From Transplant to Transnational Circuit
Merengue in New York

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A car speeds down a Manhattan street, blasting flashy Latino saxophone riffs and pulsating drums. *Merengue,* the national music of the Dominican Republic, has become an integral part of New York City's contemporary soundscape. Surveying the social history of merengue, this essay contrasts the music's modest presence in New York in the 1950s with its current high-profile state.[1]

Traditional notions of migration invoke visions of displaced individuals forging new lives in alien environments. Lifeways of the home society are maintained, but they are out of place in the new setting (Basch et al. 1994, 3-4). Reyes-Schramm's and Qureshi's early studies of immigrant music cultures apply this perspective to ethnomusicology, regarding immigrant expressions as "transplants" of musical traditions from home societies (Reyes-Schramm 1989; Qureshi 1972, 38). The transplant model is useful when home and host societies are isolated from one another.[2] While such conditions might have been prevalent in the past, transnational capitalism and the information revolution mandate new approaches. Remittances, high rates of return migration, and telephone links fashion inextricable networks between host and home societies, which coalesce into what Rouse calls "single communit[ies] spread across a variety of sites," or "transnational migrant circuit[s]" (1991, 15; also see Basch et al. 1994; Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Marcus 1986). Merengue in New York began as a transplant and became a transnational circuit.

Dominican Merengue

The terms *merengue* (Spanish) and *mereng* (Haitian Creole) refer to related but stylistically distinct dance musics performed in several Caribbean countries, including the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Venezuela, and Colombia. Progeny of such European forms as the *contradanza*, Dominican merengue emerged during the mid-nineteenth century as elite, European-derived dance music became tinged with Afro-Caribbean elements. After a period of popularity in Dominican ballrooms, merengue was rejected by cosmopolitan upper-class Dominicans because of its African influences and suggestive dance style. The rural Dominican masses, however, adopted merengue, infusing it with even more African elements and performing it on instruments local to the various regions of the Republic. This practice gave rise to several stylistically distinct regional and rural variants of Dominican merengue.

Early twentieth-century *merengue típico cibaeño*, or rural merengue of the Cibao (north-central) region, was performed on the button accordion, the *tambora* drum (played with a stick in the right hand and the palm of the left hand), the metallic *güira* scraper, and sometimes, the alto saxophone. It was dance music played primarily at recreational dances, cock fights, and brothels. Accordionist/singer/composers Francisco "Ñico" Lora and Antonio "Toño" Abreu were the architects of twentieth-century merengue típico cibaeño, which served as the basis for subsequent nationally and internationally diffused merengue styles. To counteract United States hegemony during the 1916-24 occupation of the Dominican Republic, Cibao composers of European-style concert music such as Juan Francisco "Pancho" García and Julio Alberto Hernández drew upon rural merengue as raw material for a nationalist music. In a parallel move, such salon musicians as Luis Alberti combined merengue típico cibaeño instruments and rhythms with jazz-tinged North American big-band music.

Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo rose to power in 1930. Like the European Fascists, Trujillo understood that expressive forms can serve as vital symbols for a nation-state. In 1936, he brought Luis Alberti's band, renamed Orquesta Presidente Trujillo, to the Republic's capital city to perform jazz-tinged big-band arrangements of merengue cibaeño at high-society balls. Trujillo required all the country's dance bands to perform newly composed merengues praising himself, and the mass media became an important channel for the diffusion of merengue. A rural, orally-transmitted regional ("folk") music performed primarily by the lower strata of society thus became an urban, mass-mediated commodified ("popular")

form and a national symbol associated with the elite but accessible to all social groups. Other than Luis Alberti, the major exponent of this national merengue style was Super Orquesta San José, directed by Papa Molina and featuring Joseito Mateo (the "King of Merengue") on vocals and Tavito Vásquez on alto saxophone. In addition to championing big-band merengue, Trujillo encouraged the transformation of accordion-based merengue típico cibaeño (which came to be known as *perico ripiao*—ripped parrot) from a regional genre into a national symbol.

Trujillo espoused a Hispanophilic, racist sense of national identity that rejected overtly African-influenced culture. Many Dominican rural musics associated with African-derived religious practices were thus poor candidates for symbols of Trujilloist national identity. None the less, Trujillo considered merengue cibaeño appropriate as a national symbol, in spite of its African influences, because of its historical acceptance by the Cibao upper class and its lack of association with African-derived rituals.

