

Tourist Songs: Cultural Tourism, The Buena Vista Social Club, and The Cuban Son

Introduction

The severe economic crisis caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, known as the *Período Especial en Tiempo de Paz* (Special Period in Time of Peace), forced the Cuban government to seek alternate sources of revenue. Desperate for international trade, Cuba opened its doors to tourism for the first time in nearly forty years. Shortly after, the runaway international success of the *Buena Vista Social Club* recording and documentary insured the place of Cuba's national music, the *son*, in the nation's burgeoning tourist economy. In the wake of the Special Period, conservatory-trained musicians who made their careers in the 1980s backed by 12-piece salsa bands have been forced to reinvent themselves to fit into small bars, hotel lobbies, and tourists' preconceived notions, while self-taught country musicians have received new status.

This thesis will examine the ways in which *son* is being re-imagined by Cuban musicians, simultaneously as a renewed symbol of national identity and as a real opportunity for gaining economic and social freedom. It will focus on the musicians of *septetos* of different levels of experience, musical training, and popular recognition within the contexts of different touristic settings, with emphasis on the urban poles of Havana and Santiago. It will

also examine the ways in which the new influx of younger musicians to the genre of *son* and the format of the septet, combined with the heightened competition of the dollar economy, have produced vastly different performance styles drawing both from traditional musical vocabulary as well as that of U.S. jazz and contemporary Cuban *timba*. Stylistic choices made by musicians reflect larger changes brought on by tourism and address issues of national and local identity.

This work adds to a growing body of ethnomusicological work focusing on music in tourist settings. With the works of Margaret Sarkissian (2000) and Helen Rees (2000) as theoretical models, this study focuses on tourism as perceived by the performers themselves, and their notions of authenticity and tradition. The relatively young Cuban tourism industry, and the many ways in which Cuba hopes to avoid the pitfalls of tourist dependency, show that tourism can be the focal point of a complex set of social dynamics. Adding to tourism and folklore studies like that of Hagedorn (2001), this study points out that tourism's "internal" and "external" audiences (Cohen 1988) for popular music can be multifaceted, consisting not just of "hosts" and "guests," but of multiple layers of social interaction.

The nature of music making for tourists in Cuba is unique in that it exists in the context of a socialist system. In this sense, Cuba stands apart from other Caribbean countries, but also other socialist systems as well.

Rasmussen (2002) shows how music can function commercially within socialism, and other writing on the former Yugoslavia has examined how popular music can be used by the state to disseminate notions of national identity. However, in Cuba's case, commerciality in music does not always exist within a larger state system; it also forms a part of an external tourist market. Musicians are employed by government agencies, but in many cases make more income from tips or gifts from tourists than they do from their own salaries, constantly negotiating two parallel and occasionally oppositional systems.

Close examination of stylistic traits found in bands from Cuba's two urban poles, Havana and Santiago, complements studies of both traditional and contemporary Cuban dance music, such as Perna's (2001) study of *timba* and Lapidus' (2002) study of *changüí*. Robbins' (1990b) concept of "identifiers" is expanded in order to more closely observe the ways in which players imply "traditional" vs. "modern" approaches to playing son in the septeto format. In tourist contexts, these identifiers function differently for different internal and external audiences (roughly tourists and locals) to shape perceptions of authenticity and local or regional identity. These analyses also complement studies of New York salsa performance styles such as those of Manuel (1985, 1998) and Washburne (1998).

Perhaps the greatest contribution of this work is in the ethnographic material collected through interviews and informal conversations with

musicians across the country. Although a few were already well established international performers, the majority represent the next generation of Cuban musicians, determinedly competing for the spotlight both at home and abroad. Their accounts offer some small glimpse of the world they inhabit, the place of music in that world, and the directions that that music might take in the future.

The first half of Chapter 1 provides an overview of tourism studies in ethnomusicology and a brief history of contemporary Cuban tourism since its beginnings in the 1980s. This is followed by an examination of the internal and external audiences in Cuban tourist settings, including government agencies, local employers, and tourists, using Bruner's (1994) model for understanding different meanings of "authenticity." While tourism has greatly expanded performance opportunities for musicians performing son, it has also created a climate of intense competition among musicians; septetos must meet often contradictory criteria for "traditional" music while simultaneously attempting to create a unique, ear-catching sound.

