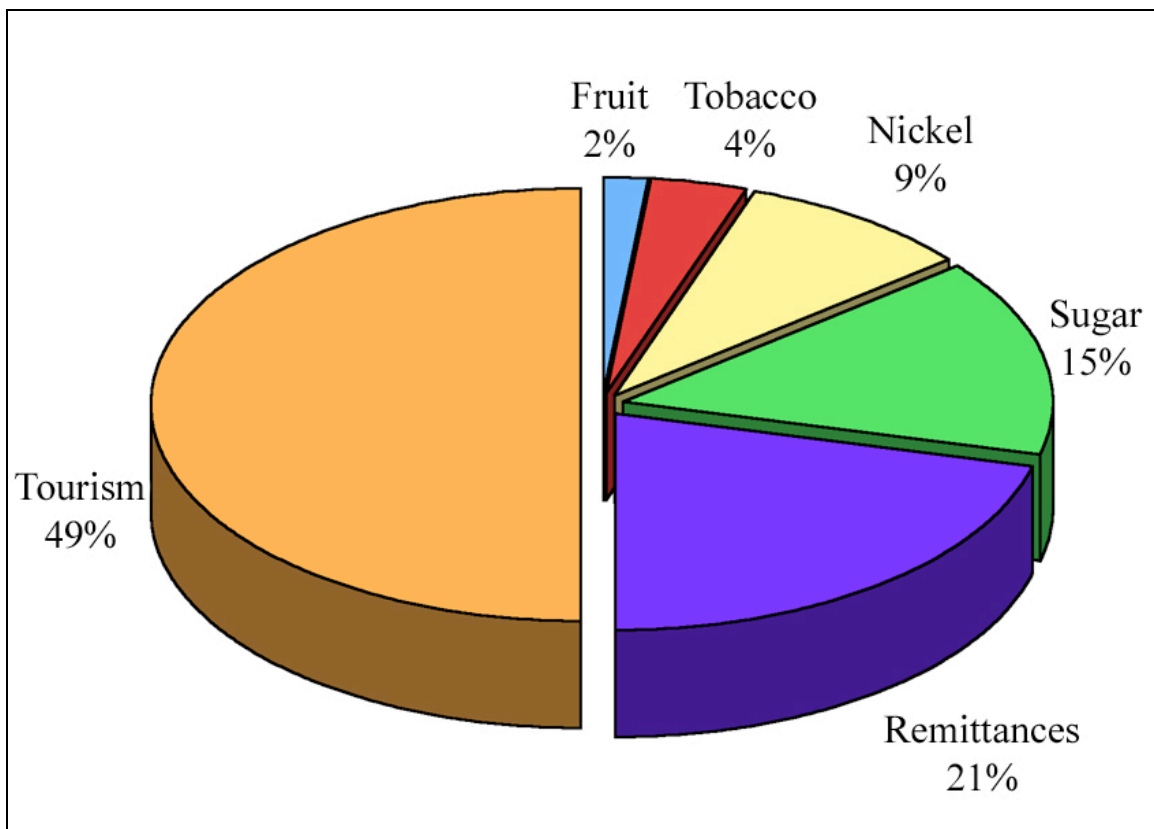
Figure 5.4: Chucho Valdés at the Havana Jazz Festival, December 2002 (photo by author).



Cross-Cultural Interchange, with the Enemy?

The third factor that is important when inspecting the way in which Yasek fits himself into the world of music also stems from the fact that he was born in 1980 and grew up through the 1990s and 2000s. The years since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the onset of the *Periodo Especial* have produced changes in the relationship between the United States and Cuba. Although since mid-2004 the US has become increasingly antagonistic toward Cuba, and has taken actions that reflect such a mood (Federal Register 2004), through much of the 1990s and into the 2000s, US-Cuba relations seemed to be improving, if ever so slightly. Additionally, I have experienced that the mood in Cuba with respect to the United States, while still hostile with words and rhetoric, has come to a quiet understanding that much of their economic wellbeing depends on remittances sent from their relatives to the north and tourists that come by the millions to Cuba from all over the West, especially North America and Europe (see Figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5: Cuban Foreign Exchange Revenue (Source: Peters 2002).



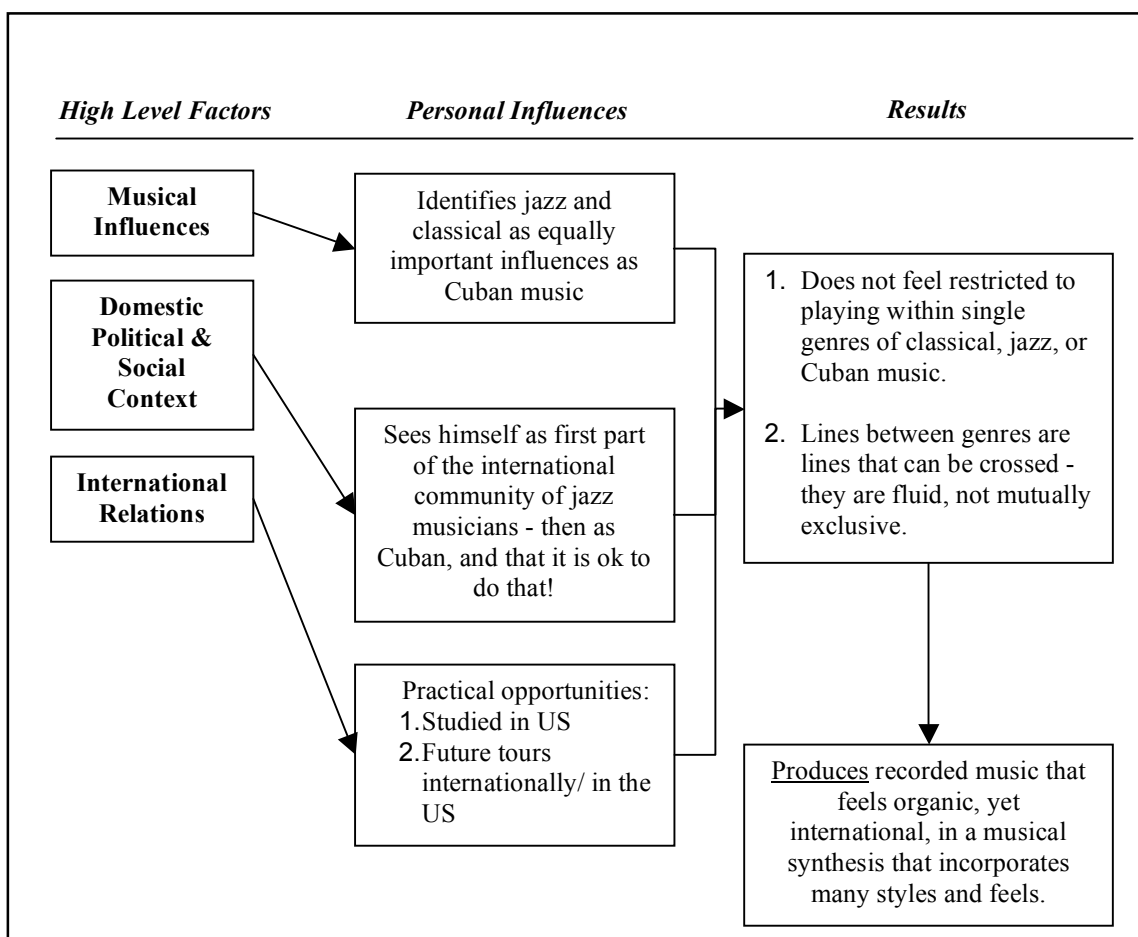
For Yasek, this new frosty closeness between Cuba and the United States has presented a number of practical opportunities. Even while study abroad between the United States and Cuba is rare, Yasek is now a former student of Wynton Marsalis and an alumnus of The Julliard School in New York City. This would have been impossible for Yasek, or any other Cuban student, before the mid-1990s. This has had an important result on Yasek in that he has shared the classroom or the stage with some of the biggest names in Jazz today, among them Steve Colman, Terence Blanchard, Roy Hargrove, Nicholas Payton, and Ray Vega, as well as his former maestro, Wynton Marsalis. As a Cuban musician at the age of 20 or 21 years old, playing among these giants of modern jazz, this experience has been a significant influence on Yasek. In our second interview he told me that he would like to “achieve the level that Wynton achieved... play like he plays.”^{xviii}

Cuba’s relationships with other Western countries have additionally improved, and the level of communication has greatly increased. In addition to actual benefits that Yasek has already reaped from Cuba’s rearranged relationship with the United States, a huge amount of potential exists for more opportunities like those that Yasek was afforded in his studies in New York. And these are not only academic in nature, but also for traveling on tours to present music live, and even for selling records in the international music industry. Cuba’s increased incorporation into the international community has opened many real opportunities for Yasek to flourish as a jazz or classical trumpeter, and his goals are at least partly shaped by these possibilities.

Case Conclusions

The three factors that I described above come together help define and shape the way in which Yasek fits himself into both the local and global music scenes. The entire process of high-level factors, local-level influence, their results, and what the results eventually produce, are show in Figure 5.6 below. As described in the previous sections, the high-level factors have many local-level influences on Yasek. Jazz and classical music are at least equally important musical influences as Cuban music. Yasek additionally has a very global outlook that and considers himself first as a member of an international community of Jazz musicians. And lastly, high-level changes have given him more real and potential opportunities to flourish as a jazz or classical trumpeter.

Figure 5.6: Influence and Results on Yasek



These various factors and influences have a number of important results. First, Yasek does not feel restricted to playing within single genres – classical, jazz or Cuban music. What he plays in performance and recordings can vary and change. He is a musical chameleon that can move between jazz, classical and Cuban music. “Because I have been listening to jazz since very early on, I have a very strong influence from North American jazz that pulled me toward jazz and blues from the beginning.”^{xix} But Yasek is additionally quick to point out that this influence is not exclusive. Cuban music is also important: “Cuban music is also something I feel from the inside – it’s genetically in me, and it’s something that functions spontaneously.”^{xx} This musical bilingualism has clear benefits for Yasek, and he is very comfortable moving between the genres. “It doesn’t take any work for me to jump from jazz to Cuban music.”^{xxi} With this ease of movement between jazz and Cuban music, and additionally his training in, and desire to play, classical music, Yasek has been able to reduce the barriers between these genres. The high-level factors that exist as a result of the increased globalization has had the effect of creating a musician that is incredibly versatile and open.

Another result that comes from increased globalization in Cuba is that lines between genres *can* be crossed; styles are mixed and sounds often combined. For Yasek, the boundaries between these separate musical worlds are porous, thus movement among and within these worlds is fluid and smooth. Yasek described many examples to me. Among them he talked about a time that he was playing with a group that fused many different styles:

“During that time I was working with a group that did fusion. They mixed jazz with Afro-Cuban music, and at the same time they mixed... other genres that influence jazz, such as funk and reggae. It was a really complicated mix in which you could play many different forms. What

that means to me is that music and improvisation do not follow international boundaries.^{xxii}

These results subsequently end up creating a certain sound that has become very characteristic of Yasek. His recorded music feels organic, yet international, in a musical synthesis that incorporates many styles and feels. Rhythmically there is certainly a Cuban feel, but the vocalist sings largely in English. Yasek's trumpet sound is heavily influenced by the early bebop period. Live appearances are even more varied and mixed. A traditional *cha-cha-cha* maybe followed by a North American jazz standard, and then a Dixieland tune or a blues. Central to Yasek's existence is the idea of mixing his Cuban heritage, his *cubanía*, with the far-reaching influences that affect him as a musician. He synthesizes these influences, backgrounds and experiences, all available to him through increased lines of global interconnectedness that are now more than ever incorporating Cuba, in defining his musical self. By reaching into his array of influences, basing his views on an outward-looking, global perspective, and drawing upon his practical experiences, Yasek has become a truly cosmopolitan musician (sound reference 9).

-
- i He podido disfrutar esa música desde su inicio, pero también ya he probado que he podido tocar con grupos de Jazz puro norteamericano (10).
- ii Ahora precisamente mi preferido es Juan Sebastián Bach (11).
- iii Que no estamos hablando de Jazz, pero en cierta manera sí estamos hablando de jazz... Por cierto que la manera de Bach de...las progresiones, su contrapunto, es una cosa que es muy enriquecedora para cualquier músico y para un jazzista (11).
- iv Pero yo opino que siempre se sale un poco la raíz del jazzista. No? De donde viene. O sea, si el jazzista es del sur de EE.UU lo siente como un sureño, si es del norte es mas norteño, diferente. Y se puede notar la diferencia (9-10).
- v Eentre los 6 y 7 años hasta los 11 o 12 años prácticamente... yo venía recibiendo eso toda las noches. Era música instrumental, música clásica especialmente. Y yo recibía mucho eso por la noche, y eso era lo que subliminalmente me fue desarrollando un oído musica... La música clásica tiene específicamente esa cualidad... yo me aprendía algunas de las piezas que ponían en la radio... Eso me fue desarrollando el oído musical (4-5).
- vi No recuerdo como se llama pero la imagen es una trompeta puesta en una copa de hielo, tenía temas antológicos como Maria, Sherezada, Oasis, el tema antológico ese de La Guerra de las Galaxias. Todos en versión jazzeada para trompeta y una banda. Bueno, yo me aprendí todo ese disco completo... y por ahí fue que empecé a sentir que la trompeta era el instrumento que me gustaba (5).
- vii Estando en el Servicio Militar tuve al oportunidad de ir a los festivales de Jazz, que tocaban y también fui a algunos trabajos, trabajé en la Zorra, hice algunas cosas también, estando en la onda military (1).
- viii Que eso hasta ahora es lo que estoy haciendo; estoy escribiendo música, escribiendo letras (27).
- ix En realidad a mi lo que más me interesa es hacer la música que tengo en mi cabeza... el estilo que yo quiero desarrollar es una especie de jazz con...canciones de jazz, no? Pero en un estilo moderno, así con mucha influencia de un jazz moderno fusionado en música afrocubana (27).
- x Bueno, aquí música tenemos en todas partes, porque este es un país muy rítmico... porque tenemos tradición de tener la música fuera. En el marco cotidiano, no? La música siempre sale en las esquinas, la música está puesta siempre en todas partes. Sobre todo en los lugares donde hay mayor aglomeración de personas (4).