A Transplanted National Music

Trujillo implemented an isolationist foreign policy; international travel and contact with the outside world were closely regulated. Fearing that Dominican musicians would not return, the dictator rarely allowed them to perform outside of the country. Because of this isolationism and a lack of recording opportunities in the Republic, Dominican merengue developed differently abroad than it did at home.

The first Dominican musician to leave was bandleader Billo Frómeta, who emigrated to Venezuela in 1936 (Alberti 1975, 75) and founded a remarkably successful group called Billo's Caracas Boys. Singer Alberto Beltrán moved to New York City in the late 1950s to work with the well-known group La Sonora Matancera. Although he was primarily a *bolero* singer rather than a merengue specialist, Beltrán popularized such merengues as "El Negrito del Batey" and "Compadre Pedro Juan" among New York Latinos. Luis Kalaff worked in Puerto Rico in 1956 and moved to New York City in 1958, performing accordion-based merengue típico cibaeño first at hotel shows and later at nightclubs for dancing (Kalaff 1990). Also in New York, Negrito Chapuseaux and Rafael Damirón formed a group that specialized in an "Americanized" merengue featuring piano and maracas (Roberts 1979, 45), while Josecito Román and Napoleon Zayas formed authentic merengue big bands. Merengue gained popularity among New York City Latinos, and by the late 1950s it had found a permanent, although small, place in the reper-

tories of New York's Latin bands (Roberts 1979, 146; del Castillo and Arévalo 1989, 48).

Piano accordionist Angel Viloria moved to New York City in 1952 and established the single most successful merengue group outside of the Dominican Republic (Kalaff 1990). In spite of its name, Conjunto Típico Cibaeño, Viloria's group did not perform *típico* Cibao-style merengue. While its instrumentation of accordion, saxophone, and percussion was evocative of rural merengue, the Conjunto was modeled primarily on Luis Alberti's cosmopolitan sound. Like Alberti, Viloria utilized the piano accordion rather than the button accordion typical of rural merengue. The piano accordion was not suited to execute the percussive variations of the típico merengue, but its chromatic capabilities lent themselves to Alberti's jazz-influenced style. Viloria's use of the tenor rather than alto saxophone also set his band apart from merengue típico cibaeño. Most merengue groups in the Republic conformed either to the model set by salon bandleaders like Alberti or rural musicians like Ñico Lora. From a stylistic point of view, Viloria's group was notably dissimilar; a transplanted music, merengue was developing differently in New York than in its native environment.[3]

The Dominican community in the United States was small in the 1950s, and Viloria's audiences were predominantly Puerto Rican. As singer Joseito Mateo puts it, "it was the Puerto Ricans who originally brought merengue to popularity in New York, who gave their hand to merengue" (Mateo 1986). Mateo recalls that Puerto Rican men often attended dances to meet women, and that merengue dancing facilitated their quest. Merengue is danced in the ballroom position, and while couples may limit their physical contact to the arms, they may also press their bodies close together, making amorous contact. Mateo feels that this style made merengue appealing to Viloria's Puerto Rican fans in New York:

> El merengue es "música de ventaja," que da chance poder abrazar la mujer sin estar cometiendo nada malo...Para los dominicanos, es diferente:...el merengue es de figuraje, para la gente figuriar, para la gente estar bailando suelto. Pero los puertorriqueños prefieren el merengue lento, para ellos bailar pegaditos (Mateo 1986).

> Merengue is a music with which one can take advantage [of a woman]; it gives you a chance to embrace a woman without doing anything immoral. For Dominicans, it is different:...they dance merengue with figures and turns. But Puerto Ricans

like slow merengue, so that they can dance very close together (author's translation).

Viloria's merengue hit "La Ligadura" ("The Connection") refers simultaneously to the music's legato (connected) saxophone riffs and to the physical connection that men and women make while dancing.

Angel Viloria. Photo courtesy of Ansonia Records.

While the transnationalization of popular culture makes obsolete Turnstall's argument that "the media are American" (1977), Latin-Caribbean music long radiated from the United States. Salsa promoter George Nenadich is on the mark: "everything happens through New York: music, fashion, food;...merengue became popu-

lar in the outside world through New York" (Nenadich 1990). Trujillo held an iron grip on all aspects of the Dominican economy, including the music industry, which stressed live radio performances rather than recording. The paucity of recording opportunities for *merengueros* in the Republic limited the international exposure of music from the island. On the other hand, Angel Viloria's recordings on Ansonia Records were widely disseminated, and his transplanted music became the best-known manifestation of merengue outside of the Dominican Republic.