Chapter 2 takes a closer look at the *Buena Vista Social Club* (BVSC) album and film, their impact on the international market for Cuban music, and the role of the project in the "son revival" in Cuba. Given the project's overwhelming international success, it is my view that it plays a major role in the shaping of tourists' expectations of Cuban music. It has also directly and indirectly affected perspectives on traditional son in Cuba. The chapter

gathers together a number of criticisms, sometimes contradictory, that have been aimed at the BVSC project, both in Cuba and abroad, with special attention given to the rift between university-educated and self-taught musicians brought out by the BVSC's success.

As Lapidus (2002: 10) notes, "nothing is more central to the discourse of Cuban music than the study of genre and genre complexes." Chapter 3 engages in this discourse, problematizing the concept of the "genre complex" as it is applied to son by Alén Rodríguez (1992, 1998) and Danilo Orozco (1992). Following the lead of Robbins (1989, 1990a, 1990b) and Acosta (n.d.), an attempt is made to deal with son and its variants in terms that are useful to musicians. This provides the basis for the closer examination of style and genre found in chapter 4. In order to understand the ways in which musicians negotiate regional identity and notions of tradition and modernity through stylistic choices, it is first necessary to understand the greater context of genre classification as it functions in established music institutions and among musicians. Chapter 3 also picks up discussions of race and class in son raised in chapter 2, and deals with son's relationship to *salsa*.

Chapter 4 presents stylistic analyses and transcriptions of several groups I recorded in the summer of 2004 in Havana and Santiago. Some of the groups participated in the Festival Nacional de Septetos, held in late June in Havana. Others perform professionally or semi-professionally in hotels, restaurants, and other tourist locations.

The analyses focus on the overall sound of each band, and the elements that contribute to that sound. Specific aspects of arrangement are examined, such as harmonic choices, changes of rhythmic texture, and signature breaks, as well as the groove of each band: how much the band locks together as a unit and really “swings.”¹ The latter topic follows up on theories of feel, groove, and swing as applied to *salsa* by Washburne (1998). The role of improvisation in each group is also examined, identifying patterns found throughout Latin dance music as suggested by Manuel (1998).

Stylistic analysis reveals the connection between musical sound and larger social forces. The radical change in the Cuban economy and the new status of son as a marketable tourist commodity has brought performers of varied backgrounds and interests to the genre, all of whom make individual stylistic choices that reflect their experience. In addition, certain playing styles and techniques associated with particular regions or time periods are often employed by musicians to address issues of authenticity and regional identity.

By way of conclusion, I call for further study of tourism contexts in Cuban music. The expansion of tourism is reshaping the lives of all Cubans, especially musicians, and this study just scratches the surface. The impact of

¹ Although the use of the word “swing” is most commonly associated with jazz, it is also used by New York salsa musicians and Cuban son performers as well (Washburne 1998: 181).

son's newfound popularity on musicians performing other genres, such as rock, jazz, or rap, would no doubt be a great complement to this work.

Fieldwork

My thinking about this project began on a brief visit to Havana in June of 2003. I traveled with the members of a Cuban music group with whom I have performed professionally for a number of years in Philadelphia.

Although one member of the group, Robin Moore, is also a well-established ethnomusicologist in his own right, the rest of us were essentially music tourists, looking for opportunities to hear bands whose records had taken hours of internet searching to find back home, and to have jam sessions, talk shop, and generally hang out as much as possible with Cuban musicians.

Although this trip was my second to Cuba, it was my first chance to make more substantial connections with musicians there. We quickly made friends with a host of musicians that Robin had befriended on previous trips, who would later form a crucial support network for my own fieldwork the following year.

I returned for eight weeks in June, July, and early August of 2004, spending roughly three weeks in Havana, two weeks making a slow, circuitous trek by rental car across the island, and ending up for the last three weeks in Santiago. In the course of the cross country trip, I made two- or three-day visits to Viñales, Pinar del Río, Matanzas, Camagüey, Trinidad, and Santo Domingo (Granma Province). I had the good fortune to be in the right

place at the right time for two important events in the musical lives of both Havana and Santiago; while in Havana I attended the Festival Nacional de Septetos, and I arrived in Santiago just in time for the first day of Carnival.

