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Argentina and the Globalization of Popular Music

MATTHEW B. KARUSH

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For my parents,
RUTH AND NATHANIEL KARUSH,
with love

And in memory of my sister,
DEBORAH ERWIN,
1966–2016

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NOTE ABOUT ONLINE RESOURCES

Nearly all of the music discussed in this book is available on compact discs and on the Internet. To guide readers to the most relevant performances, I have created a website to accompany the book: http://matthewkarush.net/musiciansintransit/.

INTRODUCTION

In 1994, on the eve of his appearance at the Montreux Jazz Festival in Switzerland, the Argentine rock star Fito Páez was asked to consider the place of Latin American popular music in the world. In response, he claimed that musicians from the global South had a distinct advantage over those from the North: "I could enjoy the Beatles, but they never heard [Chilean folksinger] Violeta Parra. They have missed out on a part of the world."[1] Páez's wry observation is a reminder of the inequality that structures global cultural exchange. Popular music produced in the United States and Britain has been elevated to universal status, a cultural product that is consumed and emulated everywhere in the world. By contrast, the music of other societies is of more particular, local significance; when it circulates internationally, it is often packaged as a novelty. North American musicians can indulge a taste for the exotic or they can simply ignore the music of the rest of the world, a choice that is typically not available to musicians from elsewhere who want to attract even a local audience. In other words, while Latin American musicians like Páez have been forced to compete directly against Elvis Presley, the Beatles, or Michael Jackson, the reverse has never been true. Páez interprets this apparent weakness as a strength: Latin American musicians have greater resources at their disposal. They can and do draw on local, regional, and global styles in order to forge their own music.

Yet most revealing about Páez's comment was his choice of Violeta Parra as an example. By invoking a musician who was not from Argentina, Páez implied that there was a transnational, Latin American musical tradition to which he, as an Argentine, had privileged access. But what exactly is it that has made Violeta Parra available to Argentine rock musicians but not to their English-language counterparts? Why did Páez consider this Chilean musician to be part of his musical inheritance? Parra's music circulated on recordings made

by Odeon, a subsidiary of the British multinational recording company EMI and, in fact, the same company that distributed the Beatles albums in South America. In this sense, Parra's was a typical case: corporations based in the United States and Europe were responsible for the majority of music recording and sales in Latin America throughout the twentieth century; they forged the commercial links that allowed popular music to circulate. The globalized music industry made it possible for Argentines like Páez to hear both the Beatles and Violeta Parra.

Nevertheless, multinational corporations were not solely responsible for these musical connections. In fact, Parra was virtually unknown in Argentina when she died in 1967. Although both Chilean and Argentine folk musicians were recorded by the local branches of multinational corporations, cross-pollination was minimal. It was only in 1971 when Argentine singer Mercedes Sosa recorded an album of Parra's songs for the Dutch multinational Philips that the Chilean artist's music reached a broad audience in Argentina and throughout Latin America. Although Sosa shared her company's desire to sell records, her decision to record these songs reflected her own political ideals: she appreciated Parra's leftist commitments, and she wanted to express her solidarity with Salvador Allende's socialist government in Chile. In a self-conscious effort to construct a revolutionary Latin Americanism, Sosa and many of her Argentine fans embraced Parra and the other musicians of Chile's *Nueva Canción* (New Song) movement.[2] Their metaphorical border crossing created a new marketing opportunity for the multinationals and thereby shifted the transnational flow of popular music. Musicians like Parra and Sosa pursued their own aesthetic and ideological goals as they traveled along circuits wired by global capitalism. Their journeys, alongside thousands of other, structurally similar ones, produced the Latin American musical identity Páez invoked. By navigating the ideological and economic structures of the transnational music industry, they transformed them.

This book will trace the itineraries of seven influential musicians from Argentina in the decades after 1930. Argentine musicians were active participants in the global culture industry, and their extensive interactions with musicians, genres, and audiences in the United States, Europe, and Latin America proved consequential. Deeply enmeshed in a transnational field, their nationality nonetheless mattered: it gave them access to specific cultural resources, it established a particular relationship with local and regional audiences, and it marked them when they performed abroad. Argentine musicians traveled on terrain molded by the unequal distribution of economic and political power. They confronted genre distinctions, marketing conventions, and even ethnic

or cultural identities, all of which imposed limitations but also created commercial and musical opportunities. Responding creatively to these opportunities, they produced innovative music and achieved commercial success, but they also generated new ways of conceptualizing their national, regional, and ethnic identities. And these new identities, expressed in music itself and in the publicity and critical discourse that accompanied it, had effects beyond the realm of popular culture. The ideological, aesthetic, and commercial maneuvers of Argentine musicians in transit enabled their fans to reimagine Argentina's relationship to the rest of the world.