Viloria was especially popular in Cuba, where merengue became associated with Carnival. This vogue resulted in the development of Eduardo Davidson's *pachanga*, a new Cuban genre that combined merengue-style percussion rhythms with dance steps borrowed from the *guaracha* (Orovio 1991).[4] In Haiti, radio broadcasts and occasional tours of bands from the Dominican Republic generated audiences for Dominican merengue. However, it was Angel Viloria who established merengue in Haiti, as a local recording engineer remembers: "That thing hit like a bomb. The Haitians loved the merengue because it had a lively beat for dancing. They were doing it in every nightclub..." (H. Widmaier in Averill 1989, 104). Merengue became so popular in Haiti that it exerted a formative influence on the development of *konpa*, contemporary Haitian popular music (Averill 1989, 104-105). Moreover, Trujillo's use of merengue as propaganda may have inspired Haitian dictator Duvalier to make similar use of konpa. The cleavage between merengue in New York and at home is underlined by the fact that although Viloria was the top merenguero internationally, he was not especially popular in his native land. Because he was based in New York City, Viloria gained greater international exposure and exerted greater international influence than did merengueros based in the Dominican Republic.

Merengue and the Dominican Diaspora

After Trujillo was slain in 1961, Dominican-based bandleader Johnny Ventura incorporated *salsa* elements and a rock 'n' roll–influenced stage presence into a new, faster merengue.[5] In 1965, the United States again invaded the Dominican Republic. The period following the occupation was characterized by mixed feelings about this powerful neighbor to the north: on the one hand, the United States represented modernization and democracy; on the other hand, it had violated Dominican sovereignty. Ventura's merengue expressed this ambivalence, fusing rock and salsa with traditional merengue, thus providing a native alternative to the encroachment

of transnational popular culture.

In the decades that followed, the Republic and the United States forged stronger links. Dominican President Balaguer's courting of North American capitalism led to foreign domination of all major private sectors of the Dominican economy. For example, from the 1960s through the 1980s the Gulf and Western Corporation invested so heavily in the Republic that some called the country a "company state" (Black 1986, 8-10). Beginning around 1965, changes in United States immigration law, combined with repressive political policies, unemployment, and high inflation in the Dominican Republic caused massive out-migration of Dominicans to New York City and Puerto Rico, Venezuela, and elsewhere. By 1990, close to 900,000 Dominicans were estimated to be living in New York City (Moya Pons 1995, 436). United States dollars earned by Dominican immigrants and sent to the Republic played an increasingly important role in the Dominican economy. Georges estimates that by the mid-1980s, remittances accounted for ten percent of the Dominican GDP gross domestic product almost equaling the earnings of the country's chief export industry, sugar (Georges 1990, 236). During a recession in 1990, a Dominican leftist concluded that the national economy was "kept alive thanks to the remittances sent by Dominicans living abroad" (Isa Conde in Féliz 1990, 13).

Merengue became central to Dominican life in the diaspora, and also found fans among non-Dominicans. In the early 1960s Primitivo Santos became the first Dominican bandleader to settle in the United States in the post-Trujillo era. Santos stayed with a fairly conservative style of merengue all through the 1960s and 1970s, neglecting currents of change. After living and working in New York for over twenty years, Santos moved back to the island in 1985. Interestingly, it was only immediately before his move that he began to utilize contemporary merengue innovations. Although Joseito Mateo never made a permanent move to New York, he worked there steadily from 1963, when he sang with Luis Kalaff at Club Caborojeño. In 1967, Mateo, Alberto Beltrán, and Primitivo Santos brought merengue to Madison Square Garden for the first time; Mateo regards this as a rite of passage symbolizing the arrival of merengue as an international phenomenon (Mateo 1986). A New York-born Dominican, Johnny Pacheco, who had led Latin bands in the City since the early 1960s, introduced merengue to many Latin Americans in the United States. While he specialized in salsa, Pacheco included the merengue "Los Diablitos" on his 1973 LP *Tres de Café y Dos de Azúcar*. Other *salseros* began to record merengue, and by 1976 merengue had reached a level of popularity among New York Latinos that was surpassed only by salsa (Rondón 1980, 29).

