Back across the Ocean:

Migration and musical remittances from Latin America and the Caribbean to Africa

Background Note

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ACP Observatory on Migration

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The Observatory was established to facilitate the creation of a network of research institutions and experts on migration research. Activities are starting in 12 pilot countries and will be progressively extended to other interested ACP countries. The 12 pilot countries are: Angola, Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Haiti, Kenya, Lesotho, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, Senegal, Timor-Leste, Trinidad and Tobago, and the United Republic of Tanzania.

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Back across the Ocean: *Migration and musical remittances from Latin America and the Caribbean to Africa*
Over the past years, migration research and policymaking have focused much attention on South-North flows and on certain aspects of the migration and development nexus, such as remittances and ‘brain drain’. Cultural remittances have received little attention in policymaking. Nevertheless, culture is an important channel in the relation between migrants and their home communities and can be perceived as a potential contribution of diasporas to their countries and communities of origin.

The introduction of the concept of ‘diasporas’ in social sciences has had an important effect with regards to the focus attached to cultural expressions and identities in migration. Recent approaches to the concept of diaspora have emphasized the ‘dynamic and fluid character of both diasporas and the volatile transnational contexts in which they emerge and acquire substance’ (Tsagarousianou, 2004: 56). The discussion on diasporas has highlighted the importance of cultural remittances between migrants and their countries of origin.

In the Black Atlantic (1997), Paul Gilroy put into perspective the African diaspora as the paradigm of a new vision of the concept of diaspora, varied and unlocalized (Chivallon, 2002). The focus is increasingly placed on the relations between diasporic communities and their own influence towards their homeland. International organizations, such as the African Union, have strengthened the potential interest of diasporas to contribute to the development of their countries and/or communities (African Union, 2005 and ACP Observatory on Migration, 2011). An unrestricted approach on this issue considers cultural remittances and shared identities as concrete contributions of diasporas to their communities of origin.
Culture and music are privileged *transmission channels of diasporic identities*. In the case of African diasporas, attention has been placed on the essential influence of the African roots in the culture of diasporic spaces such as the Caribbean or the United States. Taking into consideration the theory focused on the complex interrelations between different diasporic spaces, more needs to be known about the influence of African diasporas’ culture into the homeland itself. Music is a field where the concrete influence of diasporas in the culture of countries of origin can be identified and analysed.

The influence of African music in Latin America and the Caribbean is widely perceived and has been widely analysed. The reverse influence, from Latin America and the Caribbean to Africa, is also very lively but has been much less studied. Music offers an opportunity to approach the realities of cultural remittances in a complex migratory framework. The recommendations included in this Background Note focus on the opportunities to improve music and cultural remittances as a contribution of diasporas to the development of their countries and communities of origin.

1. Cross-continental migration and musical transfers: Observations and challenges

*Cultural remittances* have been defined by the sociologist Juan Flores in the case of the Caribbean as an ensemble of ideas brought back by returning migrants to their countries of origin or transferred through telecommunications (Flores, 2009, see text box). This definition is rooted in a particular migratory situation defined by regular relations between migrants and their home countries. In the case of musical influences between continents, cultural remittances also encompass expressive forms of diasporic communities introduced in communities and countries of origin through a large variety of vectors. This large definition takes account of the diverse and vague channels through which Latin and Caribbean music has influenced the African artistic scene.

A main challenge in the analysis of music transfers concern the *definition of the actors and processes*
involved. The cultural representations and identities of diasporic communities are forged through exchanges, identifications and ‘double consciousness’ (Du Bois, 1903). Music forms reflect the realities of these arrangements. The Caribbean musical region itself is made of an arrangement of various traditions: exchanges inside the region and with other continents (Africa, Latin America, North America or Europe) form a cultural space called the Caribbean (Aparicio and Jáquez, 2003).

The historical narrative of the relationship between Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean has been centered on the experience of slavery. This approach centered on the homeland has emphasized the African legacy in Black American culture and practices. However, a glance at African culture and music also shows the importance of Latin American and Caribbean imports.