The Globalization of Popular Music

The musical journeys that are the subject of this book were made possible by globalization, understood in its most basic sense as an increase in transnational interconnectedness and integration. Propelled by trade, conquest, colonialism, capitalist development, migration, and innovations in transportation and communication technology, globalization is a long-term, historical process, but one that has accelerated in recent decades. And as many scholars have described, globalization has had a direct and profound effect on identity and social organization. In one particularly influential account, Arjun Appadurai argues that the intensification of transnational flows of media in the contemporary world has yielded an unprecedented circulation of images and scripts, making available "new resources . . . for the construction of imagined selves and imagined worlds."[3] Musicians are active participants in this process, developing their own styles through engagements with musical elements and genres that circulate transnationally. In fact, as I hope to demonstrate in the chapters that follow, the history of popular music cannot be understood apart from these global cultural flows and the social, political, and economic forces that structure them.

Contrary to naïve predictions, globalization does not imply the emergence of a single, unified world culture. Globalization has always been uneven, in the sense that levels of interconnectedness vary across geographical space. Moreover, multinational corporations have thrived not by obliterating local cultures but by adapting their own products to local regimes of taste and by packaging the heterogeneous cultural products of the world for consumption by diverse audiences. Theorizing this phenomenon, Renato Ortiz has argued that cultural globalization follows a different logic than the processes of economic and technological globalization to which it is linked. While the world is evolving toward a single economic structure and toward the diffu-

sion of a common set of technologies, diversity remains an inherent feature of global culture. Rather than impose homogeneity, "mundialization," as Ortiz prefers to call cultural globalization, disseminates a new "pattern" or "world vision" that coexists with and recasts existing worldviews by introducing new hierarchies and values.[4] Seen in this light, the persistence of diverse cultural expressions or practices does not constitute resistance to globalization. On the contrary, a globalized world implies the existence of diversity, but it is a diversity in which every cultural practice or product is in dialogue with world culture. Invoking the fictional setting of Gabriel García Márquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, Néstor García Canclini argues that "there are many more options in our future than choosing between McDonald's and Macondo."[5] In fact, essentialist localisms like García Márquez's magic realism are themselves strategic; they can only be understood as engagements with world modernity, ways of locating oneself in the global.

Within the realm of popular music, engagement with the global is hardly new. For centuries, musical styles and elements have followed the movements of people, producing a long history of transnational hybridization. As Ignacio Corona and Alejandro Madrid put it, "Music is the perennial undocumented immigrant; it has always moved beyond borders without the required paperwork."[6] Or to cite Ned Sublette's more colorful metaphor, "Musicians lost their virginity a long time ago, so reports of immaculate conception are to be viewed with suspicion."[7] In the Americas, in particular, musical purity is nowhere to be found; popular music has long reflected the intersection of indigenous, African, and European cultures.[8] The invention of the phonograph and the advent of mass culture more generally accelerated the transnational flows of music and the promiscuous mixing that resulted. In the form of commodities, music circulated rapidly across long distances, exposing audiences on an everyday basis to music produced far away.

Yet not all music has crossed all borders all the time. On the contrary, the globalization of popular music has been organized by deeply hierarchical, commercial, and ideological structures that facilitated certain musical flows while preventing others. Musicians occupy specific locations within global cultural and economic structures as determined by their class, race, gender, and nationality. They do not enjoy equal access to all genres or to the means of musical production and dissemination. Globalization, in other words, has a politics; inequalities of power and prestige have shaped the transnational flows of music in historically specific ways.