The growth of New York's Dominican community spawned merengue groups native to the City. The premier merengue band to come out of New York was Millie, Jocelyn y los Vecinos (Millie, Jocelyn, and the Neighbors). Led by siblings Millie and Jocelyn (lead singers) and Rafael (lead trumpeter, musical director, and arranger) Quezada, they started as amateurs in 1973, playing informally at neighborhood parties. Two years later the group turned professional and recorded its first LP. Millie Quezada remembers that in those early days, Los Vecinos provided "Dominican Yorks" (as Dominican New Yorkers were known on the island) with a link to their mother country:

> The nostalgic effect—that's the reason that Los Vecinos were formed. We really were very nostalgic. We didn't have any of the language or anything. And so, we kind of were trying to keep our roots, and out of that, the group was born. It was really out of a need, not only us, but the people in our neighborhood, to kind of stay in tune with what was happening with our music and with our cultural background in general...That's why we called the group Los Vecinos [The Neighbors] (Quezada 1990).

Dominican author Canelo agrees that merengue in New York's Dominican community is the single most important "physical-cultural" link that ties it to the Dominican Republic (1982, 33). Millie, Jocelyn y los Vecinos began to gain popularity outside of New York City in 1982, with hits in the United States, the Dominican Republic, Colombia, and Panama. They continue to be active, and maintain a high level of popularity.

Aside from Millie, Jocelyn, y los Vecinos, the two most successful merengue bands to emerge in New York referred to their hometown in their names, possibly as a marketing strategy. La Gran Manzana (The Big Apple) was notable for its innovative use of synthesizers and its inclusion of Haitian materials. The other group, called New York Band, performed Latin American romantic *baladas* and Trinidadian *soca*-influenced merengues. It featured four singers, each with his/her own solo vocal style. As creative artists, New York merengue musicians participated in the development of contemporary Dominican music. However, their styles did not differ qualitatively from the styles of groups in the Dominican Republic; like the Dominican economy, merengue had become transnational.

The Transnational Merengue Circuit

During the 1970s, merengue innovators in the Republic took the style farther down the path upon which Johnny Ventura had placed it—the music became a site for the domestication of outside elements. When disco became popular, merengue incorporated disco rhythms and drum machines, and when Latin American romantic baladas became popular, merengue utilized balada-type melodies and arrangements. Konpa, rap, Central African *soukous*, and other internationally-diffused popular musics also influenced merengue. Salsa promoter Nenadich attests that this vibrant new merengue sound became popular internationally during a period when salsa's popularity had ebbed:

> What happened was that around 1978, salsa was going through a total downfall. Sales came to a stop, and it became boring and repetitious. And merengue came in with such flair and such excitement. And the artists were completely different and it revived the generation. Plus, it was something new for the new generation of Latinos that were listening to tropical [Latin Caribbean] music. It was sort of like a light that came into the darkness (Nenadich 1990).

By the mid-1980s, merengue had usurped salsa's position as New York's number-one Latin dance. The *Village Voice* proclaimed that "besieged by merengue...salsa is going through hard times" (Fernández 1986, 18), and *Time* magazine reported that "a new merengue craze heats up the dance scene" taking up "a slackening interest in salsa" (Cocks 1986). Merengue's popularity among non-Dominicans was often credited to its easy-to-learn dance style. After taking a whirl on the dance floor, New York's Mayor Koch said that "[t]his is the one dance that you can do from the moment you're born" (in Cocks 1986). As in the 1950s, the sexual element contributed to merengue's popularity—*Time* magazine noted that "partners can press hips close enough to grind grain" (Cocks 1986).

Promoter Nenadich asserts that New York served as a conduit for merengue's popularity all over Latin America and beyond, pointing out that "during that time period, when salsa was falling, it also fell across the sea. In Spain, it just died. And when merengue came in [to New York], it came in with the same kind of flair in Europe, in Japan, in South America" (Nenadich 1990). Merengue's incorporation of sundry musical styles played an important role in making the music appealing to new audiences. Balada elements likely ap-

pealed to South American audiences, while rap and disco influences attracted New York City Latino youth. Bandleader Juan Luis Guerra proclaims that:

> El merengue está a punto de convertirse a una música que se da oír en todo el mundo, por primera vez por eso: ahora está más fácil a la gente a oírlo, sobre todo a los extranjeros (Guerra 1986).
>
> Merengue is in a position to become a music heard throughout the world now, because now it is easier for people to listen to it, especially for foreigners (author's translation).