-
- xi Para mi Louis Armstrong era como Chapotín, por ejemplo, con la trompeta (7).
- xii Me podría sentir y de hecho lo he hecho. He podido disfrutar esa música desde su inicio, pero también ya he probado que he podido tocar con grupos de Jazz puro norteamericano. Pues en Juilliard hicimos una sección bastante larga sobre Duke Ellington... ahora precisamente mi preferido es Juan Sebastián Bach (10-11).
- xiii Pero old fashion para nosotros en el son y para ellos en la música de New Orleans. Yo siento que hay mucho parentesco entre el ritmo que hacían las bandas de Dixieland, de New Orleans con algunas orquestas que hicieron Son en el sentido rítmico, en el sentido de la síncopa (7).
- xiv El espíritu del cubano, la manera de sentir la música del cubano ha sido siempre muy admirada en el mundo entero (22).
- xv También porque trae consigo una sonoridad muy propia, muy característica, que se diferencia de la salsa puertorriqueña o panameña (22).
- xvi Gonzalo Rubalcaba es cubano pero hace un jazz... que no es precisamente cubano. Gonzalo se ha definido como un genio caído un poco más allá de esa frontera, pero en su música hay mucho de cubanía. En su temperamento, en su pasión, se siente mucho el espíritu cubano y también se siente un poco también de la rítmica cubana, como en la manera en que él mezcla los tumbaos y hace las cosas (19).
- xvii Que mi música se reconozca por su estilo, por una sonoridad en particular (27-28).
- xviii ...Tocar así como ellos tocan (27).
- xix Yo, como vine escuchando Jazz desde muy temprano, yo tengo la influencia del jazz norteamericano muy fuerte que me arrastró a tocar desde el principio jazz norteamericano y blues (8).
- xx Pero la música cubana es una cosa que evidentemente yo siento dentro, porque está genéticamente dentro de mí, es una cosa que funciona espontáneamente (8).
- xxi A mí no me cuesta ningún trabajo brincar del Jazz a la música cubana y tocar y mezclar ambas cosas (8).
- xxii Yo tuve una etapa que estuve trabajando con una orquesta que hacía fusión y entonces mezclaba el jazz con la música afrocubana y al mismo tiempo lo mezclaba con otros géneros del jazz, con otros géneros que influyen al jazz, como el funky, como el reggae, diferentes cosas. Era una mezcla muy complicada donde tú podías tocar de muchas formas. Y eso que dice que la música, la improvisación no tiene fronteras (8-9).

VI

CASE STUDY THREE: JUAN DE MARCOS GONZÁLEZ CÁRDENAS

In musical terms, Cuban music is the most complete and best structured in the world. Cuba is the country with the highest number of first category musicians in the world... Musically we are in one of our best moments... I would say that Cuba is number one in the world for musical quality and efficiency.ⁱ

-Juan de Marcos, July 2005

Meet Juan de Marcos – Cuban musician, composer, arranger, and bandleader. In the 1970s he played in a Cuban rock band. Later in the 1970s and throughout the 1980s and 1990s he led the successful *Sierra Maestra*. In 1996 he was catapulted to international fame when he created and directed the Afro-Cuban All-Stars and the Buena Vista Social Club, the latter of which sold over a million copies in the United States alone. Since then he has recorded four more successful records, and has been touring the world almost constantly with the Afro-Cuban All-Stars, one of the groups that he created.

But this musician has not gone far enough, and feels that Cuban music is in serious danger. After many decades of national and international success, Juan de Marcos is no longer content simply as a musician, composer and bandleader. He is

deeply concerned about the future of Cuban music. So instead of just playing what he loves, he has taken on what he considers to be a reprehensible and corrupt international music industry by creating an independent record label dedicated to promoting Cuban musicians. De Marcos is determined that his London-based label *DM Ahora!* will be a platform for the young generation of Cuban musicians through protecting Cuban musicians locally, and promoting Cuban music globally.

So far the website is not even up and running, and this new independent record label has only produced one album – de Marcos’s own – but its creator is on a mission and will not easily be deterred. But de Marcos does not see globalization as a cultural threat to Cuban music. He strongly believes – and might indeed be correct – that the best musicians in the world live in Cuba. He does not worry about globalization hurting the essence of Cuban music. What he worries about is that the globalized music industry, in their search for profits, not songs, will run roughshod over an island full of extraordinary musicians that have little to no experience in global capitalism. As he told me, this is his war.ⁱⁱ

Figure 6.1: The author with Juan de Marcos in his home outside of Havana (photo by Lili Lombera).



Biographical Sketch

A Musician Develops

Juan de Marcos González Cárdenas was born in a marginalized neighborhood called *Pueblo Nuevo*, or New Town, in Havana in 1954. Being the home to many important and influential Cuban musicians throughout the 20th century, *Pueblo Nuevo* and its musicians were important influences in de Marcos' musical career. It was in this neighborhood that he attended regular jam sessions at the *Solar De Africa*¹ with an impressive list of musicians in attendance. It was also in this neighborhood that his father bought him his first guitar from neighbor Francisco Repilado, better known as Compay Segundo, a musician that de Marcos would later feature in the groundbreaking Buena Vista Social Club. According to de Marcos, "I was born within a generation of musicians and within a neighborhood of musicians."ⁱⁱⁱ The proximity and closeness of music and musicians in the areas where de Marcos grew up would form an important foundation for de Marcos the performer, director, and composer of the 1970s, 80s, 90s and into the 21st century.

But even while he came from a family of musicians, de Marcos was not encouraged to pursue music professionally.

My father was a musician, but in the epoch in which he was developing his career as a musician, it was very difficult to make a living from music... The music profession is one of the most disrespected professions. In that time my father had to have two jobs because no one could make a living as a musician, even if playing with the highest levels of groups.^{iv}

¹ A *Solar* is a particular type of Cuban housing characterized by high population densities and communal living areas. In many cases, *Solares* were mansions individually owned by Havana's most wealthy citizens before the revolution. Since then they have been haphazardly sub-divided and occupied by tens, if not hundreds of residents per building.

Although his father struggled as a musician most of his life, de Marcos managed to convince his father to let him pursue a structured course of study in music. Starting from a young age, de Marcos studied classical guitar at the *Amadeo Roldán* Music Conservatory in Havana. But this path of the academic study of music came to an end quickly when de Marcos was expelled from the conservatory for poor behavior. This was a great relief to his father, "... and instead of punishing me, which he had the right to do, my father was actually very pleased because he didn't want me to study music... Even though he was a musician, my father always thought that being a musician was not a career." ^v

As a compromise, de Marcos agreed to go to high school and then the university to study something that his father considered career-worthy, but would be able to take private guitar lessons at the same time. He enrolled in a high school specifically meant for university-bound students and at the same time continued to study classical guitar with two of Cuba's most important classical guitarists of the era; Leopoldina Nuñez and Vicente González Rubiera.

These years studying at a pre-university high school and privately studying the classical guitar under Nuñez and Rubiera were very important in de Marcos's musical development. With Rubiera, de Marcos studied chords, harmony, music theory, and composition in terms of Cuban music specifically. According to de Marcos, Cuban music "does not use the same chord sequences as jazz, and especially North American jazz." ^{vi} According to Mauleón-Santana (1999), unlike any other music in the world, Cuban music has been hybrid and synthesized for many centuries from foundations that are split between upper class European influence, the influence of rural Spanish peasantry

and influences from many different groups on the continent of Africa that were brought to Cuba involuntarily through the slave trade. De Marcos's first guitar professors, dedicated to this musical blend, were de Marcos's musical foundations. It was with these professors of Cuban music that de Marcos developed an acute sense of musical *Cubanismo*, or Cuba-centrism, that would stay with him throughout his career.

During these years at the University of Havana de Marcos's musical emphasis took an important turn. During high school while learning classical guitar, and later at the University of Havana, de Marcos was also very interested in the Rock and Roll movement going on just 90 miles north, in the United States. At the age of thirteen he started studying English, and growing up he played in a number of bands dedicated to covering the most popular rock bands in the North, especially the Grateful Dead and the Rolling Stones. While not encouraged, or even allowed by the government at the time, Rock & Roll was popular to many young people. But these musicians did not see it as a form of political dissent. Rather, it was a way that Cuban youths attempted to be up-to-date with global musical trends in a country largely isolated from the culture of the West.

After finishing high school, de Marcos continued to the University of Havana to pursue a degree in agronomic engineering. The next few years turned out to be essential in the history of music in Cuba, and de Marcos's development as a Cuban musician. In 1973 Salvador Allende was assassinated in Chile, and his government overthrown by Augusto Pinochet. This kicked off a musical movement in Cuban and throughout Latin America that de Marcos describes as a music driven by "indigenous sounds, but determined to be music on an intellectual level... with a clear South American accent."^{vii} The point of this music: to be "a collage of Latin American music that represents... a

unified America”^{viii} On a large scale, Cuban musicians turned away from North American musical styles and in exchange embraced the musical movement of the people and geographic region with whom the university-age Cuban more closely identified politically and culturally.

This swing in Cuba’s musical direction was an important catalyst for change in de Marcos’s own musical interest. He realized that “methodically reproducing North American music didn’t make any sense.”^{ix} With Rock & Roll, de Marcos could have no lasting effect on Cuban music, no transcendence. But instead of looking for transcendence by falling into line with the popular and regionally inclusive pan-American musical movement that was happening in Cuban and throughout Latin America, de Marcos and six of his contemporaries ruptured completely from the popular mold and went backward in time. With a desire to bring the essence of traditional Cuban music back into popularity among their peers, they formed *Sierra Maestra* – the first septet of young Cuban musicians dedicated to playing traditional Cuban music (sound reference 10).

But the traditional music of *Sierra Maestra* differed in an important way from the traditional music of their fathers and grandfathers. These university students wanted to make music that was largely based on Cuba’s rich musical tradition, but at the same time accessible to young people. They played traditional music with a contemporary flair: “We had big afros and it was really it attractive for young people... with bell-bottom pants and our hair in afros or in braids”^x And with the actual music they played, de Marcos explains that while being inward-looking and heavily basing their music on tradition,

... We also tried to apply our musical knowledge and our uses of harmony in order to create a group distinct from the big groups of traditional Cuban music from the beginning of the 20th century. We wanted to break [that] mold.^{xi}

Sierra Maestra represented a new phase in Cuban music, and the result was hugely successful. For almost a decade after their creation in 1977, de Marcos asserts that it was as though *Sierra Maestra* was the Rolling Stones of Cuba.

De Marcos stayed with *Sierra Maestra* for almost two decades, consistently releasing records and touring both nationally and internationally. But then, almost 20 years after the creation of *Sierra Maestra*, de Marcos's musical career took an extraordinary turn, both for him as a musician and for Cuban music as a whole. This jolt came from the creation of the Buena Vista Social Club.

The Buena Vista Social Club

In the 19th century a Cuban doctor named Carlos J. Finlay discovered the cause of Yellow Fever. He was the first person to do so... He published this, and two years later it was published by a [North] American... Nevertheless, credit is not given to Carlos J. Finlay...

With this story I am not trying to compare myself to Carlos J. Finlay. There is an enormous distance between Juan de Marcos and Carlos J. Finlay. Finlay was a great scientist while Juan de Marcos is a musician. But in general terms, people in the first world always want to assume the position of protagonist... either consciously or unconsciously. Ry Cooder is an excellent person and a great musician. But everyone has an ego, and everyone succumbs to that ego...^{xii}

The Buena Vista Social Club reinvigorated the popularity of Cuban music internationally and sparked the revival of the Cuban music craze throughout Europe and the Americas. The story of the growth and popularity of the Buena Vista Social Club is essential to the story of Juan de Marcos. But the history of the Buena Vista Social Club

that I tell here does not fall into conformity with the story related in the documentary movie (Wenders 1998) of the same title, nor the liner-notes of the compact disc (Buena Vista Social Club 1997), nor most of the press related to this project (see biographies of the Buena Vista Social Club on Billboard's website, Apple's iTunes, AllMusic.com, or Amazon.com. Also see obituaries of Buena Vista Social Club musicians or reviews of the album in popular media sources such as Ratliff 2005, New York Times 2003, and Tataru 1999). According to de Marcos, the general misconception on the origin of the project is largely due to British journalist Nigel Williamson and German filmmaker Wim Wenders, who propagated a myth through articles and later a documentary film that American musician and producer Ry Cooder "traveled to Havana to seek out a number of legendary local musicians whose performing careers largely ended decades earlier with the rise of Fidel Castro" (Ankeny 2006). To de Marcos, this version of the story is just that: a story. And Wim Wenders' documentary that disseminates that story is actually a "fiction film... as though it were Bruce Willis you were seeing... or Halle Berry... or like a James Bond movie." ^{xiii} The Buena Vista Social Club has very different roots, very different origins, and Ry Cooder played an important, but very different role in the project.