Three decades after Emile Berliner's invention of the gramophone in 1888, a wave of corporate mergers began to give the global music industry its mod-

ern shape. The result was, in David Suisman's words, "a truly international political economy of culture—with a heavy American accent."[9] By the 1930s, a handful of multinational corporations—especially RCA Victor, EMI, and CBS—dominated the recording industry and enjoyed substantial ties to both broadcast radio and film production. New technology had democratized access to music as commodity, but corporate consolidation put production decisions in the hands of a very few. Moreover, this industry was already global in its reach. Almost from the beginning, North American and European companies pursued international expansion, and they quickly established vibrant markets in Latin America, as well as in Asia and throughout Europe. In addition to selling their domestic catalogues in these foreign markets, record companies also realized that foreign musical traditions and tastes created other opportunities. As early as the 1910s, the major companies produced thousands of recordings in foreign countries for sale in those markets as well as among immigrant groups in the United States. In this way, the early globalization of the record industry promoted the recording and dissemination of vast amounts of music from around the world. And even though ultimate control of the process lay in the hands of North American and European executives, decisions about what music to record were often left to the locals. Aware of their own ignorance of foreign tastes, the record companies tended to defer to local intermediaries.[10]

Nevertheless, the hegemony of European and, especially, North American companies over the globalization of popular music had substantial effects. These companies conceived of the music they recorded abroad as "local," defined implicitly in contrast to North American popular music, of ostensibly universal value and appeal.[11] This vision of the world shaped the globalization that ensued. In each country, the record companies offered chiefly two product categories: North American music and local music. The May 1942 Argentine catalogue of Odeon and Columbia Records—both, at this point, owned by EMI—was typical: alongside numerous local tango and folk bands, there was a lengthy list of North American dance orchestras, jazz bands, and crooners. Only a tiny handful of records—one each by folk bands from neighboring Paraguay and Bolivia, one by a Mexican *bolero* singer, one by a Spanish *flamenco* artist, and one by Brazilian Hollywood star Carmen Miranda—represented the whole rest of the world.[12] This market logic meant that though music flowed transnationally, it did so only via certain established channels. Moreover, the vast technical and economic advantages of the U.S. recording and film industries combined to elevate North American popular music to a position of unrivaled prominence and prestige. As a result, even when they played local genres, musicians throughout the world emulated the sonic characteristics of

North American music. They fashioned "alternative modernisms" that reconciled local music with the up-to-date styles of instrumentation and rhythm they learned from North American records.[13] Traveling North American musicians certainly borrowed from the music they heard abroad, and a series of fads exposed North American fans to "exotic," international sounds, but the musical sharing was deeply uneven and unequal.

Economic expansion and powerful new transportation and communication technologies have been the engines of a pronounced acceleration of globalization in the period since World War II. Although globalization in this more recent phase has continued to reinforce cultural diversity, it has reorganized transnational flows and shifted the dynamics of cultural production, a phenomenon that is visible within the realm of popular music. As in the earlier period, the more recent intensification of globalization has been accompanied by corporate consolidation. Although many local record companies were founded in the intervening decades, by the 1990s, the Latin American music markets were again dominated by a small handful of multinational corporations; in the late 1990s, the six so-called majors—BMG, EMI, PolyGram, Sony, Warner, and Universal—accounted for between 80 and 90 percent of the music sales in the region. Yet this domination did not lead to the decimation of Latin American musical styles. On the contrary, the majors thrived in the region mainly by providing consumers with Latin American repertoire. Although much of this business reflected "domestic" sales—Argentine consumers, for example, buying albums recorded by Argentine artists—a substantial proportion was "regional."[14] Unlike in the early decades of the music industry, Latin Americans were now consuming a great deal of music from other Latin American countries. Differences were even more striking on the level of production. Beginning in the 1980s, the most commercially successful Latin American popular music was produced not in Latin America at all but in New York, Los Angeles, and especially Miami. Particularly successful was a new form of Latin pop created in Miami and marketed to consumers throughout Latin America as well as to Latinos in the United States. García Canclini has described the Latin music produced in Miami as "glocal," because unlike earlier forms of pop music, "it puts Anglo and Latino repertoires into interaction."[15] And yet, as García Canclini notes, this hybridization remains unequal: only a few artists are selected by the multinationals for distribution to North American and European audiences.

These shifting structures shaped the transnational terrain on which popular musicians traveled. They created aesthetic and commercial opportunities, but

they also put limits on what sorts of musical expressions were viable, and they informed how those expressions would be understood by different audiences. Up to a certain point, the specific form that globalization took was the result of the economic interests and ideological dispositions of the (mainly) men who ran the major multinational corporations. However, commercial, popular music was not produced in boardrooms but in recording studios and on concert stages. In pursuit of new audiences and opportunities and in their desire to engage with musicians and genres from other countries, musicians traveled both literally and figuratively across national borders. Through their creative agency, these musicians in transit redirected transnational flows in ways that those in the boardrooms never anticipated.