Cross-continental migration from Latin America and the Caribbean to Africa today is scarce and limited to certain categories such as Cuban doctors and Brazilian migrants in African lusophone countries. The Lula Presidency in Brazil (2002-2010) opened a new era of South-South cooperation with Africa through diplomatic missions, the establishment of diplomatic representations in African countries and commercial and cultural exchange programmes (Seibert, 2008). This approach consolidated a transoceanic cultural relation existing for centuries.

Migration, the emancipation of slaves and cross-oceanic trade: a cultural approach

Sailors and ships played a paramount role in connecting and reconnecting both sides of the Atlantic Ocean from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Sailors and crews borrowed and mixed instruments from both sides of the Ocean. African marine crews and harbor populations were involved in the exchanges taking place in the Atlantic space. The kru ethnic group included many sailors: they are credited for the introduction of guitar in West and Central Africa (Brooks in Montes Pizarro, 2010). Since the second half of the nineteenth century, Caribbean soldiers serving in colonial armies were posted in Africa and
brought their Caribbean culture with them (Montes Pizarro, 2010). Major sea hubs such as Dakar, Conakry, Cotonou and Abidjan later became the ports of entry of Latin and Caribbean music in Africa due to the liveliness of the urban musical scene and the imports from across the Ocean.

The **return of freed slaves** from Latin America and the Caribbean had an impact in terms of musical influence from the African diasporas to the home continent. Slaves lived in contact with other communities in America and created original musical products and forms. Jamaican freed slaves came back to West Africa at the beginning of the eighteenth century, bringing to West Africa the Goombay, a healing cult practiced through dance and percussion. Goombay still survives today, especially in Sierra Leone and has spread its influence to other countries such as Ghana and Nigeria. Since 1820, American freed slaves starting settling in Liberia. The independent Republic of Liberia was created in 1847 largely composed by Afro-Liberians.

After 1888, with the abolition of slavery in Brazil, many Brazilian slaves traveled back to Nigeria and established a major community in Lagos (10% of Lagos’ population around 1890 was returned from Brazil). They brought with them samba drums, rituals such as the Bonfim festival and carpentry and architectural skills that left a legacy still present in today’s Lagos (Collins, 2004). The **settling of American populations of African descent in Africa** continued in the twentieth century. Freed black travellers played an influential role in ‘creating a shared black Atlantic culture and shared black identities that transcend territorial boundaries’ (Lorand Matory, 1999: 73).

**Cuba’s involvement in Africa: Politics, migration and culture**

Along with Brazil and Jamaica to a certain extent, **Cuba** is the Latin American and Caribbean country most involved with Africa. There is evidence of the presence of Cubans in several African countries, as the consequence of the presence of **Cuban soldiers** in the continent during the Cold War and
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In the framework of medical missions. Political sympathies established across the Ocean reflected in cultural understanding. Cuba and several African nations entered a period of mutual interest and exchanges, translated into the departure of Cuban and African soldiers, doctors and artists across the Ocean. The links established between Cuba and several African countries have remained strong after the end of the Cold War and still today, more than 5,500 Cuban doctors working in Africa, under bilateral agreements.

Cuba established cultural exchange programmes, bringing Africans to Cuba for study in areas ranging from agricultural development, to medicine and arts. Music, as an important vehicle of Cuba’s influence, served to strengthen the links between Cuba and other countries, especially in Africa. Cuban musicians such as Cachaito Lopez, Johnny Pacheco or Ray Barretto visited Africa regularly. Scholarships ensured the presence of African musicians in Cuba.

The members of the band Maravillas de Mali migrated to Cuba in the 1960s. Maravillas de Mali blended traditional African music forms with Cuban arrangements and instruments. The band toured their home country in 1967 playing in front of President Keita and at the anniversary of the Independence (Morgan, 2011). The example of Maravillas de Mali shows the impact of Caribbean music in African compositions. Bands returned to Africa and promoted their art, which was gaining many adepts in the continent.

