

learnt from historical experiences, but it was the powerholders rather than the challengers who did most of the short-term learning, and they naturally turned to the tools most familiar to them. Is it true that slower diffusion would have produced better outcomes? I doubt whether that option was available on either of the dates mentioned. Weyland's deep theory rests on few cases—my reading of the fall of the Berlin Wall suggests a counter-example.

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FERNÁNDEZ L'HOESTE AND PABLO VILA, (EDS). *Cumbia! Scenes of a Migrant Latin American Music Genre*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013.

This volume of essays explores the phenomenon of cumbia music and its variants as a diasporic cultural form, pushed by migrants and migrations from Colombia to Peru, Mexico, Argentina, Uruguay and the United States. The popularity, diversity, and adaptability of cumbia music as a “non-hegemonic” cultural expression offers an intriguing scenario to scholars of Latin American popular culture—for here is a musical format that has spread widely as part of immigration networks, operating relatively free from the power of corporate labels, especially in its initial ascent.

This study of cumbia contemplates the role that culture plays in modulating regional and local identities in relationship to state power through the circulation of music—both as live performance and in technically-dependent formats. It encompasses an impressive swath of geography. The essays pay attention to inter-country regional complexities that contribute to the many variegations of this musical genre. Though never explicitly, the essays revisit territory introduced by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer about the relationship between the state and art in the age of the “culture industry.” The argument from their well-known essay, “The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception” (1944) is that under a capitalist economy, culture could not spontaneously arise from below but would rather be dependent on the interests of power and money. Can music and other forms of technologically dependent cultural expression remain free from state cooptation? While these essays argue that cumbia is not divorced from the vested interests of radio play, record companies, the Latin Grammy awards, and other more hegemonic forms of cultural producers, they generally paint a picture of a musical genre that has flowed on its own terms, through a grassroots parlay of bootleg tapes, transnational deejays, and innovative public

spaces, like social dances. In particular, Cathy Ragland's essay, "Communicating the Collective Imagination: The Sociospatial World of the Mexican Sonidero in Puebla, New York, and New Jersey," locates deejays and sound systems in dance halls as essential transnational spaces that serve to organize, transmit, and buttress cumbia's popularity outside of the studio system.

Cumbia's success, the essayists agree, was propelled from below. Does the success of cumbia promote the inclusion of the voices of the working class, marginalized poor, ethnic "others" into the larger state projects? Or does the music simply become co-opted by commercial and state powers to propel their own political agendas? The essays included here do not share one conclusion, but most point to cumbia's limited impact--thus far--at the level of state recognition of marginalized voices. Leonardo D'Amico provides a nuanced overview of the transformation of cumbia in Colombia. For him, the music becomes whitened and de-ethnicized as it becomes modernized and commercialized to "gain the acceptance of the Andean white and mestizo middle, class" (p. 45). Joshua Tucker's chapter stands out in its complex analysis of what a working class identity means in Peru by exploring changes in scholarship over time on and about the Peruvian variant of cumbia known as *chicha*. He expertly details the ways in which musicians like Chacalón and los Shapís del Peru include a dialogue about poverty and marginality in the public sphere. Although urging caution on the part of scholars to conclude too much from this quickly changing popular cultural format, Tucker argues that the current boom of cumbia music in Peru emerging in a context of "greater openness and popular will" (p. 165) might engage a deeper conversation about social class and ethnicity at the state level.

Despite cumbia's potential to explore these larger questions of culture and state, the bulk of the essays are more clearly directed towards the fields of musicology and ethno-musicology. Authors pay homage to Peter Wade's *Music, Race and Nation: Música Tropical in Colombia* (2000), in particular. However natural it might be to focus on historiography emerging from Colombia, the birthplace of cumbia music, the essays unfortunately neglect the rich scholarship on other musical genres, and as a result limit the book's appeal to a broader academic audience. Blues, hip-hop, tango, cumbia are all musical forms shaped by migrations, male-dominated lyrics and performers. They simultaneously accommodate challenges to dominant gender forms and norms. While a couple of essays mention connections to tango music, probably the most well known Latin American genre arising from diasporic connections, the essays do not draw from scholarship on these or other musical genres.

Gender is often mentioned but only one essay, co-written by Pablo Seman and Pablo Vila, addresses the complex layers of gender identities and lyrics. It does so by locating cumbia villera's male-written, male-delivered, explicitly sexual

lyrics within a larger discussion of language and sexuality in the villas miserías of Buenos Aires. The authors argue that cumbia lyrics are part of a larger shared vocabulary about sexuality and power that circulates among the people who live in the villas. They provide limited evidence linking the audience of cumbia villera to a specific consumption of newspaper and magazines. I would have preferred to know more about the three women, Gilda, Gladys, and Lía Crucet (p. 196), who stand out as progenitors of cumbia music in the 1990s or about more contemporary female performers, such as Miss Bolivia (a pseudonym for the artist Paz Ferreyra), or Agapornis, who have blended cumbia with pop music to add female voices to the male dominant genre. Cumbia seems a potentially rich area for understanding nuances of gender and working class identities and Semán and Vila's essay offers a first step towards a deeper exploration of this theme.

The audience for this edited volume would be exponentially broader if it could be accompanied by a cd or an external playlist. There is a limited attempt at a discography and certainly copyright law poses obstacles to including music. Still the inclusion of an appendix of essential "listenings" would have facilitated an excursion into cumbia for non-specialists. Engaged readers are likely to innovate in accordance with the genre of cumbia itself and find most of the music on you-tube.

Despite this criticism, the volume of essays offers an exciting foray into cumbia music and popular culture within transnational spaces. The regional variations and consistent appeal of cumbia music across space, region, and time underscores the hybridity of Latin American culture and the ability of the popular classes to innovate, create, and perform at the margins of the state.

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KRISTINA WIRTZ: *Performing Afro-Cuba: Image, Voice, Spectacle in the Making of Race and History*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2014.

In this book Kristina Wirtz examines the use of Afro-Cuban imagery, dance, music, and language which animates Cuba's colonial past and its African heritage. By doing so, she "not only reflects but shapes the Cuban experience of Blackness" (back cover).

The term "Blackness" needs explanation, and Wirtz defines its use in the context of "a configuration of signs that can mark physical bodies, social persons whether as individuals or groups, material artifacts, social locations, dispositions