Argentina in the Global Music Industry

Argentina's distinctive position in global cultural circuits makes it an illuminating vantage point from which to examine the history of music globalization. Argentines have been fully incorporated into these circuits both as consumers and producers since the beginning of the mass cultural era. Over the course of the twentieth century, Argentine musicians performed exotic spectacles for consumption by Europeans and North Americans, and they also led the way in the production of music for the Latin American market. These two forms of musical production, enabled and disseminated by the same global music industry, intersected in complex ways. The efforts of Argentine musicians to navigate the global music industry yielded aesthetic innovations and novel personas. As this book will demonstrate, these innovations had unpredictable and transformative effects on identity formation both throughout Latin America and within Argentina.

The record industry arrived in Argentina within a few years of its founding in the United States and Europe. Attracted by the growing population of upwardly mobile consumers in Buenos Aires and other cities, four companies—Victor, Columbia, Brunswick, and Odeon—overwhelmed the local competition and dominated the market by 1920. These companies sold their extensive catalogues of jazz records and focused their local production efforts on the tango, a popular dance genre. They capitalized on the power of the new medium of broadcast radio to promote their products, and tango and jazz soon dominated the air waves and dance floors of Buenos Aires. Meanwhile, Argentine tango also circulated internationally. Thanks to the ability of traveling Argentine performers to appeal to the taste for the exotic, a tango dance craze

erupted in Paris, London, and New York in 1913 and 1914. In 1921, the Hollywood film *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (dir. Rex Ingram) featured a famous tango executed by Rudolph Valentino and thereby ignited another brief boom. But although the tango did maintain a presence in the United States and Europe through dance band repertoires and stereotyped performances, the extensive recording of the tango in Buenos Aires was aimed primarily at Argentine audiences, for whom the genre represented an authentic, local style that was every bit as modern as jazz.[16]

Argentine tango musicians were also among the first Latin American performers to build a significant audience throughout the whole region. Of course, even before the rise of sound recording, Latin American popular music and dance had been shaped by a history of transnational exchange: the tango itself first emerged as a local adaptation of the Cuban rhythm known as the *habanera*.[17] But the advent of mass culture created the possibility of constructing a unified, Latin American market for popular music. The first significant effort in this direction actually came by way of the film industry and involved the promotion of Argentine singer Carlos Gardel, tango's biggest star. Following the invention of sound film in the late 1920s, the Hollywood studios sought to maintain their commercial advantage in Latin America by producing films in Spanish. Between 1931 and his early death in 1935, Gardel starred in seven full-length movies for Paramount. Filmed first at Paramount's studio in Joinville, France, and later in New York, these movies packaged Gardel, in Nicolas Poppe's words, "to appeal to a transnational Hispanic identity."[18] This effort, in turn, exerted a significant influence on Gardel's music, primarily through the work of screenwriter Alfredo Le Pera, who became the singer's main lyricist. Avoiding the use of the Buenos Aires slang known as *lunfardo*, Le Pera produced tango stories that were not rooted in local cultural geography and thus had more universal appeal. Although Hollywood soon abandoned the Spanish-language film market, Gardel's films had a profound effect on the nascent Argentine film industry. Over the next few years, local studios produced dozens of tango films and quickly gained a dominant position within the Latin American market for Spanish-language film. Gardel and his Argentine successors, most notably tango singer and actress Libertad Lamarque, became major stars throughout Latin America and helped make the tango popular throughout the region.[19]

Argentina's centrality in Latin American mass culture waxed and waned over the course of the century. Argentine neutrality during World War II led the United States to restrict the amount of raw film stock the country could import. Local film production plummeted, and the country ceded its dominance

in the Spanish-language film market to U.S. ally Mexico.[20] It would be several decades before an Argentine musician would achieve commercial success in Latin America on a level approaching that of Gardel. During the 1950s, Argentines continued to consume North American music in massive quantities, and they listened to genres from elsewhere in Latin America, including *bolero*, *mambo*, and *baião*. Meanwhile, Argentine popular music—tango and, increasingly, folk music—sold primarily in the domestic market. Yet while the domestic film industry never regained its regional dominance, Argentine musicians would once again manage to find significant Latin American audiences in the 1960s and early 1970s and, again, in the 1980s and 1990s. Part of the work of this book is to make sense of the aesthetic maneuvers and ideological transactions that enabled those commercial triumphs.