The reason that I have decided to dedicate the following section to describing the story of the Buena Vista Social Club according to de Marcos is twofold. First, the success of the Buena Vista Social Club has played an important role in the last 10 years of de Marcos's life and has had important effects on him as a person and as a musician. This success has set into motion a chain of events, both positive and negative, for which

de Marcos feels at least partially responsible. In many cases his actions are largely reactions to the variety of effects that the success of this album has had.

Secondly, the fact that de Marcos feels that credit for the project has not been properly assigned plays a part in shaping his perception of the cultural, economic and political relationship between the developed world and the developing world. Much in the way that De Marcos's analogy to Carlos J. Finlay had the North American doctor receiving credit for the work of the Latin American scientist, de Marcos perceives that it is in the nature of the more developed countries to, at best discount, and at worse discredit, the lesser-developed countries and their work. As I mentioned above, de Marcos told me: "In general terms, people in the first world always want to assume the position of protagonist... either consciously or unconsciously." ^{xiv}

On his way to play a series of concerts in the Middle East in May of 1995, de Marcos sat in the World Circuit record label's office on Cleveland Street in Downtown London. He was there with CEO and producer Nick Gold discussing the promotion of de Marcos's most recent release with *Sierra Maestra* on World Circuit, a tribute album to Arsenio Rodriguez called *Dundunbanza* (see Figure 6.2). The record had already sold 200,000 copies in Europe, but it was not selling in the United States, and they wanted to figure out a marketing strategy. Gold was in a tight spot with World Circuit for other reasons as well. One of his other Cuban stars, Jesus Alemañy, had recently left World Circuit for a contract with a \$200,000 advance with a competitor called Hannibal, a subsidiary of Rykodisc. According to de Marcos, Alemañy "had left Nick Gold in a

Figure 6.2: Juan de Marcos & Sierra Maestra - Dundunbanza: A Tribute to Arsenio Rodriguez (Sierra Maestra 1995).



jam”^{xv} with much of the groundwork laid for another release of Cuban music, but now without the musician for the album.²

De Marcos took advantage of this opportunity to present an idea that he had been developing for a long time. He wanted to make a recording that paid tribute to the old guard of Cuban musicians living both in Cuba and in the United States. Because Gold had just lost a major client, he had time for, and more importantly, the necessity of, a major Cuban release. While it quickly became apparent that the idea of working with Cuban musicians currently living in New York and Miami would be impossible, they moved ahead working with the older generation of Cuban musicians still living in Cuba.³

In the initial stages of preparation, Gold had the idea that instead of producing only one album, they should record two different albums covering two different periods of time in Cuban music’s history. The first album would be with a Cuban big band playing music from Havana in the 1950s. The second would be an album featuring smaller groups and combos, playing traditional *son* from the eastern part of Cuba in the 1940s. Between these two records they hoped to be able to create an appropriate homage to the most important Cuban musicians of past generations. De Marcos told me, “I wanted to do a tribute to my father, who was a friend of so many of them.”^{xvi} But equally important was his desire to create something for all past Cuban musicians.

I wanted to put Cachao [Israel Lopéz], Chocolate Almenteros, Fajardo, Walfredo de los Reyes, and all those guys in New York together with Pibo Leyva, Ibrahim Ferrer, Puntillita, to make a record in tribute to Cuban music in which the older musicians are the protagonists.^{xvii}

² Together with the Hannibal record label, Alemañy later went on to produce four Cubanismo recordings.

³ The sentiment among Cuban musicians in New York is best described in the following statement in which de Marcos relates what Carlos ‘Patato’ Valdés, a Cuban percussionist now based in New York told him: “I won’t go because what if I get stuck there, what if I can’t leave.” (*Si voy y después me dejan allá y no puedo salir*).

For Juan de Marcos, not only was this album about producing music that represented Cuban music of the past, it was about paying tribute on a personal level to his father, the musicians of *Pueblo Nuevo*, the neighborhood where he grew up, and all the musical protagonists of past generations.

From the conception of this project, de Marcos and Gold had discussed the role of each member involved. In addition to performing on the albums, de Marcos was going to be the musical direction, the bandleader, and the composer and arranger. So after completing his tour though Europe and the Middle East, de Marcos headed back to Havana in the beginning of 1996 to get started on the project. In his own words:

I went to Dubai, did my thing there, arrived in Havana and got to work... I sat down and worked out all the music for both albums. I arranged the songs, and some were even original songs that I wrote to sound like they were from the 1950s. After that my wife and I started looking for the musicians that we wanted on the project... We sat down, made a list, and she went out and found all the musicians that you have seen in the movie.^{xviii}

After locating the musicians with whom they wanted to work and making proper substitutions for those that could not be a part of the project, the studios from the *Empresa de Grabaciones y Ediciones Musicales* (Recording and Musical Editions Business, or EGREM – Cuba’s largest state-owned record label) were booked and the recording process began. Music for the 1950s era Cuban big band album was recorded in just a few days. Ten days later the 1940s era small *son* ensemble was recorded in six days and nights. Both albums were under the direction of de Marcos. The Cuban big band album was called the Afro-Cuban All-Stars: *A Todo Cuba le Gusta*⁴ (1997) and the small-ensemble *son* album was called the Buena Vista Social Club (1996) (see Figure 6.4 & 6.5).

⁴ *A Todo Cuba le Gusta* = All of Cuba Likes it (Author’s translation).

Figure 6.3: Street entrance to the EGREM studios in Central Havana (photo by author).



Figure 6.4: The Afro-Cuban All-Stars *A Toda Cuba le Gusta*, first of two albums made as a part of Juan de Marcos' original idea to record albums dedicated to past generations of Cuban musicians (Afro-Cuban All-Stars 1997).



Figure 6.5: The Buena Vista Social Club, the Second of the two albums made as a part of Juan de Marcos' original idea to record albums dedicated to past generations of Cuban musicians (Buena Vista Social Club 1997).



A 20th Century Christopher Columbus

During the original conversation at the World Circuit office in downtown London, Gold and de Marcos did indeed discuss the participation of American musician and producer Ry Cooder on the two-CD project that would become the *Afro-Cuban All-Stars* and the *Buena Vista Social Club*. World Circuit, Gold's record label, was primarily a *world* music label whose only previous Cuban release was de Marcos's *Sierra Maestra*. But Gold had recently completed an album with Ali Farka Touré, an African, *world* musician, in collaboration with American musician and producer Ry Cooder. This album was gaining fame and had sold more than 250,000 copies worldwide. As a result, Gold thought that it would be a good idea to incorporate some of the personalities with whom he had had success in the past working on world music albums. Gold and de Marcos agreed to invite Cooder to participate in the recording and mixing the record and adding some of his own guitar work.

Ry Cooder arrived in Havana roughly a week before the recording was to take place. But unlike portrayed in most press about the Buena Vista Social Club, and in the Wenders film, Cooder did not go around the island recruiting musicians and putting together this band of musical "have-beens". Quite to the contrary, the musicians had been recruited and were already rehearsing music that had been either composed or arranged specifically for these sessions. To de Marcos, the idea that Ry Cooder could have assembled this group and led them in producing the album is wholly untrue:

Ry Cooder is not capable as a musician to make an album of Cuban music. He simply is not. Cuban music is not North American music. There is an essential musicological difference that separates Cuban and North American music that comes from the roots of the music... Although it is

extremely difficult, I do know people that have done it. But to do it you need many years dedicated to studying Cuban music. Ry never had that contact with Cuban music. Therefore, he is a great musician, he is a great producer, but he could not have pulled off the Buena Vista Social Club.^{xix}

Not only is it not true that this project is Cooder's; his creation of the project would have been entirely impossible.

So if so many sources refer to the Buena Vista Social Club as belonging to Ry Cooder, and that is not actually the case, what is the origin of this rumor that has perpetuated itself throughout the world? According to de Marcos, during the recording sessions British journalist Nigel Williamson came to Havana to do a story on the project. In that original article, Williamson portrays Cooder as arriving in Cuba “as though he was Christopher Columbus,”^{xx} and then assembling the musicians for the album. De Marcos admits, “the story has a hook – and when a journalist goes to write a story, he tries to look for a hook... and an American coming to make a recording with a Cuban in very attractive.”^{xxi} Since Williamson later took part in writing the liner notes for the compact disc (Buena Vista Social Club 1996), and Wim Wenders used that version of the story as the basis for his documentary that ended up with tens of millions of viewers, the myth started that “In 1996, Ry Cooder gathered together some of the greatest names from the history of Cuban music from the 30s, 40s and 50s to collaborate on the best selling and Grammy winning album The Buena Vista Social Club” (Wenders 2006).

In his childhood, de Marcos was repeatedly told that being a musician is not a good profession; that musicians are not respected as professionals. While these comments and this influence from his parents during his upbringing form the root of his skepticism for the international recording industry, it was this episode with Ry Cooder,

Nigel Williamson and Wim Wenders – especially Wim Wenders – that has left a decidedly bitter taste in his mouth:

There are people that love music. There are even those that work in the music business and still love the music for what it is... They respect it... maybe because they have been musicians themselves, or just because they respect it as a form of art. But there are a lot of people, probably 99% of the people that live off the music business, don't love music. They despise it, and they despise the musicians... So that the only thing that interests them is the money.^{xxii}

The disdain and mistrust that de Marcos has for the music industry, especially the parts of it located in the developed world, play an important role in affecting de Marcos's actions. This theme re-occurs throughout the case study, and thus will re-appear within this chapter.

Case Analysis

A Before/After Dichotomy

For Juan de Marcos, a musician that has been an active professional participant in Cuban music for at least three decades, 1990 was the year that divides “before” and “after”. These terms, *antes* and *después* in the original Spanish, are themes that appear over and over again throughout the interview with de Marcos. This division between before and after is clearly in conjunction with the fall of the Soviet Union, Cuba's largest financial supporter from the triumph of the revolution through its collapse. But more important to this case than the actual fall of the Soviet Union are many changes in Cuba that came as a result.

In his before/after dichotomy, de Marcos talks about the political and commercial opening that started after 1990. As discussed in the introduction, this opening created the

basis of the tourist industry that has been so important to Cuba's recovering economy. But to de Marcos, this opening meant at least two other things. First, with the introduction of hundreds of thousands of tourists per year (Peters 2002), drugs and prostitution, largely absent from the island since the 1959 triumph of the revolution, made a comeback in Cuba. Secondly, the onslaught of tourists in Cuba brought with it the invasion of the North American dollar. Cuba quickly went from a society that was largely on equal footing to a society divided between those that had access to the dollar and those that did not have access to the dollar.

But most directly related to this case, the political and economic opening that started in the 1990s brought with it increased ability for musicians to more freely express artistic creativity. According to de Marcos:

When this country was completely closed [prior to 1990], one could not do what is now permitted after 1990. In the 1990s, with the beginning of the open-doors politics, a bit more commercial freedom was allowed. With this increased commercial freedom there was an explosion in the creativity of Cuban musicians.^{xxiii}

The limited opening that occurred in Cuba throughout the 1990s was not restricted to the political and economic spheres. Cultural actors were given, or took with less fear of punishment, more freedom of expression.⁵

This before/after dichotomy is so important to de Marcos because the changes that took place in 1990 have created two high-level structural changes that have a profound effect on Cuban musicians of all levels. First, the basis of competition among Cuban musicians changed drastically with the 1990 re-structuring. Secondly, because most Cubans had been sheltered from global capitalism until 1990, the world became the

⁵ Interestingly, many musicians used this increased artistic free to write and perform songs that dealt directly with the social ills (drugs, prostitution and economic inequality) that were re-introduced to Cuba as a result of the same opening.

setting for a crash-course in global capitalist economics for many Cuban musicians who now found themselves directly involved in the international economic system.

Before 1990 there were high levels of musical competition throughout the island. But because there was no commercial market inside Cuba, and Cuban musicians had very limited access to outside commercial markets, instead of competition being based on who could sell the largest number compact discs, competition was based on quality and musicality. According to de Marcos, “precisely for being a closed country, music went along developing inside the country, and it had a competitive spirit based on quality. Because when there is no commerce, quality is the only thing with which to compete”^{xxiv} Cuban was a musical laboratory – held separate and in relative isolation from the rest of the world. The pre-1990 years in Cuba were years of musical experimentation and musical competition.

The political, economic and cultural changes that started in the beginning of the 1990s changed the previous competition among Cuban musicians based on quality of music rather than commerce-related factors. Because of the commercialization that was taking place inside Cuba, and the increased accessibility of foreign markets, competition was re-structured and became based more on this commercialization and ‘pop’ than on actual quality of music. This is very disconcerting to de Marcos who has seen the result of musical commercialization all over the world. Among North American musicians, de Marcos singles out Beyoncé, admitting, “she is excellent... but how many more [pop artists] are there like Beyoncé? Everything else is invented.”^{xxv} He names *NSYNC* and *Take That* as two bands that became famous not for their music, but rather their commercial appeal. He asserts that “there was only one musician in each group,”^{xxvi}

Justin Timberlake and Robbie Williams respectively. The rest of the people in the groups were not talented musicians, they were “filler.”^{xxvii} De Marcos fears that Cuba’s new, post-1990 participation in the global music industry could cause Cuban music to become a ‘pop’ phenomenon similar to that of North America and Europe.