Inspired by the great playing I had seen by young soneros in 2003, and by T.M. Scruggs' (2003) SEM paper on son's continued popularity among young players in Oriente, my primary goal at the outset was to talk to as many musicians as I could, young and old, and to learn as much as I could about the music. The importance of tourism, which became central to this thesis, emerged gradually; having first experienced Havana as a tourist myself, I initially backgrounded tourism in favor of talking about music. As my vision of the end result crystallized, my approach changed, and I began asking different questions of the musicians I met later in my journey.

The end result, then, is not a systematic census of contemporary Cuban soneros. My goal in writing has been to accurately portray the music and the people I encountered along the way, all of whom share common goals and offer unique perspectives on what it means to be a Cuban musician during the "Special Period in Time of Peace."

In some cases, the musicians I spoke with had already accomplished many of their goals, having gained recognition, and at times financial success, on national and even international levels. However, my goal was not to seek out the most successful players, nor even necessarily the most talented ones. As Robbins (1990a: 23) suggests, "a study of the 'everyday' can be conducted

every day.” In other words, my attempt was to discover something about Cuban musical life, not about Cuban celebrities; I learned just as much, if not more, talking with musicians at the other end of the spectrum.

I worried that the time I spent traveling between Havana and Santiago would effectively put my fieldwork on hold, since I had not planned on staying long enough in any one place to find and develop a rapport with musicians. This did not prove to be a problem, however, as wherever I went I was warmly welcomed by the musicians I met. Cubans have a reputation for warmth and hospitality, and also a general interest in all things foreign, which Robbins (*ibid.*) attributes to their extremely limited opportunities to travel outside of the country.

The biggest hindrance to quickly finding and meeting musicians was that as an immediately recognizable tourist (these days *turista* and *extranjero* are more or less synonymous), I was quickly targeted by *jineteros* (roughly “hustlers”) who, if they learned that I was interested in music, would try to claim some sort of musical knowledge, relationship with a famous musician, or any number of improvised scams in the same vein. However, I was prepared for this approach by my experiences on previous trips, so I was able to sidestep these characters with a few polite but firm words of disinterest.

Most often, I approached other musicians as a fellow musician and music student. The fact that I carried a tres with me and knew a handful of Cuban tunes set me apart from the average tourist, and showed that I was

genuinely interested in learning about Cuban music. My interactions with musicians usually started in the form of an exchange of musical ideas, ranging from informal jam sessions to music lessons, for which I occasionally paid either in dollars or in some sort of trade (for this purpose, I brought almost an entire backpack full of new steel guitar strings, which are incredibly hard to find in Cuba due to shortages of all kinds of metal). Once conversation got going, I explained my thesis project, which was almost always received with enthusiasm.

Although my thesis focuses on musicians I encountered in the urban centers of Havana and Santiago, the conversations I had with musicians in other parts of the country were crucial in forming my ideas about how to best frame my experiences there. There remains much to be studied about the impact of tourism in rural areas, especially recently developed tourist hotspots like Trinidad or Viñales.

One flaw in my fieldwork plan was that I budgeted no time for return trips to any sites. While I spent the majority of my time in Havana and Santiago, once I had left Havana I only returned in time to catch my plane and leave. As my ideas about this project were crystallizing, I asked better questions of the musicians that I met, but I wished that I had time to ask the same questions of musicians in Havana as well. As a result, more of my interviews related to tourism come from the weeks I spent in Santiago, while

interviews conducted in Havana tend to be somewhat less focused, ranging from musical tastes to general attitudes about Havana's music scene.

Although there are many avenues of inquiry left open by this study, a major area not explored here is that of gender in contemporary son bands. The gender dynamics of son, traditionally a male-dominated genre, are fascinating and could no doubt fill several volumes. Although I chose to leave gender out of this thesis, it will no doubt form a part of my future research in Cuban music.

Written Sources

Most of the secondary sources I have used here are available to the academic community, either through commercial publications or through university library loan systems. Luckily, many key articles published in Cuban journals were also available through inter-library loan, and others were located on the web (citations of internet sources are identifiable in the text by the absence of page numbers).

Two unpublished conference papers by Ariana Hernández-Reguant (2000) and T.M. Scruggs (2003) proved invaluable to my discussion of the *Buena Vista Social Club*.

In addition, I was fortunate enough to have at my disposal several chapters from Robin Moore's soon-to-be-published book on Cuban music during the Special Period, as well as a copy of Vincenzo Perna's dissertation on timba (which has since been published by Ashgate).