This book will demonstrate that the efforts of Argentine musicians to connect with foreign audiences profoundly influenced the construction of national identities at home. In this sense, it builds on other studies that have explored the way foreign encounters have informed and transformed nationalist movements. For example, Sugata Bose has demonstrated that modern Indian nationalism was partly forged by Indians living outside their homeland. Facing discrimination and exploitation, migrant communities in South Africa and Southeast Asia elaborated an anticolonial politics that united Indians across linguistic and religious divisions. In this case, as Bose concludes, "globalism and nationalism were not antithetical."[21] Similarly, Argentine nationalism was also produced transnationally. As Argentine musicians traveled within the global networks of mass culture, they transformed their music and their modes of self-presentation in order to take advantage of the specific opportunities that were available. In Europe, the United States, and other parts of Latin America, they encountered ideas about race and about "Latin" culture that did not match those that circulated at home. As they navigated the gap between these expectations and their own established identities, they drew on the wide range of musical resources that global mass culture made available. The results of this process included new, hybrid musical styles and genres but also new ways of performing Argentineness. As a result, these transnational encounters made new forms of national identity available to Argentine musicians and fans at home.

At stake in the engagements of Argentine musicians with foreign music and audiences was the question of how Argentina fit into global hierarchies: was it a cosmopolitan nation built on European roots, or did its history and culture mean that it had more in common with the rest of Latin America? This question lay at the heart of the country's historically polarized debates over national identity. In the nineteenth century, elite Liberals sought to strengthen the

country's connection to Europe by encouraging immigration and limiting the influence of the local population. The massive waves of immigration that arrived from southern Europe between 1880 and 1930 provoked a backlash, but even as intellectuals celebrated *criollo*, or native, culture, they often stressed its Spanish roots. Unlike other Latin American countries, Argentina never developed an official or widespread discourse of *mestizaje*. Rather than celebrate the racial mixing that produced the local population, Argentine intellectuals tended to emphasize the country's whiteness, a vision that rendered both Afro-Argentines and indigenous groups nearly invisible. In the mid-1940s, Juan Perón transformed Argentina by building a populist movement that appealed directly to the working class. Although deeply nationalist and, in many ways, anticosmopolitan, Peronism stopped short of questioning the idea of Argentina as essentially European and white.[22] Nevertheless, Perón's elite and middle-class opponents, who were scandalized by the way the movement empowered their social inferiors, reacted by labeling Peronists "cabecitas negras," or little blackheads. Using a racial insult to mark a class difference, the term identified Peronists with the internal migrants who flooded into Buenos Aires in search of jobs in the growing industrial sector.[23] In this way, anti-Peronists implied that white, European Buenos Aires represented the real Argentina in opposition to the uncivilized masses of the interior. By emphasizing the nation's European roots, this anti-Peronist discourse, which in turn became constitutive of Argentine middle-class identity, distanced the nation from mestizo Latin America.[24]

Throughout the postwar period, Argentina's relationship to the world remained a site of contestation, and Argentina's musicians in transit pushed the conversation in new directions. Their engagement with European ideas about race and modernity and with North American stereotypes of "Latin" identity made available new ways of conceiving this relationship. After the fall of Perón in 1955, middle-class anti-Peronists deliberately crafted a new, cosmopolitan form of Argentine national identity, and music played a significant role in that effort. Later, Argentine musicians responded to the advent of rock and roll, the emergence of the youth market, the rise of revolutionary movements, and the deepening of globalization by developing new genres that interpellated their audiences as Latin. Although musically these genres bore few similarities to each other, they each encouraged fans to embrace specific forms of identification that challenged the historic idea of Argentina as more European than Latin American. By navigating the unequal, often exploitative structures of the global music business, Argentine musicians produced not just new music, but also new ways of conceptualizing their nation's place in the world.