The second important structural change in Cuba that has had important effects on Cuban musicians is the crash course in global capitalism that Cuba’s economic and political opening starting in 1990 provided for people that became involved in the international market for music. As mentioned above, before 1990, commerce was not a central part of the Cuban musician’s daily life. Most musicians were largely sheltered from the global economic order musicians competed with other musicians based on musical quality, not commercial appeal. This all changed following the political and economic changes that started in the early 1990s. Cuban musicians had to learn how to negotiate an industry (the music industry) that, according to de Marcos, does not exist for the good of the music or the musician, rather for money. De Marcos thus attests that while Cuban musicians are musically on a very high level, they are extremely disadvantaged when it comes to working within a corrupt, profit-driven, capitalist industry because of their past in a non-commercialized country.

De Marcos lists many examples of talented musicians with little or no capitalist experience learning “the hard way”. But possibly the most telling example is one that happened to de Marcos himself. In 1997 when German filmmaker Wim Wenders was preparing to start the filming of the documentary about the Buena Vista Social Club, he and de Marcos made a “Gentleman’s agreement”: When the film entered in profit, they

were to sign a contract. Until that point, the film would act as promotional material for the album of the same name. According to de Marcos:

Then the documentary started to make a profit – that is, 18 million viewers – and he never paid. He robbed the money... Now I know that Wim Wenders is a crook, the same as someone that steals purses off the street. It's the same shit.^{xxviii}

De Marcos says that this mistake was based on the lack of experience in the international music business. Among Cubans and before 1990, a “gentleman’s agreement” would have been sufficient. But he says he will never make that mistake again. The political and economic opening that took place in Cuba starting in the 1990s exposed Cuban musicians to a global economic order that very few had before experienced.

Thus the economic and political changes that started in the 1990s drastically changed the way musicians worked together and competed throughout the island, and additionally exposed the naïveté of Cuban musicians as global capitalists and business-people. Because of these two major changes, de Marcos uses 1990 as a reference point in time that divides before and after. And it is these two major changes that have opened up Cuban music and many Cuban musicians to the acute effects of increased globalization throughout Cuban society since 1990.

The Commodification of Cuban Music

...It is eminently for our own interests to control the Cuban market and by every means to foster our supremacy in the tropical lands and waters south of us...

- Theodore Roosevelt
2nd Annual Message to the United States
Congress, Dec 2, 1902

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, *after* the political and economic changes that took place in Cuba, *after* the model of musical competition in Cuban was turned on its head, and *after* Cuban musicians received numerous full-emersion classes in global economics, something big happened to Cuban music. The relative economic and political openness that was new to the island, along with an increasing level of movement of information and people globally, created a Cuba that was ready to produce a new, old sound, and a global market that was not only prepared for, but also able to latch onto that same new, old sound. This domestic and international preparedness, together with de Marcos's desire to create a tribute to past generations of Cuban music and musicians, set the stage for the global success of the Buena Vista Social Club.

In 1996 the album was released, and to everyone's surprise, was almost instantaneously and international success. This album sold over a million albums, rose to number 80 on the Billboard top 200 and to the number one position on Billboard's Latin chart (Billboard 2006), and in 1998 won the Best Tropical Latin Performance Grammy Award (AfroCubaWeb 2006). But what is much more central to this study is the effect that this international success subsequently had first on Cuban music, and then on Juan de Marcos as an individual Cuban musician. According to de Marcos, the international success of the Buena Vista Social Club set it motion a chain of events that first led to a huge increase in the population of traditional music, but then quickly led to many negative effects, including the production of low quality music and an increased presence of the corrupt music business in Cuba. In the future this could set the stage for Cuban music's fall from success. This directly affects de Marcos because he fears that his groundbreaking albums, the Afro-Cuban All-Stars' *A Todo Cuba le Gusta*, and especially

the Buena Vista Social Club, have started a process of commodification of traditional Cuban music that might be very hard to correct.

At first, the tremendous international reception of the Buena Vista Social Club was seen as very positive for Cuban music. According to de Marcos, “Commercially, Cuban music went through a very healthy period from 1997 to 2002.”^{xxix} But this commercial success of the Buena Vista Social Club has led to what de Marcos fears is the beginning of the commodification of traditional Cuban music. Although not using the specific word *commodification*, the process he described throughout the interview descends the following steps:

- First, the Buena Vista Social Club peaks the popularity of traditional Cuban music internationally. The international market is wide open. There is a high demand for traditional Cuban music internationally.
- Second, the increased international demand for traditional Cuban music means that more money can be made in playing and producing albums of traditional Cuban music.
- This leads to different effects for different groups of people:
 - In Cuba, more musicians want to play traditional music.
 - Abroad, more people are willing to invest in the production of traditional Cuban music albums because of the market.

As music is produced increasingly for the money and less for the quality of music, the music becomes a commodity. To de Marcos, the commodification of traditional Cuban music then starts to have many negative effects on the quality of the music. The

degradation of musical quality could potentially destroy the international commercial market.

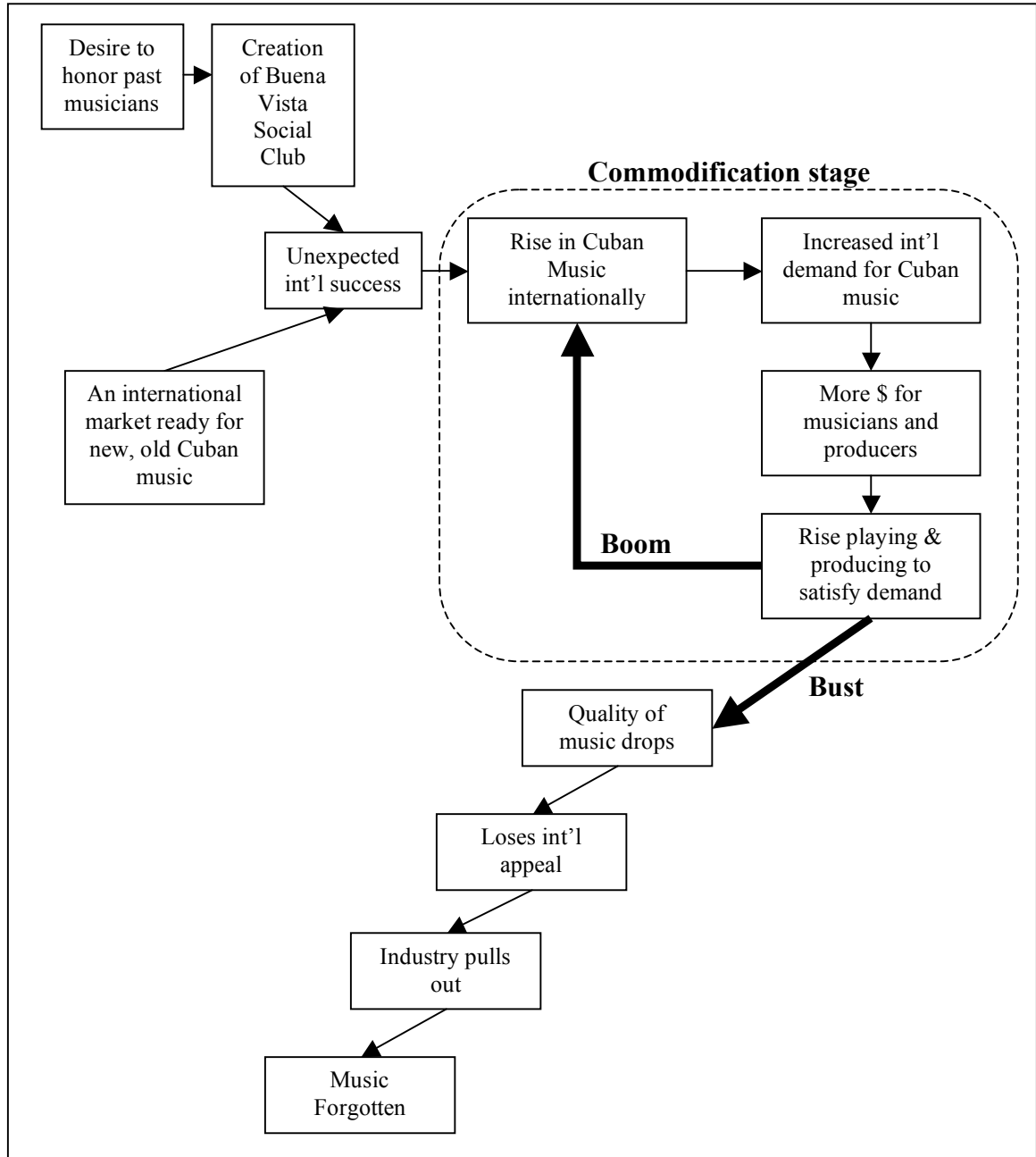
De Marcos is the first to admit that there is low quality music in Cuba. He told me that just as all countries produce both good and bad music, "...there is good Cuban music and there is bad Cuban music."^{xxx} The success of the Buena Vista Social Club led to a commercial market that was much less discriminatory and much more interested in a large quantity of releases rather than the high musical quality of each individual release. Whereas before the new economics and politics of the 1990s, Cuban musicians competed on the basis of musical quality, Cuban music is increasingly driven by speed of output and by profits garnered from that output. Because high profit is not necessarily correlated with high quality music, but rather other factors that create commercial appeal, quality is often trumped by commercial appeal. Throughout months and years, this leads to less competition among Cuban musicians based on quality, and it also leads to an overall decrease in the musical quality of many releases.

But the general decrease in quality of Cuban music has not always been based solely on the increase in production of bad music. De Marcos asserts that during so many years of isolation from markets and technology in the developed world, the only access to recording technology came from the Soviet Union. The technology that Cuba was able to acquire from the USSR, in addition to being inferior to begin with, is now old and decrepit. "There are times when bad Cuban music is not bad because the actual music is bad, or because the singing is bad. Rather, this happens because the compact discs are poorly made."^{xxxi}

The potential effect of both these decreases in quality is largely the same. De Marcos fears that Cuban music will follow in the footsteps of so many other ‘pop’ music movements throughout the world. He fears a complete drop from international prominence, importance, and popularity. Currently, de Marcos senses that the international market is already becoming overloaded with Cuban music: “There were so many albums that got put out that were not worth anything – and they saturated the market. They filled it... and this really hurts Cuban music.”^{xxxii} In the short term these albums may not have a large effect on the international commercial market for Cuban music. But the poor quality albums could be especially destructive to the long-term health of Cuban music after the international hype of Cuban music dies down a little bit.

According to de Marcos, one potential future picture is bleak – mostly because of the international record industry. Even though the commodification of traditional Cuban music really is quite damaging, both in musical terms and in medium- and long-term commercial terms, the music industry plays the game. They use the commodity to make as much money as it possibly can from this commodity while it lasts. Then, when traditional Cuban music finally falls out of international favor, the international record industry withdraws its support for Cuban music and musicians. The way that de Marcos perceives this the entire process, from the creation of the Buena Vista Social Club through the boom and bust of Cuban music internationally can be seen in Figure 6.6 below.

Figure 6.6: Perceived process of rise and decline of Cuban music through commodification.



While de Marcos does believe that the quality of Cuban music being produced for international consumption has started to decline, he does not think that it has past the point of no return. His fear is that Cuban music will follow a similar pattern that is characteristic of commodity items produced for export: the boom period will be followed by a bust period in which Cuban music loses international appeal, the industry pulls out, and the music is largely forgotten. The possibility that this actually could happen tortures de Marcos, especially because he senses that the success of the Buena Vista Social Club, a project that he created and directed, was the main catalyst in what became the commodification of Cuban music. This fear of the destructive powers of globalization and global markets directly affects de Marcos in every musical step that his takes.

Case Conclusions

Cuban Music is not the Lambada⁶

While it may have been a catalyst in the potential destruction of Cuban music, de Marcos considers the Buena Vista Social Club album to be a not only brilliant piece of art, but also an important part of Cuba's musical history and the album that put Cuban music back on the shelves of record stores all over the world. But as mentioned above, de Marcos considers the possibility that this popularity is causing some negative side effects:

On one side, the success of Buena Vista was very positive because it brought the greatness of Cuban music back to the surface – the music of

⁶ The *Lambada* is a Brazilian style of music and dance that enjoyed enormous popularity in the 1980s and largely faded away in the 1990s.

our childhood, the music of our grandparents. But at the same time it was negative because it has been converted into something of a pop phenomenon.^{xxxiii}

It is important to consider here that de Marcos has a very negative opinion of the music industry. "...99% of the people that live off the music business... don't love music. They despise it, and they despise the musicians... The only thing that interests them is the money."^{xxxiv} He senses that there is a battle between the protectors of good Cuban music and the corrupt international music industry that wants to use the commodification of what was once good Cuban music to make a quick buck, thereby injuring or destroying the good Cuban music. Because of this battle between protectors and commodifiers that may well destroy this music, de Marcos senses that Cuban music's involvement in the global music industry has left the actual music and musicians in danger.