I also worked with an early copy of Leonardo Acosta's (n.d.) article "On Generic Complexes and Other Topics in Cuban Popular Music," which will be published in the October 2005 issue of the *Journal of Popular Music Studies*.

Oral Sources

My interactions with informants were documented in four ways: 1) recorded interviews or music lessons, 2) notes taken during interviews, 3) notes taken immediately after conversations or interviews, 4) journal entries summarizing the events of a few days. Opportunities for planned, recorded interviews were limited not only by time, but also by the fact that it was often difficult to find a suitable location to record. Interviews often took place during breaks in a musician's performance schedule, which did not allow enough time to return to one or the other's house and set up a microphone in relative silence. When the band is on break, most bars and restaurants turn up their radio or sound system, so even when I chose to record an interview, I took notes immediately afterward as a safeguard against the noisy environment. For simplicity, all oral sources are cited as "interviews," since the information may have been recorded in more than one of the aforementioned formats.

Tradition and Authenticity

Williams (1977: 115) characterizes “tradition” as active rather than inert, “an intentionally selective version of a shaping past and a pre-shaped present, which is powerfully operative in the process of social and cultural definition and identification.” In essence, Williams suggests that in any given culture, there are a number of competing “meanings and practices” which are recognized or dismissed according to a particular hegemony. Tradition serves contemporary culture, offering historical evidence in support of dominant norms or values.

This notion is echoed in Bruner’s (1994: 408) definition of “authenticity” as “a struggle...in which competing interests argue for their own interpretation of history.” Like Williams, Bruner’s definition denies the possibility of a primitive “truth” located in the past, but suggests cultural processes inherently tied to the present.

Both concepts have been similarly problematized by Hobsbawm (1983), in the study of tourism by Cohen (1988) and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995, 1998), and specifically in ethnomusicology by Lau (1998) and Rees (1998, 2000), among others.

My use of the terms tradition and authenticity in my discussion of Cuban music and cultural tourism assumes the above definitions, which suggest fluidity rather than stasis, but do not deny the importance of the terms themselves for participants. Williams notes that tradition is

simultaneously powerful and vulnerable; it can effectively dismiss or alienate practices that it does not incorporate, but it is also open to attack, since opposing practices can exist synchronically. In other words, the notions of tradition and authenticity have considerable effect on culture, but the opportunities to challenge these notions are many.

In Cuban music, the term *música tradicional* (traditional music) approaches concrete definition in its use by official music employment agencies (*empresas*; see below), which use it oppositionally and diachronically (“traditional” versus “modern”) or somewhat synchronically (“traditional” versus “popular”) (Robbins 1990a: 445-70). Terms like traditional and authentic can have implicit concrete meaning to musicians (e.g. with regard to repertoire or style) and to employment agencies, but can still be qualitatively contested. In other words, two musicians who play *música tradicional* might disagree about the degree to which one or the other plays the most “authentic” son.

Terms related to Cuban son

My discussion in these chapters presupposes some basic knowledge of Cuban music terms, as well as some terms carried over from U.S. jazz usage. I will briefly define some key terms here.

Spanish terms will always be pluralized and otherwise manipulated according to the rules of Spanish grammar, rather than English. For example, the plural of “son” will always be written “sones” rather than “sons.”

Typically, instrumentalists who perform a certain instrument are described by the name of the instrument with a standard suffix (“-ero/a”) added. A bongó player is a “bongocero” (or bongocera, if female). Some terms of this nature have special significance. A “sonero” is literally someone who plays son, but the connotations are of a musician who has dedicated his life to performing son. Thus, there are many musicians performing son who might not define themselves this way (Robbins 1990b: 194).

The core instruments of traditional son groups are the *tres*, the *bongó*, the maracas, the *claves*, and some sort of bass instrument, either a *botija*, a *marímbula*, or a standard double bass. Ensembles also frequently use the guitar, as well as other percussion instruments, such as the *guiro* (gourd scraper) (Orovio 2004: 200).