Doing Transnational Music History: The Career Narrative

Many of the issues raised by transnational music history are iterations of larger theoretical questions about music and identity, questions that have generated a massive sociological and musicological literature. Although this scholarship is too vast to tackle here, suffice it to say that I am sympathetic to accounts that stress that music does not reflect preconstituted identities from which local consumers choose. Rather, identities are produced, maintained, and at times transformed through the dissemination and consumption of musical products.[25] For this reason, as Joshua Tucker has argued, studies of popular music need to analyze more than just the musical texts themselves. In particular, he argues for the need to pay close attention to the role of mediators, such as record producers and radio station managers, who actively construct the meanings that attach to specific forms of music.[26] But at the same time, it is equally important not to let the pendulum swing too far in the other direction. Although some historians prefer to focus on the social history of music production—labor conditions, legal structures, economic arrangements and outcomes—I would argue that popular music history ought not to avoid analysis of the music. Even though specific meanings are not intrinsic to particular musical forms or elements, once such meanings have been forged, they are embedded in musical elements that listeners can hear. If we ignore those elements, we cannot hope to make sense of the process of identity formation through music.

In this book, I approach the transnational history of Argentine popular music by constructing career narratives for seven influential musicians. These career narratives are not quite biographies. I do not dwell on questions of personality or psychology, I generally avoid the musicians' childhoods as well as their romantic and family lives, and I do not share the biographer's pretense of completeness; since each of these musicians was prolific, my accounts are necessarily selective and partial. Yet like biographies, these chapters move chronologically, tracing the arc of each musician's career. Unlike some musicological studies that analyze an entire oeuvre synchronically, this approach highlights the ways each musician's work changed over time. But the approach historicizes the music in other ways as well. The focus on careers puts the musicians' interactions with record companies and audiences front and center. In this sense, I heed Tucker's suggestion about the importance of mediators: these chapters highlight the ways producers, managers, songwriters, record company executives, music critics, and others helped construct the meanings that attached to music. As a result of the extensive music globalization of the postwar period, the careers I examine had pronounced transnational aspects: all of

these musicians traveled internationally, they all pursued foreign audiences, and they all drew on the transnational flows of popular music as they developed their own styles. My approach, then, treats the musicians themselves as key mediators between cosmopolitan musical forms and domestic audiences.

In the career narratives that follow, music emerges as a privileged site for studying the complex interplay between structure and agency in a globalized world: the ideological and economic structures that comprise the transnational field of popular music impose constraints on musicians' creativity, yet by pursuing the opportunities that are available, musicians often transform those structures in unpredictable ways.[27] I approach this process with the understanding that the realms of art and commerce cannot be easily separated. The innovations of popular musicians are simultaneously aesthetic and commercial, involving decisions about rhythm, melody, instrumentation, and arrangement, but also about contracts, marketing, and image. And even aesthetic choices are never purely aesthetic; in commercial popular music as in other arenas, tastes are shaped by social and cultural contexts. Like anyone else trying to sell a product within a capitalist system, musicians need to respond to the market. I therefore conceive of popular musicians as opportunistic, in the sense that they actively respond to the opportunities that the music business makes available. Recognizing the strategic aspects of a musician's practice does not in any way diminish his or her artistic achievement. In any case, my analyses are those of a historian, not a music critic; I aim to understand how music circulates, how its meanings are constructed, and how it makes possible new identities, not to pass judgment on its aesthetic value.

The first three chapters of this book explore the various ways in which peripatetic Argentine musicians engaged with jazz, whose associations with North American modernity enabled them to contribute to new versions of national identity, even as they sometimes reproduced existing racial and ethnic stereotypes. Chapter 1 focuses on Afro-Argentine swing guitarist Oscar Alemán, who leveraged his phenotypical blackness as well as his musical talent in order to build a career that took him from Brazil to Buenos Aires to Paris and back to the Argentine capital. Alemán's commercial success in Argentina during the 1940s and 1950s problematizes simplistic accounts of Argentine racism, yet his association with a specific version of black jazz eventually limited his appeal. In chapter 2, I compare the trajectories of Lalo Schifrin and Gato Barbieri, two jazz musicians who left Argentina for Europe before settling permanently in the United States. Arriving abroad in the 1950s and early 1960s respectively, both musicians were labeled "Latin," an ethnic category and a musical descriptor that meant nothing to them before they left home. Schifrin and Barbieri

responded to this challenge in different ways, but both achieved commercial and artistic successes, even as they embodied and reinforced many North American ideas about Latin identity. Chapter 3 traces the career of Astor Piazzolla, the legendary composer, musician, and bandleader whose travels in Paris and New York led to his invention of the New Tango in the early 1960s. For Piazzolla, North American cool jazz served as a model for transforming an old-fashioned dance music into a sophisticated and up-to-date genre that expressed a cosmopolitan nationalism perfectly suited to Argentina's anti-Peronist middle class. Although the New Tango garnered limited interest in the United States during the 1960s, two decades later, it proved attractive to the emerging audience for "world music."