At the same time, though, de Marcos himself has been internationally extremely successful. And this success has been largely made possible because of Cuba's increased global participation that is hinged on the fact that the Buena Vista Social Club became so incredibly popular internationally. The post-1990 increased levels of globalization throughout Cuban society have been financially very advantageous for de Marcos. And even as he considers himself a victim in the case of Wim Wenders' and the documentary of the Buena Vista Social Club, de Marcos fully admits that his other projects have made him a large amount of money. And his continued work with the Afro-Cuban All-Stars is so successful internationally that de Marcos states openly that he will not play in Cuba: "They can't pay me enough."^{xxxv} On a personal level, de Marcos has largely been able to take control of his participation in the new global reach of his music.

There is a long list of other ways in which de Marcos has additionally benefited from globalization. The global success of the Afro-Cuban All-Stars and the Buena Vista Social Club has brought de Marcos worldwide recognition as a leader in Cuban music. And even while his group does not play in Cuba any longer, his role as an integral part of *Sierra Maestra*, the Afro-Cuban All-Stars and the Buena Vista Social Club have brought him much domestic recognition and clout. In terms of music and musicianship, this global success he has had with his various projects has given him the opportunity to record and perform with some of the country's best musicians. In his current group he always has "the best musicians... I can always call the best musicians... [The current line-up in the Afro-Cuban All-Stars] is very good. I like it a lot." xxxvi

De Marcos has achieved both national and international importance as a musician and music director, he openly admits that he has more money than he could ever spend, he has the ability to work with the most talented Cuban musicians, he strongly believes that Cuban music *is not* a commodity, "it is not the *Lambada*," xxxvii and he has a horrid distaste for, and mistrust, of the international music industry. So what is de Marcos doing? In his self-appointed position as protector of Cuban music from its destruction at the hands of the international music industry, de Marcos created *DM Ahora!*, a record label dedicated to creating an international platform for young, Cuban musicians.

"The only way that Cuban music can have transcendence is through the young musicians – not through the old ones... The Buena Vista Social Club is history. For me this is the history of 1998. I made the album in 1996. It was history in 1998." xxxviii

Fearing that his legacy as a Cuban musician could be as the musician that created the albums that then led to the commodification of Cuban music, and therefore its

destruction, de Marcos is taking steps to be sure that the corrupt music industry cannot disassemble the success of Cuban music. De Marcos fully believes that Cuban music can, and should, last. And why should anything be true, he asks. “Cuban music dominated all tropical music markets for 70 years, starting at the end of the 19th century. Cuban bands dominated the whole market!”^{xxxix}

The creation of *DM Ahora!* is by far the largest way that de Marcos has been affected by globalization and the successes and potential dangers that it brings to Cuban music. De Marcos has single-handedly created an independent record label, based in London, whose mission is to give young Cuban musicians an international platform to produce and perform their art. De Marcos has learned a hard lesson on the nature of the global music industry and is now using the benefits that globalization has given him in order to take control of it. No longer does he want to allow the tail to wag the dog. His goal is to create a situation in which Cuban musicians can embrace and take advantage of globalization, but do this according to the interest of that particular musician and the music that he or she is playing, not according to the interest of the corrupted international music industry, of which 99% of the people “only care about the money.”^{xl}

-
- i Ahora en términos musicales yo pienso que la música cubana... la música cubana es la música popular más compleja y mejor estructurada del mundo. Y no es chovinismo. Cuba es el país, porcentualmente, con mayor cantidad de músicos de primera categoría en el mundo. Por lo tanto la música cubana es muy saludable. Musicalmente estamos en uno de los grandes momentos de la música cubana, a pesar de la influencia de música para no músicos que se hace ahora (28).
- ii Eso yo entiendo que sería meter la onda cubana y eso es mi Guerra (45).
- iii Yo nací dentro de una generación de músicos, o sea en un barrio de músicos (2).
- iv Mi papá era un músico, por supuesto que en la época en que mi papá desarrolló su vida era muy difícil vivir de la música... La profesión de músico es una de las profesiones más irrespetadas que existe en la vida. En aquella época mi papá tenía que hacer dos trabajos, porque nadie podía vivir como músico incluso cuando tocara con una orquesta de primera categoría (2).
- v O sea, mi papá, en vez de regañarme, que es lo que tenía él derecho, él se puso muy contento porque no quería que yo estudiara música. Porque mi papá siempre tuvo el concepto de que ser músico no es tener una carrera (4).
- vi Porque no son las mismas secuencias de acordes con las que trabaja en el jazz, norteamericano sobre todo. O el jazz en término general (5).
- vii Que era esa onda indigenista, que determinaba hacer música en los planos intelectuales, y crear agrupaciones que se dedicaran a tocar un tipo de música intelectual con acento suramericano (6).
- viii ...un collage de la música de América Latina para representar, en el plano intelectual, a la América como un todo (7).
- ix ...reproduciendo miméticamente la música norteamericana... no tenía ningún sentido (8).
- x Usábamos los afros así grandísimos y entonces era muy atractivo para los jóvenes... pantalones así anchísimos aquí abajo y los pelos y las trenzas y era una cosa muy atractivo (8-9).
- xi Empezamos a aplicar nuestros conocimientos musicales y el tratamiento armónico para tratar de hacer un septeto distinto a los grandes grupos de la música tradicional cubana de principios de siglo, y tratar de romper los esquemas (9).

-
- xii En el siglo XIX un medico cubano que se llama Carlos J. Finlay descubrió el vector de la fiebre amarilla, fue el primero... Él fue el descubridor y lo publicó dos años antes que los americanos lo publicaran. Sin embargo el crédito... el crédito no es de Carlos J. Finlay.
- Con esto no quiero comprarme a Carlos J. Finlay, porque hay una distancia enorme entre Juan de Marcos y Carlos J. Finlay, que fue un gran científico y Juan de Marcos es un músico. Pero en términos generales la gente del 1er mundo siempre quiere asumir el protagonismo de las cosas. Consciente o inconscientemente. Ry Cooder es una excelente persona, es un gran músico, sin embargo todo el mundo tiene su ego. Y todo el mundo a veces sucumbe a su ego (10-11).
- xiii Es como si estuvieras viendo a Bruce Willis... Halle Berry... Una película de James Bond (20).
- xiv Pero en términos generales la gente del 1er mundo siempre quiere asumir el protagonismo de las cosas
- xv ...y dejó botado a Nick Gold (15).
- xvi ...para hacerle un tributo a mi padre, que era un amigo de ellos (16).
- xvii O sea, yo quería traer a Cachao, a Chocolate Almenteros, a Fajardo y a todos esos músicos de ahí de Nueva York. Walfredo de los Reyes, y mezclar ellos con los músicos con Pibo Leyva, Ibrahim Ferrer, con Puntillita y hacer un disco de tributo a la música cubana donde el protagonismo fueran esos viejitos (16).
- xviii Me voy a Dubai primero, toco un poco de sopa y después vengo para acá para La Habana. Llegué en enero de 1996 a aquí a La Habana y empezamos a prepararlo todo... Me senté en mi mesa y escribí toda la música para los dos discos. Todos los arreglos, y escribí unos temas originales míos también, pero que sonaran como los de la década del 50... Entonces con mi esposa nos dimos la tarea de buscar a todos los músicos que nosotros queríamos dentro de nuestro proyecto... Nosotros nos sentamos, hicimos un listado y ella los fue a buscar a todos los músicos que tú conoces, que has visto en la película y en todos los lugares después de eso (17).
- xix En primer lugar Ry Cooder no está capacitado como músico para hacer un disco de música cubana, no está. Porque la música cubana, no es música norteamericana. Hay una diferencia esencial, musicológica, entre la música cubana y la música norteamericana que viene dado por de dónde vienen las raíces...Muy difícil, se puede llegar a dominar. Yo conozco a gente, norteamericanos que llegaron a tocar muy bien la música cubana, pero para eso necesitas años de estudio de la música cubana. Ry nunca estuvo en contacto con la música cubana. Por lo tanto, él es un gran músico, él es un gran productor, pero él no podía ejecutar las acciones para el Buena Vista Social Club (12-13).

-
- xx Ry aparece como si fuera un Cristóbal Colón (12).
- xxi Es una historia que tiene gancho, ¿no? Cuando un periodista va a hacer un artículo trata de buscar algo que tenga un *hook*... y el hecho de que venga un americano a hacer un disco con un cubano es muy atractivo (19).
- xxii Hay gente que ama la música, incluso gente que son empresarios de la música pero que aman la música como música y que no... ellos respetan a la música en sí misma, tal vez porque hayan sido músicos en alguna época o porque simplemente la respetan como forma de arte. Pero hay mucha gente, digamos que el 99% de la gente que vive del negocio de la música, no ama la música, la desprecia y desprecia a los músicos además de eso, entonces solamente les interesa el dinero (22).
- xxiii Porque cuando este país estaba completamente cerrado, no se permitían hacer cosas que se permitieron hacer en los años 90. En los años 90 al haber la política de puertas abiertas se permitió un poco más de libertad comercial y al permitirse un poco más la libertad comercial, empezó la explosión de los músicos cubanos y la creatividad de los músicos cubanos (32).
- xxiv Cuba precisamente por ser un país cerrado, fronteras cerradas, la música se fue desarrollando adentro, y tenía un espíritu más competitivo, basado en calidad, porque como no hay comercio, entonces hay que competir con calidad (26).
- xxv Es excelente, buenísima, pero ¿cuántos ahí como Beyonce? Todo lo demás es un invento (26).
- xxvi Nada más que había un músico (26).
- xxvii Relleno (26).
- xxviii Y entonces el documental entró en profit, 18 millones de espectadores, y él nunca pagó, se robó el dinero... Ahora, yo sí sé que Wem Wenders es un ladrón, igual que los que roban carteras por ahí, es la misma mierda (21).
- xxix La música cubana pasó por un momento muy saludable a partir del año 1997 hasta digamos el 2002, te estoy hablando comercialmente (22).
- xxx ...se hace buena música cubana y se hace mala música cubana (23).
- xxxi Hay veces que la música cubana mala no es música mala porque la música sea mala o porque la interpretación sea mala sino porque están mal hechos los discos (23).
- xxxii Entonces hay muchos de los discos que empezaron a sacar que no servían y saturaron el mercado. Lo llenaron... y eso perjudicó a la música cubana (23).

-
- xxxiii Buena Vista...ese éxito fue muy positivo por una parte, fue positivo porque sacó a Cuba otra vez a flote, sacó la gran música cubana otra vez a flote, la música que nos creó a nosotros, la de nuestros abuelos. Pero al mismo tiempo fue negativo porque se convirtió en un fenómeno un poquitico pop (22).
- xxxiv ... el 99% de la gente que vive del negocio de la música, no ama la música, la desprecia y desprecia a los músicos además de eso, entonces solamente les interesa el dinero (22).
- xxxv No me pueden pagar (31).
- xxxvi Porque son músicos de primera vista... yo siempre llamo músicos s primera vista... pero ese grupo está muy bueno. A mi me gusta mucho.
- xxxvii ...esto no es lambada (24-25).
- xxxviii Porque la única forma en que la música de un país puede trascender es basado en los jóvenes, no los viejos. Buena Vista es historia, para mi es historia del año 98, yo hice el disco en el 96. Ya era historia en el 98 (40).
- xxxix La música cubana dominó todos los mercados de la música tropical por 70 años. Desde finales del siglo XIX con la música popular cubana hasta que empezó el fenómeno del disco en los años 20 en los Estados Unidos, las bandas cubanas dominaron todo el Mercado (25).
- xl ...solamente les interesa el dinero (22).

VII

CROSS-CASE CONCLUSIONS

Igor Tillán, Yasek Manzano and Juan de Marcos are professional musicians whose art is filled with *cubanía*. But because of increased globalization and because Cuba is much less isolated than it has been in the recent past, these musicians are also deeply affected by musical influence entering from other places and peoples. While they are interested in the preservation of the musical heritage of their culture and country, they see a world in which they are not limited by geography in the way that just a few years ago the average Cuban musician was constrained.

Cuban music, like all other forms of culture, is not static - it changes, adapts, and evolves. Cuba's increased levels of globalization have, on one level, meant that there is increased pressure for Cuban musicians to become static cultural actors. The international market for music has found a sound that it likes in traditional Cuban music. Using the power of the dollar, international consumers exert pressure on musicians to produce this sound so appealing to the international ear.

Going a step further, I have found that increased globalization also opens Cuban musicians to more influences, provides more outlets for recording and performing, and gives musicians tools to take control of globalization instead of having globalization take control of the musician. While there is pressure to become a static producer of culture due to the international consumer's dollar, globalization gives musicians outlets that can be used to take a more assertive stand in the face of the international music industry. It gives the musicians ways to resist becoming "passive receivers" of outside influence and control (see Goodwin and Gore 1990).

The three case studies that I have presented discuss in detail the individual situations and personal contexts of three different Cuban musicians: Igor Tillán, Yasek Manzano and Juan de Marcos. Each has had a distinctive career as a musician locally in Havana and throughout Cuba, and internationally. Each additionally has very different goals. While Igor works as a musician playing mostly traditional Cuban music in order to be able to play and record original music in his personal time, Yasek is on a government salary and his music is dedicated mostly to jazz and classical music, and de Marcos directs a world-famous group and has created a record label dedicated to promoting original Cuban music. In all three cases it is clear that globalization, increasing because of Cuba's move away from cultural isolation from the West and its increased participation in the global community, has had deep and important effects on all three of these musicians.