The *tres* is one of the core instruments of traditional son groups. It is shaped like a guitar, but tuned in three double courses rather than six individual strings. The outer pairs of strings are tuned in octaves, and the inner pair in unison. Many tunings exist for the *tres*, but the most common are gG-cc-Ee and aA-dd-F#f# (uppercase letters refer to the lower octave). The *tres* has a limited range (usually not more than one and a half or two octaves), but this tuning allows players to use octave displacement to trick the

ear of the listener, implying longer ascending or descending passages than the instrument can actually play (Lapidus 2002: 50).²

The bongó consists of two small hand drums joined together by a piece of wood or metal. The skins are generally of goat skin. One head, the larger *hembra* (female), is tuned lower than the other, called the *macho* (male). The player is typically seated, and holds the drum between his or her legs (Orovio 2004: 32).

The marímbula is a type of lamellophone not unlike a giant mbira. It is most commonly constructed out of a wooden box, to which a varying number of metal tines are attached. The player sits atop the instrument, plucking the tines with one hand and keeping time with the other (although some players occasionally pluck with both hands). The botija is a large clay jug with a hole cut in the side. By blowing across the top and covering or uncovering the hole, a player can produce one, two, and sometimes even three pitches. Both instruments have been used to produce a bass-ostinato pattern; they were used historically before their substitution by the European double bass, and are still used by some groups, especially in *changüí* ensembles, where the marímbula is still the standard bass instrument.³ Because of the limited range

² See Lapidus (2002: 50-53) for more details on octave-ambiguity in the tres.

³ Changüí is a dance style related to son, performed in eastern Cuba, especially in the province of Guantánamo. See Lapidus (2002) for social and musical characteristics of changüí, as well as its possible connections to early forms of son.

of these instruments, few son ensembles still use them, although those that do, such as Típicos de Son, are lauded as upholding a dying tradition (ibid.: 8, 131).

The maracas and claves are typically performed by the singers of the group. Maracas are two shakers, often made out of hollowed gourds, dried animal hide, or plastic, which are attached to wooden handles. The claves are two wooden sticks that are struck together to perform the rhythm called the *clave* (ibid.: 54)

The concept of *clave* is central to almost all Cuban music, and is found in many other forms throughout Latin America as well. The son clave consists of a two-part rhythm, with one syncopated segment and one relatively “straight” segment. The clave is often discussed in terms of “sides”: the syncopated segment, which has three strokes, is called the “3-side,” while the straighter segment, with two strokes, is called the “2-side.” For musicians, the clave functions as a “generative timeline” (Manuel 1998), which is related to all other parts in specific ways. Although the phrases of a piece may change in their relationship to the clave, the orientation of the clave remains constant throughout an entire piece. Chapter 4 deals with clave and its relationship to other musical elements in greater detail.

Most son compositions consist of two major sections, the verse (also called the *tema*, or *largo*) and the *montuno*. The verse is typically a closed structure of several eight- or twelve-bar phrases, using conventional

European harmonies. The montuno consists of a shorter harmonic cycle that is repeated many times, usually incorporating call-and-response singing between a lead singer and a chorus. The montuno is typically a bit faster and much more rhythmically intense than the verse. Essentially, it constitutes a sort of climactic “jam” section of a piece, where musicians improvise and elaborate on themes presented in the verse.

The refrain sung by the chorus in the montuno is called the *coro* (or *estribillo*). Although instrumental improvisation also takes place, the primary form of improvisation in the montuno is in the part of the lead singer, who improvises short musical phrases, called *soneos*, between iterations of the *coro*. These phrases typically rhyme with the *coro* and elaborate on the text of the verse, although it is quite common, especially in live contexts, for the singer to invent *soneos* that respond to events on stage, invite the audience members to dance harder or have a good time, or praise the band or bandmembers.

The word montuno, which literally means “from the mountains,” can also refer more specifically to the accompaniment pattern played by the piano or tres during the latter climactic section. This pattern can also be called a *tumbao*, or, in the case of the tres, a *guajeo*. Accompaniment styles in the verse vary, ranging from arpeggios and melodic fills around the vocal line to

patterns similar to those heard during the montuno section (Orovio 2004: 141).⁴

Related Genres

Other genres related to son are also mentioned in the following chapters. While chapters 3 and 4 deal with genre and subgenre in greater detail, a brief definition of some other widely known styles will prove useful.