The final three chapters chart the transformation of Argentine popular music in the context of the dramatic and sustained expansion of the global record business that began in the late 1950s. New marketing strategies pursued by the multinational recording companies created new opportunities for Argentine musicians to collaborate with and borrow from their counterparts in other Latin American countries as well as to capture audiences from throughout the region. In chapter 4, I examine the trajectory of Sandro, who began his professional career as a rock and roll singer before helping invent a new genre known as *balada*. Sandro's music, built from an eclectic, transnational mix of musical sources, became an aesthetic preference that marked consumers from throughout the Americas as Latin. Mercedes Sosa, the subject of chapter 5, achieved something similar by way of a politicized style of folk music that disseminated a revolutionary Latin Americanism. In the early 1960s, Sosa appealed to a small audience of connoisseurs who appreciated her highbrow poetry and sophisticated music. She became a domestic and international star by reinventing herself as the embodiment of an abstract, essentialist indigeneity. This persona, crafted in dialogue with European and North American images and ideas, enabled Sosa to combine Piazzolla's cosmopolitan nationalism with Sandro's mass, Latin American appeal. The final chapter explores the advent of the innovative genre of *rock latino* in the 1990s by examining the career of its most influential producer, Gustavo Santaolalla. In the 1970s, Santaolalla crafted a hybrid form of rock music by incorporating elements from Argentine folk music. After relocating to Los Angeles in 1978, he remained interested in combining rock with local musical styles, but his experience in the United States transformed his understanding of what that could mean, encouraging him to move beyond folkloric conceptions of identity. Santaolalla served as a key mediator between the multinational record companies' quest for a Latin product and Latin American fans' desire for an authentic rock music of their own.

The career narrative approach has necessitated difficult choices, since I could not hope to include every major figure in Argentine popular music. Experts will no doubt quibble with my selections. Some artists who make brief appearances here—Carlos Gardel, Atahualpa Yupanqui, Charly García, María Elena Walsh, Luis Alberto Spinetta, Fito Páez—and many who are absent—Enrique Villegas, Valeria Lynch, Andrés Calamaro, Gustavo Cerati—might easily have merited their own chapters. Nevertheless, each of the musicians I have chosen had an extensive international career, and each attained an important level of influence either in Argentina or abroad. Most important, as I will argue, the seven musicians in this book all emerged as key mediators between Argentina and global, musical culture. My effort to cover the most popular genres—tango, jazz, balada, folk, and rock—means that my selection reproduces certain imbalances in Argentine musical culture: regional musics such as *chamamé* and *cuarteto* are underrepresented here as are, more problematically, women. The male domination of genres like rock and jazz is an important topic for historical analysis, but it is beyond the scope of this book.

Obviously, music was not the only medium through which Argentines connected to global culture or the global economy, nor was music the only engine of identity formation in the postwar period. Nevertheless, as I hope this book will demonstrate, the journeys of Argentina's musicians in transit had powerful effects. The globalization of music enabled Argentines to engage with transnational discourses of race and modernity. The music that resulted from these encounters contributed to the elaboration of new ideologies and identities that shaped Argentine history, including middle-class cosmopolitan nationalism and revolutionary third worldism. Over the course of the postwar period, musicians increasingly encouraged their fans to reimagine Argentina as a Latin American nation. The commonsensical mental geography that lay behind Fito Páez's reference to Violeta Parra—the idea that Latin American music constitutes a meaningful category and that it belongs, in some sense, to all Latin Americans—was a product of musical journeys made possible by the globalized music business. That mental geography, in turn, had significant consequences. By the end of the twentieth century, popular music had enabled new versions of Argentine identity and even new social movements.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 *El País* (July 10, 1994), http://elpais.com/diario/1994/07/10/cultura/773791206_850215.html. All translations in this book are mine, unless otherwise noted.
2 Sosa's relationship with Parra and other Latin American folk singers is discussed in chapter 5.
3 Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, 3.
4 Ortiz, "Mundialization/Globalization," 401–3. The fuller statement of Ortiz's conception is in Ortiz, *Mundialización y cultura*. For a similar perspective, see Erlmann, "The Aesthetics of the Global Imagination."
5 García Canclini, *Imagined Globalization*, 28.
6 Corona and Madrid, "Introduction," 5.
7 Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music*, xiii.
8 For an account of this cultural exchange focused on Latin American dance history, see Chasteen, *National Rhythms, African Roots*.
9 Suisman, *Selling Sounds*, 269.
10 Miller, *Segregating Sound*, 170–74. On the role of local intermediaries, see, for example, McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil*, 137–45.
11 Miller, *Segregating Sound*, 167–80.
12 *Desfile Musical Odeón Columbia* 9:91 (May 1942).
13 Karush, *Culture of Class*, 48–59.
14 Yúdice, "La industria de la música en la integración América Latina-Estados Unidos"; Ochoa Gauthier and Yúdice, "The Latin American Music Industry in an Era of Crisis."
15 García Canclini, *Imagined Globalization*, 133. On Miami pop, see also Party, "The Miamization of Latin American Pop Music"; Cepeda, *Musical ImagiNation*, 35–60.
16 On the circulation of tango in the United States, see Matallana, *El tango entre dos Américas*. On tango exoticism in Paris and New York, see Savigliano, *Tango and the Political Economy of Passion*.
17 Chasteen, *National Rhythms, African Roots*, 135–37.
18 Poppe, "Made in Joinville," 491–92.