Authenticity & Globalization

A direct result of Cuba's emergence into the global scene is that all three musicians struggle on varying levels with the idea of authenticity. Due at least partially to the success and popularity of the Buena Vista Social Club, the typical outside view of Cuban music limits its authenticity – only traditional Cuban music is perceived to be authentic. To the three musicians that participated in this study, that could not be further from the truth. All three of these musicians have clear roots in Cuba's musical heritage, but they are also heavily influenced by different global sounds that are increasingly available in post-1990 Cuba. But this neither destroys nor strips away their authenticity. Each musician has specific ways of bridging the influences of their personal influences and their country's musical traditions with musical influences from many different places around the world.

Igor's ideal preference would be playing his original music *and* traditional Cuban music. He told me that traditional Cuban music is part of his upbringing, "it comes from my heart and from my roots."ⁱ And while Igor is using the increased international popularity of Cuban music in order to make a living playing traditional Cuban music, his personal interests do not only lie in traditional Cuban music. They also include a modern Cuban sound that reflects culture and society in the post-1990 context; a sound that is Cuban and international; a sound that is subject to traditional roots *and* global influence. So he uses his income from playing traditional Cuban music in order to fund projects that expand his original repertoire. He explores his personal influences that come from his family, his country, and the international music scene that is everyday more present in Cuba's globalizing society. His original music has musical influence from other

countries – especially the United States, Spain and Brazil. But at the same time he is Cuban, and his music is as well. He sees absolutely no contradiction here. Igor does not consider the incorporation of global influence as being equivalent to the loss of his Cubanness, or a loss of Cuban authenticity.

In my first interview with Igor, he told me that in his duo, even while they started with traditional music, they quickly wanted to branch out and not limit themselves to traditional Cuban styles.

We started with the idea of playing all traditional music, stuff that my grandfather had written but never played, old tunes that nobody played. So we started there, playing two or three tunes, and then I started to also work on some original compositions for the university... We started playing some of my original work, and had a really great time doing that... And when we started doing original work, we were trying to make our arrangements as good as the arrangements of a group in Madrid, *Gema y Pavel*, whose music is really groundbreaking... We also started doing tunes by other songwriters if we liked their songs. And even while we kept on doing traditional tunes, we wanted to include stuff from right now, from this moment as well.ⁱⁱ

Later Igor told me that they added tunes based on Brazilian bossa nova and samba, and North American waltz, country and funk. But he emphasized they still considered this Cuban:

...It had some influence from country music, but a little more over here – in Cuba – because it never stopped being us. It never stopped being Cubans playing with a touch of samba, or Cubans playing with a touch of country, Cubans playing... We weren't even interested in doing an exact copy... We did a funk. It started out kind of like a *trova*, or a new *trova*,¹ but then we added in a [funk drum beat] and funk'd it up a bit... Later we did a *son*, but with a full orchestra behind it... and added a steel-string acoustic guitar so that it would sound American.ⁱⁱⁱ

¹ *Trova* and *Nueva Trova* are Cuban forms of what might be called singer/songwriter in North America.

In his original music, and in his arrangements of other people's songs (among them, songs by his grandfather, Senén), Igor was interested in mixing his Cuban roots with the sounds and rhythms of music from all over the world that influences him. For Igor, his original music is not a rejection of the past, nor does it turn away from Cuban traditions. Rather, he sees himself as a Cuban musician *and* part of a broader global music scene.

Juan de Marcos has equally been impacted by the narrow definition of authentic that has been imposed onto Cuban music. While much of his career has been dedicated to groups that play mostly traditional music, he believes the definition of what is *real Cuban* is much broader. Early in his life he played rock music, using the electric guitar and English language to sing the songs of the Grateful Dead and the Rolling Stones. He later turned to his roots as a musician, considering that he saw no sense in imitating North American bands – there could be no transcendence. But to de Marcos, *real Cuban* is not a small cross section; authenticity cannot be narrowly defined as only the traditions of one person or group of people from one place in one small moment in time. There are many authentically Cuban musicians and musics:

[There are] genres of Cuban music that people don't know. Nobody's heard of Aldito López Gavilán, no one knows Marcos Madrigal. But these kids are on a high level. And shit – we've got to make them records... We're not all a bunch of black people that just bang on drums – we do play the drums, but we also play the piano, and the violin, and the clarinet. We've got to teach people about the other genres of Cuban music, the singer/songwriters, the jazzers...^{iv}

Additionally important for de Marcos is that due to the tremendous popularity of traditional Cuban music, and therefore the threat of commodification, traditional music could be losing its authenticity. International consumers demand traditional Cuban music. The music industry, with dollar signs in its eyes, moves to provide this music. As

Cuban musicians move to supply, traditional Cuban music becomes a commodity traded on the international market. For de Marcos, this would kill its authenticity. As a result, de Marcos told me, “the only way that the music of this country can transcend in through young musicians – not the old guys.”^v Cuban music is not going to last through the older generations of musicians playing traditional Cuban music – it will last because the young musicians continue to develop new forms of authentic Cuban music. In order to be authentic, it is important that the sound and style of this young generation of musicians reflect their time and place. That time and place is filled with global influence and international importance.

And while Yasek aligns himself more with jazz and classical music, he also feels that it would be incorrect to classify him as non-authentically Cuban. Even while the roots of the music he plays are in North America and Europe, that does not change the fact that the way in which he plays it is clearly a reflection of who he is. He told me a story of an experience that he had in New York, playing North American bebop for the first time with musicians from the United States. He played with a sound that was a surprise to all involved.

I think I surprised everyone a little bit... I have a deep Cuban influence, and so the way that I play bebop is different than the way that they play bebop. When I played, they felt like something else was there... They said that it sounded different. They liked it, but they knew it wasn't pure bebop – they knew it was bebop with something else added in... *Cuban feel in bebop!*² Imagine that!^{vi}

Being a Cuban playing in a different style of music does not mean losing Cuban authenticity. For Yasek it simply means taking Cuban authenticity out of one context and putting it into another. In the case of Yasek, broad influences of different types of music

² Italicized English was spoken in English by the interviewee.

from all over the world cannot take away from the *cubanía* that is present. His authenticity as a Cuban musician additionally remains intact while he pursues a career in jazz or classical music. Once again, and as in both other cases I present, Yasek's version of authenticity reflects a post-1990 Cuba that is much more influenced by globalization and integrated into world culture.

It is important to note that while all these musicians incorporate global influence into their music and their aspirations as producers of culture, that is not equal to "selling out" to North America or Western culture. In no way do they see this as the polluting of their pure and organic culture with the manufactured culture of the West, as past theories have suggested (see Garofalo 1993). While incorporating influences from all over the world, all three of these musicians possess high levels of national pride, high levels of Cuba-centrism, and high levels of *cubanía*.

Connecting the Local to the Global

According to Goodwin and Gore (1990), cultural imperialism refers to an unbalanced relationship between the Western music industries and third world musicians in which the industry exploits producers of music throughout the developing world. In this relationship, musicians are equivalent to cheap labor and the traditional cultures and musics of these laborers are harmed or even destroyed. But this cultural imperialism thesis is not complete in attempting to conceptualize the relationship between local actors and global forces. It does not thoroughly describe the relationship between the music industry and the Cuban musician, nor does it accurately describe the relationship between the consumers of Cuban music and the producers of the music. Especially in the cases of

Igor and de Marcos, and also apparent in the case of Yasek, the music industry in the developed world is not interested in exploiting the producers of traditional culture in such a way that harms this traditional culture. Because the consumer demands traditional culture, the music industry is dependent on the traditional culture in order to turn a profit! And the profits are large enough that there is immense pressure from the consumer, and thus the music industry as well, for the producers of traditional culture to remain static in their production of what the international consumer sees as traditional.

If the story were to end here – if Cuban musicians simply produced traditional Cuban music for international consumption – this would be clearly what the international music industry would like to see, and this would be what de Marcos fears as the commodification and potential destruction of Cuban music. If this were the case, my conclusion would be that the cultural imperialism thesis does come close to describing the relationship between consumer and producer. Indeed, the industry based in the developed world would be controlling the production of music by laborers (the musicians) in the developing world. The only thing that would be different is that the product being produced, instead of a musical form that harms traditional music, *is* the traditional music. But, if what de Marcos fears were to happen, and traditional music were to become a global commodity, and thus die out (see Figure 6.6) – the relationship would be very close to that described by cultural imperialism because the economic dominance of the developed world ends up harming, possibly destroying, the traditional culture of the lesser-developed world.

But the story does not end here. Cuban musicians do not simply turn in their artistic creativity in order to mass-produce traditional Cuban music for export to, and

consumption in, the developing world. Rather, while the global market for traditional Cuban music certainly does put pressure on musicians to produce that style of music, it also provides them with many of the same tools of globalization that have made the first-world consumers powerful. By playing traditional music to Western tourists in Old Havana, Igor has the resources with which to write original music, record it on advanced recording equipment, produce compact discs, and distribute them internationally. By providing traditional Cuban music to consumers throughout the developed world, Juan de Marcos has amassed a small fortune and plenty of fame. With these two resources, vital in the international music industry, de Marcos has bought into that industry, personally creating (and mostly bankrolling) an independent record label dedicated to the musical creativity of a new generation of Cuban musicians, specifically those musicians that do not stay in the mold of past traditional music. With this record label de Marcos intends on challenging the international music industry in their pursuit of profit at the expense of Cuban music producers.

Yasek is in a slightly different position because he is not a producer of traditional Cuban music. But that does not necessarily mean that his case does not fit with Igor and de Marcos. Like Igor and de Marcos, Yasek is most interested in playing his original music. As I quoted in Yasek's case write-up, he told me, "what most interests me is playing the music that I have in my head... to develop a style of jazz that is very modern – a fusion of modern jazz with Afro-Cuban elements."^{vii} The important difference here is that Yasek has largely been able to dodge the necessity of playing traditional Cuban music in order to get a start. He was fortunate to get full funding at The Julliard School.

The education in classical music and jazz that he received there enabled him to secure a salaried position as a musician with a state-run company.

Consider this: Cuban music becomes popular throughout the developed world – especially North America and Europe. But because of this popularization, the first world consumers of Cuban music impose onto Cuban musicians an outside version of what is authentically Cuban. Cubans that play rock, or Cubans that rap are just that: Cubans that happen to rock or rap. Because the music industry depends on consumer demands for profits, there is tremendous economic pressure on most Cuban musicians to become producers of traditional (authentic) music.

By imposing its own view of authenticity onto Cuban music and Cuban musicians, the consumer of culture from the developed world takes on a condescendingly paternal character in telling musicians that in order to be authentic, they must remain static, playing strictly the music of their fathers and grandfathers. Global influence, cultural synthesis, technological modernity, and many other benefits that come with globalization are reserved for cultures and populations of the developed world. Those in the underdeveloped world are expected to remain static – providers of a never-changing cultural commodity to the populations of the developed world.

But consider this as well: while authenticity may be imposed by outside consumers and foreign industries, globalization has brought advances that are not only available to the consumer in the developed world, but also to local producers of culture in the developing world. In the case of these Cuban musicians, they play the role of laborer in the underdeveloped world temporarily, and as a part of a process – just long enough to put together the necessary resources to take a more assertive position in their relationship

with the developed world. Globalization has created a situation in which global capitalists find it much easier to take advantage of cultural actors in the developing world. But on the other side of the same coin is that globalization has created a situation in which the cultural actor has opportunities to use the expansion of globalization to the developing world to his advantage.

A situation in which power and influence are equally share between the producers of music in the developing world and the developed world consumer and industry still does not exist. There is evidence that indicates that further commodification of traditional Cuban music is taking place, and that its potential bust on the international market is a certain possibility. But at the same time, it is not a lost cause. Cultural actors in the developing world are learning how to take advantage of the same mechanisms of globalization that have made the developed world consumer so much more powerful.

-
- i TILLÁN: Porque me lo decía mi corazón (6).
- ii TILLÁN: Empezamos con la idea de rescatar la música tradicional, cosas de mi abuelo que tuviera, que no cantara. Números que nadie cantara. Entonces de ahí empezamos a montar dos o tres cositas y entonces yo empecé a componer porque había que presentar temas en la Universidad... y empezamos a montar cosas más y de ahí nos embullamos y nos gustó eso y entonces siempre teníamos un patrón que era un grupo, un duo, que está en Madrid, que se llama Gema Y Pavel. Esa gente hace un trabajo super-novedoso, y ahí empezamos a hacer cosas de nosotros. Y tratando de los arreglos que fueran también así tratando de alcanzarlos a ellos –y entonces ahí empezamos a incluir temas de otros trovadores que, por que si, porque valía la pena. A parte de que seguíamos montando números tradicionales queríamos hacer cosas también de ahora, de momento (5).
- iii TILLÁN: Hicimos uno como si fuera un country. Un country, pero un poquito más para aca. Entienes – algo que tenía la influencia, porque siempre que no dejara de ser de nosotros. Que no dejara de ser cubanos tocando samba, cubanos tocando country, cubanos tocando... No queríamos hacer una copia fiel... teníamos un tema también que era un Funk. Empezaba como si fuera una cosa media trova, trova alante, y después ya se ponía el “boom chick boom boom boom chick”. Se ponía medio funkeado... un soncito... que metimos una filarmónica... Y buscamos una guitarra acústica pero de asero – con las cuerdas de acero, para que sonara americano (7-8).
- iv DE MARCOS: [Hay] géneros de la música cubana que la gente no conoce... Nadie sabe que aquí hay Aldito López Gavilán, nadie sabe de Marcos Madrigal, esos muchachos son de alto nivel, coño entonces hay que hacerles un disco... No somos negros rumberos que tocamos con tambores, nosotros además de tambores sabemos tocar piano y violín y clarinete... Hay que enseñar también otros géneros de la música cubana, los cantautores cubanos, lo jazzistas cubanos (43).
- v DE MARCOS: Porque la única forma en que la música de un país puede trascender es basado en los jóvenes, no los viejos (40).
- vi MANZANO: Yo creo que como que se sorprendían un poco... yo tengo la influencia cubana así muy arraigada. Y la manera que yo toco el bebop, es diferente de la manera en que ellos lo tocan. Ellos sentían que había bebop, pero que había algo más. Coño! Pero suena diferente! Les gustaba, lo que escuchaban, pero sabían que no era puramente bebop, que era bebop con algo más... Cuban feel in bebop. Imagínate tú! (24-25).

vii MANZANO: En realidad a mi lo que más me interesa es hacer la música que tengo en mi cabeza... desarrollar una especie de jazz, pero en un estilo moderno, así con mucha influencia de un jazz moderno fusionado en música afrocubana (27).