Merengue's international popularity grew in spite of, rather than through the efforts of, the established New York City Latin music industry. This industry failed to actively promote merengue, partly because it felt that the Dominican Republic is not a lucrative market (Nenadich 1990), but also because the Puerto Ricans, Cuban-Americans, and Italian-Americans who dominated the music business did not have a nationalist interest in promoting Dominican music. Some have charged that the New York's Latin music industry actually worked against Dominican music. For example, Dominican deejay Willie Rodríguez claimed that the powerful New York Latin music company Fania "boycotted" merengue, not only in New York City and Puerto Rico, but even in the Dominican Republic (Rodríguez 1986, 17). One non-Dominican music promoter in New York City (who wished to remain anonymous) said that "we don't manage any merengue artists; tropical [Latin Caribbean] music is still divided in this sense." Perhaps referring to misunderstandings between New York promoters and merengue musicians, he added that "we used to book merengue, but due to mishaps, we closed it down." To some Dominicans, merengue's international success represented vindication of this situation; Rodríguez said that merengueros are "guerrillas of the music, who go to Puerto Rico and place a bomb in the places that they play" (1986, 21).

Merengue's popularity among non-Dominicans resulted in the founding of merengue bands by non-Dominicans. I played the saxophone with non-Dominican (as well as Dominican) merengue bands in the New York metropolitan area for several years. When performing with a Central American band in the early 1980s, I was struck by the popularity of Dominican music; dancers were sparse when we played Honduran and Salvadorian *cumbias*, but they filled the floor as soon as we began a merengue. During the early 1980s,

Puerto Rican bands in Connecticut specialized in salsa. The bands did not keep pace with recent developments in Dominican music, and the few merengues in their repertories were often "oldies" dating to the 1950s. By the late 1980s, however, most Connecticut Latin bands specialized in merengue, duplicating the latest innovations of Dominican music.

Merengue and Transnational Identities

A German politician, irritated by the independent style of guest-worker communities, once complained that "We called for workers, and we got people" (Grasmuck and Pessar 1991, 208). As Grasmuck and Pessar note, "labor is not comparable to the other commodities that are exchanged on a global scale" (1991, 208). Migrants are part of the transnational economy, but they negotiate circumstances and forge multiple identities according to their own agendas. The transnational merengue style that Johnny Ventura and Wilfrido Vargas created played a significant role in the development of contemporary "Dominicanness" both in the diaspora and on the island. Like the Nigerian musicians that Christopher Waterman has written about, merengueros are culture brokers: "[P]ositioned at important interstices in heterogeneous urban societies, they [culture brokers] forge new styles and communities of taste, negotiating cultural differences through the musical manipulation of symbolic associations (Waterman 1990, 9). The domestication of world musics within the rubric of an avowedly *Dominican* merengue rendered the music's aesthetic space into what Paredes calls a "border-zone," or "sensitized area where...cultures come face to face" (Paredes 1978, 68).

Merengue is a prime marker of ethnic identity for Dominicans in New York City. As one Dominican New Yorker explains, "We're very proud of our merengue. I was dancing merengue since I was two years old. At the same time that I learned to walk, I was learning to dance merengue" (in Echevarría 1991). I once asked a Dominican teenager in New York what kind of music she likes. She answered that she liked "American" music. I pressed, asking her whether she cared for Latin music: salsa and merengue. She answered that salsa was not much to her liking but that "of course I like merengue. I'm Dominican." My impression was that although merengue was not her preferred style, she considered it a patriotic duty to speak well of the national music.

Connections between Dominicans in New York and those in the Dominican Republic are so pervasive as to have strongly influenced Dominican identity, even on the island. In addition to the economic

dependency, a "psychic dependency" between Dominicans in the two places generated mania for emigration (Grasmuck and Pessar 1991, 16); Dominicans came to say that island-dwellers are "*loco para irse*," or "obsessed with the idea of emigrating" (Bray 1987, 64). Grasmuck and Pessar encountered a poignant expression of Dominican transnational identity in a photograph sent by a rural Dominican woman to her husband in New York, who had supported his family through remittance dollars for many years. In order to express the well-being of the family and its debt to the father, the woman dressed her sons in borrowed suits and traveled to the nearest city to have the photo taken in a studio. The family posed in front of a backdrop of the Brooklyn Bridge (Grasmuck and Pessar 1991, 7).