19 Karush, *Culture of Class*, 137, 110–12.
20 Falicov, "Hollywood's Rogue Neighbor," 245–60.
21 Bose, *A Hundred Horizons*, 148–92. The quote is from 151.
22 Elena, "Argentina in Black and White."
23 Milanesio, "Peronists and *Cabecitas*."
24 Garguin, "'Los argentinos descendemos de los barcos.'"
25 See, for example, Frith, "Music and Identity." For an excellent summary of the scholarship on music and identity as well as a provocative proposal for resolving some of its most vexing challenges, see Vila, "Narrative Identities and Popular Music."
26 Tucker, "Mediating Sentiment and Shaping Publics."
27 The most useful statement of the relationship between structure and agency for historians is Sewell, *Logics of History*, 124–51.

1. BLACK IN BUENOS AIRES

1 Andrews, *Afro-Argentines*, esp. 77–92.
2 Thompson, "Argentina," 80.
3 See Quijada, Bernard, and Schneider, *Homogeneidad y nación*.
4 Frigerio, "'Negros' y 'Blancos,'" 88–93.
5 Information on Alemán's early years comes from several interviews that he granted after he was rediscovered by the Argentine media in the early 1970s. See "Oscar Alemán," in Ardiles Gray, *Historias de artistas*, 287–92; Sopeña, "Oscar Alemán." Other useful sources are Pujol, *Jazz al sur*, 91–101; and the documentary film by Hernán Gaffet, *Oscar Alemán: Vida con swing* (2002). Unfortuntately, Sergio Pujol's exhaustive biography of the guitarist was published after I had already completed this chapter. See Pujol, *Oscar Alemán*.
6 Prieto, *El discurso criollista*.
7 On the role of Afro-Argentines in criollismo, see Solomianski, *Identidades secretas*; Castro, *Afro-Argentine*; Chasteen, *National Rhythms, African Roots*, 51–70.
8 On Bueno Lobo, see Mello, "Gastão Bueno Lobo."
9 The Les Loups records appeared in Victor's local advertisements. See Caras *y Caretas* (March 3, 1928); (April 7, 1928); (November 10, 1928); (January 19, 1929); and (April 6, 1929).
10 *La Canción Moderna* 1:6 (April 30, 1928).
11 Garrett, *Struggling to Define a Nation*, 165–202.
12 For a good selection of Hawaiian steel guitar across a range of musical genres in the late 1920s and early 1930s, see the CD, *Slidin' on the Frets*.
13 For this and all recording information in this chapter, I am entirely dependent on the online Oscar Alemán discography meticulously assembled by Hans Koert: http://people.zeelandnet.nl/koerthchkz/tuneo.htm. This discography was maintained by the Dutch collector Hans Koert until his death in 2014. It has now been updated by Argentine collector Andrés Liber: http://hotclubdeboedo.blogspot.dk/p/blog-page.html.
14 Koert, "Les Loups, 'Criollita.'" http://oscar-aleman.blogspot.com/2011/09/les-loups-criollita.html. "La criollita" is the only Les Loups song on which Lobo plays the cavaquinho instead of the Hawaiian guitar.