WORKS CITED

- Abercrombie, P. 1933. *Town and Country Planning*. London: Thornton Butterworth.
- Afro-Cuban All-Stars. 1997. *A Todo Cuba le Gusta*. World Circuit/Nonesuch. B000005J54.
- AfroCubaWeb. 2006. Buena Vista Social Club. <<http://www.afrocubaweb.com>> Accessed Mar 27 – Apr 3, 2006.
- Ankeny, J. 2005. Biography: Buena Vista Social Club. www.allmusic.com. Access May 6, 2005– Apr 3, 2006.
- Billboard. 2006. Buena Vista Social Club. *Billboard website*. <<http://www.billboard.com>> Accessed Mar 27 – Apr 3, 2006.
- Burman-Hall, L. C. 1975. Southern American Folk Fiddle Styles. *Ethnomusicology* 19(1): 47-65.
- Buena Vista Social Club. 1997. *Buena Vista Social Club*. World Circuit/Nonesuch. B000005J56.
- Byrne, D. 1991. *Dancing with the Enemy: Cuba Classics 2*. Luaka Bop/Warner Brothers: W2 26580.
- Carney, G. O., ed. 1987a. *The Sounds of People and Places: Readings in the Geography of American Folk and Popular Music*. Lanham, NY: University Press of America.
- . 1987b. *T for Texas, T for Tennessee: The Origins of American Country Music Notables*. In Carney, G. O. ed. *The Sounds of People and Place: Readings in the Geography of American Folk and Popular Music*. Lanham, NY: University Press of America.
- . 1987c. *Bluegrass Grows All Around: The Spatial Dimensions of a Country Music Style*. In Carney, G. O. *The Sounds of People and Place: Readings in the Geography of American Folk and Popular Music*. Lanham, NY: University Press of America.
- Castro, F. 1993. Speech on the 40th Anniversary of the Assault on the Moncada Barracks. Cuba.cu Website, Accessed 8 April 2006. <<http://www.cuba.cu>>
- Cohen, S. 1993. Ethnography and Popular Music Studies. *Popular Music* 12(2): 123-138.

- Collins, J. 1992. *Some Anti-Hegemonic Aspects of African Popular Music*. In Garofalo, R. *Rockin' the Boat: Mass Music and Mass Movements*. Boston: South End Press, 185-194.
- Connell, J., and C. Gibson. 2003. *Sound tracks: popular music, identity and place*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Cornish, V. 1928. Harmonies of scenery: an outline of aesthetic geography. *Geography* 14: 275-282 and 383-394.
- . 1934. The scenic amenity of Great Britain. *Geography* 19: 195-202.
- Creswell, J. 1998. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Crowley, J. M. 1987. *Old-time fiddling in big sky country*. In Carney, G. O. *The Sounds of People and Places: Readings in the Geography of American Folk and Popular Music*. Lanham, NY: University Press of America.
- Curtis, J. R., and R. F. Rose 1987. *The Miami Sound: A Contemporary Latin Form of Place-Specific Music*. In Carney, G. O. *The Sounds of People and Places: Readings in the Geography of American Folk and Popular Music*. Lanham, NY: University Press of America.
- Fanaddicts for Ferguson. 1978. Maynard Ferguson, New Vintage. Newsletter of Fanaddicts for Ferguson. Winter 1978.
- Federal Register. 2004. *Department of the Treasury, Office of Foreign Assets Control. 31 CFR Part 515: Cuban Assets Control Regulations*. 16 June 2004: 69(115).
- Feld, S. 1988. Notes on World Beat. *Public Culture Bulletin* 1(1): 31-37.
- Ferguson, M. 1977. *New Vintage*. Wounded Bird Records: B0002FH6N6
- Ferrer, I. 1999. *Buena Vista Social Club Presents: Ibrahim Ferrer*. World Circuit/Nonesuch. B00000J7IL.
- Garofalo, R. 1993. Whose World, What Beat: The Transnational Music Industry, Identity, and Cultural Imperialism. *The World of Music* 35(2): 17-32.
- Gebesmair, A., and A. Smudits, eds., 2001. *Global Repertoires: Popular Music within and beyond the Transnational Music Industry*. Burlington USA: Ashgate.
- González, R. 1997. *Introducing... Rubén González*. World Circuit/Nonesuch. B000005J55.

- Goodwin, A., and J. Gore. 1990. World Beat and the Cultural Imperialism Debate. *Socialist Review* 20(3): 63-80.
- Guba, E. and Y. Lincoln. 1981. *Effective Evaluation: Improving the Usefulness of Evaluation Results Through Responsive and Naturalistic Approaches*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers
- Guilbault, J. 1993. On Redefining the “Local” Through World Music. *The World of Music* 35(2): 33-47.
- Hernandez, D. P. 1998. Dancing with the Enemy: Cuban Popular Music, Race, Authenticity, and the World-Music Landscape. *Latin American Perspectives* 25(3): 110-125.
- Honey, M. 1999. *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development: Who Owns Paradise?* Washington D.C.: Island Press
- International Federation of the Phonographic Industry. 2005. *IFPI Releases Definitive Statistics on Global Market for Recorded Music*. <http://www.ifpi.org>. Accessed Jan – May 2006.
- Jackson, G. P. 1952. Some factors in the diffusion of American religious folksongs. *Journal of American Folklore* 65(258): 365-369.
- Jatar-Hausmann, A. J. 1999. *The Cuban Way: Capitalism, Communism and Confrontation*. Hartford: Kumarian Press.
- Kong, L. 1995. Popular Music in geographical analyses. *Progress in Human Geography* 19(2): 183-198.
- Laing, D. 1986. The Music Industry and the 'Cultural Imperialism' Thesis. *Media, Culture and Society* 8: 331-341.
- Lima, A. 2001. *Black or Brau: Music and Black Subjectivity in a Global Context*. In Perrone, C. A., and C. Dunn, eds., *Brazilian Popular Music and Globalizaion*. New York and London: Routledge, 20-232.
- Los Van Van. 1988. *Songo*. Mango: 9825.
- Matheson, C. 2003. Mixing up the Music Industry. *BBC News Online*. <http://news.bbc.co.uk>. Accessed May 2005 – Jan 2006.
- Mauleón-Santana, R. 1999. *101 Montunos*. Petaluma, CA: Sher Music Co.
- McMullen, S. 2005. Review of the Buena Vista Social Club. <http://www.allmusic.com>. Accessed May 6, 2005.

- New York Times. 2003. Compay Segundo, 95, of 'Buena Vista Social Club,' Dies. *The New York Times*. 15 July 2003. Section B, Page 8, Column 1.
- Nietschmann, B. 2001. The Nietschmann Syllabus: A Vision of the Field. *The Geographical Review* 91(1-2): 175-184.
- Peters, P. 2002. *Survival Story: Cuba's Economy in the Post-Soviet Decade*. A Lexington Institute Publication.
- Portuondo, O. 2000. *Buena Vista Social Club Presents: Omara Portuondo*. World Circuit/Nonesuch. B00004SVHO.
- Ratliff, B. 2005. Ibrahim Ferrer, 78, Cuban Singer in 'Buena Vista Social Club'. *The New York Times*. 8 Aug 2005, Section B, Page 8, Column 3.
- Rodríguez, I. 1995. Turismo, hoy algo más que una perspectiva. *Granma* 28 Nov 1995.
- Sierra Maestra. 1995. *Dundunbanza*. World Circuit. B0000023V9.
- Simon, P. 1986. *Graceland*. Warner Bros. 2-25447
- Stokes, M. 2004. Music and the Global Order. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33(1): 47-72.
- Strauss, A., and J. Corbin. 1990. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Tatara, P. 1999. Review: From Cuba with love with 'Buena Vista Social Club'. *CNN.com*. <<http://www.cnn.com>> Accessed Mar 27 – Apr 3, 2006.
- Uribe, E. 1996. *The Essence of Afro-Cuban Percussion and Drum Set*. Miami: Warner Bros.
- Wallis, R., and K. Malm. 1984. *Big Sounds from Small Peoples*. London: Constable.
- Wagner, P. L., and M. W. Mikesell, eds. 1962. *Readings in Cultural Geography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Wenders, W. 1998. *The Buena Vista Social Club*. United States: Artisan Entertainment.
- Wenders, W. 2006. The Buena Vista Social Club. Wim Wenders Website. <<http://www.wim-wenders.com>> Accessed Mar 27 – Apr 3, 2006.
- Yin, R. 2003. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Zimbalist, A. 1994. Treading Water: Cuba's Economic and Political Crisis. In Schulz, D. E. ed., *Cuba and the Future*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press.

APPENDIX A

Potential Case Study Subjects

| Name | Instrument | Genre | Level |
|--------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| 1. Silvio Rodríguez | Guitar, Vocals | Trova, Nueva Trova | 1 |
| 2. Juan Formell | Guitar, Vocals | Salsa, Timba | 1 |
| 3. Omara Portuondo | Vocals | Son, Traditional | 1 |
| 4. Jesús “Chucho” Valdés | Piano | Cuban Jazz | 1 |
| 5. Juan de Marcos | Guitar, Tres, Vocals | Son, Salsa, Trad. | 1 |
| 6. Carlos Varela | Guitar, Vocals | Trova | 2 |
| 7. Carlos Alfonso | Vocals, Piano | Salsa, Timba | 2 |
| 8. Yasek Manzano | Trumpet | Jazz, Classical | 2 |
| 9. Roberto Fonseca | Piano | Afro-Cuban Jazz | 2 |
| 10. Julito Padrón | Trumpet | Trad, Jazz | 2 |
| 11. Roberto Carcassés | Piano, Percussion | Cuban Jazz | 2 |
| 12. Igor Tillán | Guitar/vocals | Singer/Songwriter | 3 |

APPENDIX B

List of Sound References

| Artist | Album | Song |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Los Van Van | <i>Songo</i> | Que Palo Es Ese |
| 2. Trio Matamoros | <i>La China en la Rumba</i> | Son de la Loma |
| 3. Senén Suárez | <i>Melodías en el Tiempo I</i> | Regreso Feliz |
| 4. Laíto Sureda | <i>Ahora Comienzo a Vivir</i> | Dejame Ya Mujer |
| 5. Duo Contrastes | ----- | Te Quería |
| 6. Descemer Bueno | <i>Siete Rayos</i> | Cumbia Reggae |
| 7. Chucho Valdés | <i>Briumba Palo Congo</i> | El Rumbion |
| 8. Gonzalo Rubalcaba | <i>The Blessing</i> | Circuito |
| 9. Yasek Manzano | <i>Mejores Momentos</i> | Blue |
| 10. Sierra Maestra | <i>Dundunbanza</i> | Juana Pena |

APPENDIX C

Coding Sample

(company)
D and D₁
(aba vs. Puerto Rico)
T_v
D
D₁
D + D₁
AID₁
O/D
D₁
D
S
S
0
AID R

Eso me parece fue por los años 70, porque ya en los 80 yo veo que esa gente, Irakere, viajaba mucho. Ellos tenían aquí – ellos eran los que marcaban la pauta de lo que... de que es lo que está pasando afuera – y como ellos lo hacían a través también de la música cubana, entiendes? Entonces pienso que hicimos, que la gente se fue desarrollando aquí individualmente sin mirar... Es decir, estaban los músicos puertorriqueños haciendo su salsa, que era algún desarrollo del *son*, algo que ellos desarrollaron del *son*. Pero nosotros siempre lo veíamos como una cosa fría, una que a lo que le faltaba más bomba. La percusión cubana siempre está repartiendo, siempre está inquieta, y todos los puertorriqueños, es todo mesurado, balanceado, que no dejo de reconocer que es muy bueno. Pero son dos cosas diferente – la música cubana tiene mucha temperatura. Y pienso que siempre...no es por ser egocentrista en el sentido nacional, no? (TRACK 12)

Pero siempre toda esta gente, los puertorriqueños, y todos los demás latinos que hacían salsa siempre estaban mirando a ver que estaba pasando aquí. Para ellos también sacar su punto de vista de eso, entiendes? Pero siempre esto fue un laboratorio aquí, NG La Banda, es decir, músicos muy buenos que salían de agrupaciones élites aquí, como Irakere, como Van Van (Los Van Van), y músicos que salían y hacían sus propias agrupaciones, y cada uno haciendo muy buena música, entiendes? Entonces, claro que sí, que en estos últimos 50 años también el jazz ha ido... hay un movimiento jazzístico ya se puede decir que es fuerte aquí. Festivales de Jazz aquí, que hay muchos... Es decir no solo esa gente que viene cultivando el jazz viejo, sino, muchos jóvenes jazzistas, y...y también, es decir, y veo que la gente puede decir que se pierde, que como que a veces como que se pierden las raíces porque le dan un espacio a los géneros internacionales, como el rap o el rock. Pero pienso que no, que siempre hay gente que hace música

15
See P. 24
~~the flow comes back up
with Cuban musicians and
in outside music world~~

MUSICAL
EXAMPLES

tradicional, o que trata de fusionar estos géneros internacionales con lo que está pasando.