Identifying with both the Dominican Republic and the United States can be disorienting. Former Dominican President Balaguer once called diaspora Dominicans "*los dominicanos ausentes*" ("absent Dominicans"). Millie Quezada claims the physical absence extends to a feeling of being lost between two cultures. "Balaguer has called us absent Dominicans," she explains, "we're kind of in nowhereland. I feel that we, as Dominicans living outside, are *more* Dominican because we kind of miss the homeland" (Quezada 1990). Noting what she considers an identity crisis among New York-born Puerto Ricans, Quezada sees Dominicans facing similar problems:

> Third and fourth generation of Puerto Ricans have lost, are losing, their language, are losing their heritage. They're going through some kind of turmoil about who they really are, they are Americans or they are Puerto Ricans [*sic*]. That's going to happen with the Dominicans (Quezada 1990).

She continues, affirming the role that merengue plays in shaping cultural identities on the cusp of the transnational circuit:

> We're trying to do something to keep what we have, because to lose your identity is kind of, it's kind of rough. Living in the United States is, you don't belong here, and you're not there, so you're kind of in limbo...We make a point of keeping the music and of telling the people who we are. We can survive here. Not just survive, but make something of ourselves, and at the same time, be proud of who we were, where we came from. It's a big deal for us (Quezada 1990).

But Quezada does not consider the music a static repository of "tradition," trusting instead that its use of non-Dominican elements will render it relevant to life in the United States. She extends this hope to non-Dominican Latinos as well as to Dominicans:

> [By incorporating these influences] we are trying to...capture the generations of Hispanics that are kind of being lost to rock, to other kinds of music. We want them to kind of keep looking for their roots. We're hoping that continues, and so we're trying to rescue them. To keep the youth (Quezada 1990).

While merengue does represent pan-Latino identity to some non-Dominicans, my experiences indicate that this is less true in New York City than in Puerto Rico, Connecticut, and the midwestern United States. In New York, ethnic boundaries between Latino groups are tightly drawn, and merengue most often marks Dominican rather than pan-Latino identity. When I was beginning to perform in New York Latin bands, a Puerto Rican friend once said, "Look across the street there, see that building? That's a Dominican building; almost everyone that lives in there is Dominican." Like most English-speaking New Yorkers, I was unable to distinguish the various Hispanic groups. I asked, "How do you know?" He answered, "Well, it's hard to say, exactly; they are just *different* [from us Puerto Ricans]. For one thing, they are always playing those merengue records."

Merengue's high profile on the global stage has bolstered its viability as an enduring national symbol in the Republic as well as among Dominicans in the diaspora. As Quezada puts it:

> I think that [Dominicans] are very proud to know that merengue has escalated into what it is today because, first of all, it makes the country known, because people want to know where is our music coming from, so it's a way of advertising the country. And also, I tend to think that they kind of feel a sense of pride to think that their music has been able to be assimilated by other countries. You know, that's not something that happens quite often (Quezada 1990).

Merengue is part of the fabric of New York. Like the histories of mambo and salsa, the story of merengue in New York tells of an "implosion of the Third World into the first" (Rosaldo 1988, 85, cited in Rouse 1991, 17). As a Finnish-born New Yorker whose life has been deeply touched by performing and researching merengue, I can attest to the force of this implosion.

NOTES

1. This paper draws on materials found in the author's recently published work, *Merengue: Dominican Music and Dominican Identity* (Austerlitz 1997). The author gratefully acknowledges the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, which supported field research in the Dominican Republic in 1990-91 and 1995.

2. Such isolation is rare. Even European immigrants to the United States in the early and middle twentieth century influenced music in their countries of origin. For example, the Finnish immigrant community in the United States played an important role in the development of popular music in Finland. Contrasting Boasian "old ethnicity," which was developed in studies of relatively isolated, homogeneous societies, with border-zone "new ethnicity," developed in studies of contemporary pluralistic societies, Bennett (1973:3-4) argues that their difference may be attributable as much to epistemological shifts in academia as to changes in human behavior. Goldberg notes that border-zone immigrant identities were celebrated already in 1916, when *Atlantic Monthly* writer Randolph Bourne called for United States citizens to "make something out of this trans-national spirit instead of outlawing it" (in Glick Schiller et al 1992:212). However, jet-age travel and the information revolution have caused fundamental changes, to the extent that the current situation is qualitatively different from that faced by earlier migrants.

3. However, Viloria's group was not unique; groups with piano accordion and saxophone frontlines also existed in the Dominican Republic.

4. The Cuban pachanga was different from the pachanga that developed in New York City in the early 1960s. The latter took its name from the Cuban pachanga, but was stylistically related to the *cha-cha-chá* and *charanga* rather than to merengue (see Thompson 1961).

5. Arranger Luis Pérez played an important role in forging these innovations.