Rumba is a highly African-influenced secular percussion and vocal genre. Not to be confused with “rhumba,” or “ballroom rhumba” as it came to be known in the U.S. (actually closer to son than rumba), traditional rumba uses complex and highly improvisatory percussion and vocals exclusively. It is credited with having had a great deal of influence on son, especially in its formal structure, which culminates in a climactic call-and-response section similar to the montuno in son (Manuel 1998: 129-30; Orovio 2004: 191).

Danzón was the most popular dance music in Cuba before the commercial success of son. Derived from the European *contradanza*

⁴ The word tumbao can also refer to the typical pattern of the bass or *tumbadora* (conga drum), or the overall groove of a band. It is also sometimes used to describe playing in a montuno style; musicians have often told me “Ponle un tumbao” (“Put a tumbao on it”), meaning that I should play a typical montuno/guajeo pattern. For clarity, I will use the word montuno to describe form, guajeo to describe syncopated tres patterns, and tumbao for the patterns played by the tumbadora. Bass patterns will be referred to as “bass lines” or “bass patterns” for lack of a better term.

(*contredanse*), by the end of the 19th century it was typically performed by groups called *charangas francesas* (or simply *charangas*), consisting of flute, violin, piano, double bass, *paila* (a “Creole tympani,” precursor to the *timbal* found in salsa), and gourd scraper (*guiro*). Danzones follow a rondo form and a rhythmic timeline closely related to the son clave (Orovio 2004: 65).

From the late 1960s through the early ‘80s, the most popular style of music was called *nueva trova* (roughly: “new song”). The name refers to a traditional genre called *trova*, which consists typically of ballads performed by voice and guitar, and forms part of the pan-Latin American phenomenon known as *nueva canción* (“new song”). Stylistically, *nueva trova* draws influence from Cuban traditions as well as jazz, rock, and Western art music, and has a strong connection to U.S. protest songs of the 1960s and ‘70s. The most important performers, especially Silvio Rodríguez and Pablo Milanés, are considered by many to be Cuba’s greatest songwriters (Orovio 2004: 151).

Since the early 1990s, the most popular form of dance music in Cuba has been *timba*. Often characterized as a synthesis of the son-derived dance music of the 1950s with rumba, Afro-Cuban sacred music, and U.S. funk and soul, *timba* is a hard-edged, rhythmically intense and musically virtuosic style. *Timba* became the center of controversy in the mid-‘90s due to the lyrics of many of the songs, which were viewed by detractors as “crass” and “capitalistic.” *Timba* lyrics often refer to life in marginalized neighborhoods and issues relating to Cuba’s economic struggles during the Special Period

(especially the black market and prostitution), while making overt use of street slang and sexual innuendos. Due to its overwhelming popularity among Afro-Cubans, and its adoption of Afro-Cuban religious music and imagery, timba is often characterized as “black music” (Perna 2001: 272-73; Hernández-Reguant 2004; Moore 2005: 188).

Jazz Terminology

In my discussion of performance styles, I often use terms borrowed from jazz, such as “comp,” “riff,” and “lick.” A riff or lick is a short, distinct melodic or rhythmic phrase. Riffs are typically repeated, and can form part of an arrangement, while licks are typically part of an improvised solo. Comping (short for “accompanying”) is the practice of articulating the harmony of a given piece behind a soloist. In a jazz context, comping styles can vary widely depending on the individual performer, but I use the term here to describe the use of block chords in a manner reminiscent of jazz pianists or guitarists such as Wynton Kelly or Wes Montgomery.

The Empresa System

Most professional musicians in Cuba are employed by local artist management institutions, commonly called *empresas*, under the direction of the Ministerio de Cultura (Ministry of Culture). Empresas organize musicians’ pay scales, keep track of performances, and negotiate the employment of musicians by clubs, hotels, or other venues (Robbins 1990a:

78). Musicians who wish to perform professionally or semi-professionally must first pass an audition to receive representation from the local empresa, and groups who attempt to perform without official representation are often subject to fines and confiscation of instruments. The tourist industry and changes in laws regulating pay to musicians who perform abroad have changed the role of empresas, which many musicians now regard as primarily tax-collecting agencies (Moore 2005: 154).

Empresas constitute one of the many different audiences for which musicians must perform “credible and convincing” (Bruner 1994: 399) renditions of son. Chapter 1 examines this complex dynamic, pointing to ways in which notions of authenticity are reflected in musical choices. In the following chapters I’ll show the importance of musical sound as a lens through which to view larger social changes and issues of local and national identity.