Como los Orishas, como otros grupos, como Habana Abierta, que son trovadores pero roqueros y el guaguancó lo tienen metido ahí en la sangre.

Es decir entonces que tienen cosas de afuera pero que siempre tienen el sello cubano?

Claro, efectivamente. Entonces, eso, que haya pasado lo que pasó a esto de Buena Vista Social Club porque hubo un impulsor extranjero que puso un dinero que tuvo que poner. Y aparte, creo que el mercado también lo estaba pidiendo ya. Porque estaba ostinado ya de tanta salsa erótica, salsa, salsa, salsa. Y esto como que vino a relajar un poco así, en el mercado, y dar una oferta un poquito más pausada, más rica, en el sentido de que es una música con un poquitico más para atrás, con más pasión, con más *soul* así, con más *feeling*. Más o menos eso es lo que pienso yo. Que ha pasado en estos 50 años de desarrollo. Es decir, Cuba se ha ido abriendo un poquito, cada vez se ha ido abriendo más a lo internacional, (TRACK 13) definitivamente. Más con todo el problema migratorio también ha influido con esto. Entienes? Que la gente sale de viaje y por necesidades económicas se queda en un país o en otro país, y después vuelve a visitar a su familia o vuelve a trabajar o vuelve a hacer cosas, y trae influencias de otros lados. Y ahí también, mucho también que como todo afecta ahí...

Pienso que como mismo la globalización ha afectado en todo. La música, imagínate tú con las grandes transnacionales de la comunicación, ellos tratan de ofrecer - cuando

tratan de ofrecer o de poner en el mercado un producto – no es solamente en Estados Unidos o en Europa, nada de esto, ellos lo tiran con la fuerza que tienen, lo tiran para todo el mundo, entiendes? Entonces, aquí también entra eso. Entra lo que ponen ellos, lo que ellos quieren poner, aunque sea bueno o malo. Lo que ellos quieren poner en ese... ahí, entonces, eso como quiera que sea ahí influye.

MM
US
I,
I,

Por ejemplo? Dame un ejemplo.

Esto, a ver, esto mismo, este que canta *la Camisa Negra*, que no es la Charanga [Habanera] – la Charanga también tiene una canción que es la camisa negra. Pero..

I,

Juanes?

S

Juanes. Por ejemplo, ellos han cogido a Juanes en América Latina y lo han puesto por las nubes. No dejo que reconocer que es bueno. Pero bueno, ellos están haciendo su mayor esfuerzo porque el tipo este... que se oiga. Siempre que se oiga. Y entonces, los grupos de música, ahora mismo, los grupos de música *pop* nuevos, que hay aquí, no sé – esto,

S
MM

MM
↓
S (a couple of stars → no Billboard group for Europe)

Moneda Dura, todos los músicos que están por esa honda, beben de ahí, entiendes?

I, S

Beben de ahí porque es lo que está moviendo y lo que está moviendo y lo que está moviendo. Y no digo que no se identifiquen, no se lo critico, se identifican con eso, y aunque puedan, porque Moneda Dura también tiene muchas cosas atrás de la música cubana. Pero todo esto – los ritmos colombianos. Aquí hay muchas agrupaciones que

AID,
I, of → m S
I,

por esto mismo, y por otros cantantes, por ejemplo esta gente, Manolito Simonet y su Trabuco. Ellos hacen muchas cosas colombianas

Como Cumbia?

Como Cumbia, y cosas, pero fusionadas con la música cubana. Y eso, aquí, ellos son monstruos. Esto se vende mucho aquí. A la gente le gusta mucho.

Y como es su nombre?

Manolito Simonet y su Trabuco, el Trabuco es la agrupación. Esa gente fusionan bastante música internacional con la música cubana. Van Van – el último disco de Van Van lo has oído?

Como se llama?

Chapeando

Sí...

La armonía – Van Van chapea como siempre ha chapeado, así que con la música cubana, ahí. Con el *songo* y con el *son* ahí. Pero el disco tiene mucha influencia americana.

Mucha mucha influencia americana – [en] los acordes, la armonía, los arreglos.

entiendes? Y eso... Son patrones. Son orquestas que son patrones. De ahí pa' bajo todo el mundo va viviendo de ahí. Entonces, así mismo, un ejemplo, las mismas trasnacionales ellos cogieron a la balada y la pusieron también como un género comercial, comercial comercial. Y aquí entonces, aquí la Charanga Habanera hizo un disco completo light que se llama la Charanga Light, la Charanga Habanera Light. Con cosas así, como lo que está pasando internacionalmente. Así todo el mundo está como con un código. Lo que trata de hacer la globalización. Es un código pa' que todo el mundo se entienda. Una onda así... no sé, más o menos...

S
T
Comerc/Comerc
I } Comerc

Como encuentras el estado de la música cubana en un nivel nacional?

A nivel nacional? Tu dices... Yo pienso que bien. No sé como decirte... Hay muchas agrupaciones buenas, hay mucha calidad, hay distintos géneros, y en cada género hay gente con calidad. Si se hace rap, hay agrupaciones de buen rap. Hay reggaetón... se hace reggaetón y hay gente que hace buen reggaetón. Lo hacen malo también, pero hay buen reggaetón. (TRACK 15) Lo menos comercial es la música tradicional.

O } Comerc
C } Comerc
Comerc

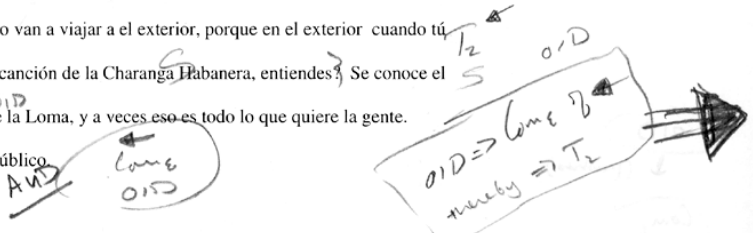
Lo menos comercial tú dices?

Lo menos comercial, aquí, en el país – es la música tradicional. Porque – por esto mismo – por el fenómeno este que... de lo que está pasando en el mundo entero. Que lo que está de modo es lo único que ponen en la radio. Entiendes? Y las agrupaciones de primera línea hacen cosas que estén de moda. Y, que lo tradicional nada más queda para cantar

Comerc
Comerc

comb
 en el extranjero. A veces muchas de esas agrupaciones de primera linea, no estoy hablando de Van Van, pero estoy hablando de otras agrupaciones, han tenido que recurrir al repertorio tradicional cuando van a viajar a el exterior, porque en el exterior cuando tú dices Cuba, no se conoce una canción de la Charanga Habanera, entiendes? Se conoce el Manicero, se conoce el Son de la Loma, y a veces eso es todo lo que quiere la gente.

Porque tiene que satisfacer al público.

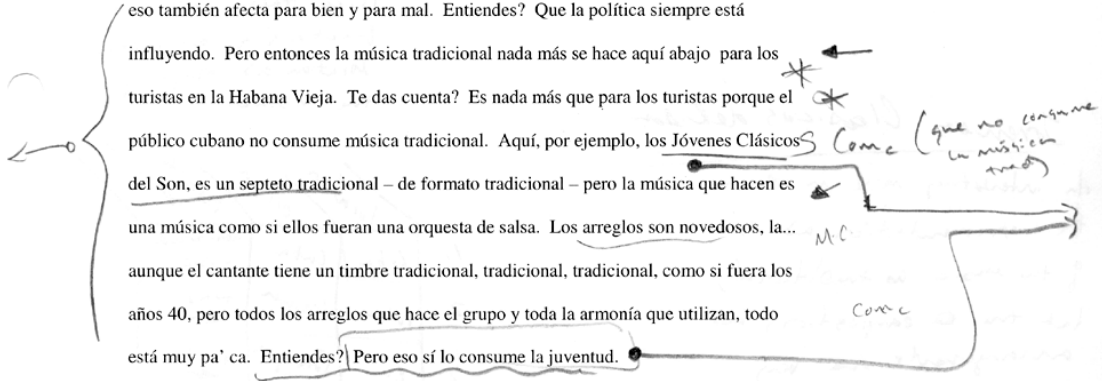


Entonces tú estás diciendo que el estado de la música aquí es diferente que afuera?

Sí, sí, es como que aquí se comporta completamente diferente porque igual hay una política, a pesar de que hay una muy fuerte influencia internacional en la música aquí. I,
 Aquí hay una política de difusión de música, entiendes? Y entonces como quiera que sea

eso también afecta para bien y para mal. Entiendes? Que la política siempre está

influyendo. Pero entonces la música tradicional nada más se hace aquí abajo para los turistas en la Habana Vieja. Te das cuenta? Es nada más que para los turistas porque el público cubano no consume música tradicional. Aquí, por ejemplo, los Jóvenes Clásicos del Son, es un septeto tradicional - de formato tradicional - pero la música que hacen es una música como si ellos fueran una orquesta de salsa. Los arreglos son novedosos, la... aunque el cantante tiene un timbre tradicional, tradicional, tradicional, como si fuera los años 40, pero todos los arreglos que hace el grupo y toda la armonía que utilizan, todo está muy pa' ca. Entiendes? Pero eso sí lo consume la juventud.



Pero esto como Buena Vista, Afro-Cuban All-Stars, etc...

No, no – eso no funciona aquí. No le funciona al público cubano. Eso es nada más que para extranjeros. (TRACK 16) Por ejemplo, nosotros aquí montamos un repertorio – un repertorio del duo que como tiene la base del son ahí, tiene metido la cubanía ahí, y nosotros tocamos en un lugar que era un club nocturno eso, todo el mundo fumando, las luces semi-apagadas, y no sé qué cosa, y nadie nos hizo caso. Y nosotros nos dijimos, ay diós mío, que malo somos, pero oye, qué, óyeme. Pero no, lo que pasa es que esa gente no oye ese repertorio.

*
Come
Come
P_{PRO} P_V

Y cual fue la recepción de tu duo en el Sevilla, o en Obispo?

Sí, eso, ahí si dio resultado.

Come P_V
P_{PRO}

Muchos?

Sí, buen buen resultado.

Oímos ahora que las 8 canciones nuevas están más... Tienes uno de bossa nova, uno de.... etc... Pero los discos anteriores están también...

Sí, también – también están mezclados. Es decir, tienen influencias internacionales.

¿
Come

Pero igual, hay algo ahí que definitivamente no está para el mercado cubano – es decir – en realidad, esto que nosotros hacemos, es – no es la opinión mía, es la opinión de varias

gente. hasta la gente que trabaja en las emisoras del radio – no lo está haciendo nadie. *Perú*

Entonces como no hay nadie haciendo esto, es una cosa desconocida que, tú sabes que la gente se resiste un poquito aceptar lo desconocido, entiendes? Tienes que ser que tú se lo pongas ahí bastante veces. Nosotros tenemos pegados dos números en el radio. Uno que es una canción que la vas a oír ahí, que es con piano solo. Porque la letra está genial. Y el piano de Robertico, y nosotros lo cantamos bien, y no sé qué. Esa le gustó a la radio y no la quita en una emisora. Y la otra bosa nova que hicimos porque la letra está cómica, porque está sencillita y porque el arreglo está bonito, no sé qué cosa. Eso, pero... lo demás no está como acequible como a un oído que no sea del pop. Sabes que hay gente que sí no tiene el [canta un ritmo de pop] no entiende. Porque esto es lo que se vende. *MC*
Perú
MC
Comc

Entonces, por eso también hicimos una... hicimos también en base de esto una canción así medio.. que tiene un poco de... medio pop así... que tiene algo de esto ahí. *T. & M. / Comc*

Entonces, a ver que más. --- Entonces, nada, te digo que.. que la gente igual lo hemos tratado, lo han tratado de proponer comercialmente en el extranjero y de los temas anteriores, de los primeros 10 temas que vas a oír y no ha dado resultado. Aunque es gusta en el sentido de... quizás gusta. te he dicho que sí les ha gustado. En el Sevilla gustó, pero también estábamos en vivo, entiendes?. Y la música cubana en vivo tiene mucho... nosotros le poníamos mucho de nosotros, entiendes? Pero igual, no sé, no sé que decirte. *SAE*
**a*
P
P.

Qué recepción estás esperando en España?

22

Discussion
Q What he
plays on
why he plays
it on
Back