2. Music and hybridization: Diaspora influences in the homeland

The African root of many Latin American and Caribbean music forms such as cumbia, salsa, son or reggae has been highlighted in many occasions. Yet the reverse influence of these Latin American and Caribbean music forms in African culture shows the contribution of diasporas to their communities of origin. In a loose Atlantic diasporic space, the channels of transmission of music influence have a great importance.

The G.V. Series

The introduction of recordings of Latin American music in West Africa dates from the 1930s: in the framework of the Great Depression, recording companies repackaged their products and looked for new markets. In particular,
Gramophone and Victor rebranded Latin music registered as soon as the 1890s for the West African public in the **G.V. Series of records** ‘with ‘hopes that these records could boost international sales’ (White, 2002: 669). These series of records gave Africans a thorough picture of what was musically happening in Cuba at the time: *son, rumba* and *conga* by the main composers of the time, including Moises Simon and his song ‘El Manisero’, which sparked the interest for Latin American music in many musicians, especially in Senegal. The G.V. series was produced from 1933 to 1958 and had an enormous impact in the West African musical scene.

**Radio stations** started broadcasting Latin American and Caribbean music. The first radio station created in DRC in 1939 was *Radio Congolia*, which broadcasted G.V. records and put speakers in public places of Kinshasa (Montes Pizarro, 2010). This brought Latin American music to the general public. Local musicians received the influence of these imported rhythms. Musician Antoine ‘Wendo’ Kolosoyi noted: ‘we knew nothing of Cuban history, many of us thought it was African music, and Spanish was a *patois* from our country that we didn’t understand’ (in Montes Pizarro, 2010: 8).

Many African bands started imitating sounds coming from the other side of the Atlantic. **Music instruments from the Caribbean were also imported**. The drummer Guy Warren introduced Afro-Cuban instruments to the Ghanaian highlife bands in the 1940s. Imported Cuban drums where progressively repaired with African material and replaced by traditional African drums. As a consequence, by the 1950s, Ghanaian highlife bands such as E.T. Mensah’s *Tempos* had state-of-the-art Western instruments and local African percussion influenced by Caribbean instruments (Collins in Neisa, 2012).
African populations living under French and English colonialist regimes received ballroom repertoire influences, namely ragtime, swing, jazz and calypso in the English colonies and Latin forms in the French colonies. African musicians picked from these music forms what had most relevance or resonance: there are syncopations, off beats or the blues note structure that appear in both sides of the Ocean. As John Collins explains, ‘there is an instinctive musical rapport between the two sides of the Atlantic in terms of what constitutes a piece of music, the purpose of music and the rhythmic structure’ (Collins in Neisa, 2012: 3).

Inspiration in West and Central Africa for the creation of new music was to be found across the Atlantic: ‘the samba de roda of Brazilian freed slaved returned to Lagos, Cuban rumba and son registered in 78-rpm records, Trinidadian calypso introduced by Caribbean bands and by ex-marine Bobby Benson and, of course, jazz from the United States’ (Martin, 2004: 6). The Democratic Republic of the Congo was one of the first African territories where Latin music made its entrance and was adapted by local musicians on Congolese rumba (Stewart, 2000). The song Marie-Louise, by Congolese musicians Wendo Kolosoyi and Henri Bowane, is supposed to be the first record of Congolese rumba (Montes Pizarro, 2008). In the late 1950s, Congolese music and its strong Latin American influences were exported to Dahomey (Benin) and Togo.

Developing music forms in diasporic contexts

African diasporas play an important role in intermediating between Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa. They filter cultural remittances from one continent to the other despite not always having personal relations across the Ocean. In the Black Atlantic space pictured by Gilroy (1993), African diasporas evolve in a wide range of centres including Europe and North America. African musical legacy blends with other cultural forms, giving birth to music forms imported again in Africa. This gives sense to the diaspora approach focused not only on the relations between diasporas and their home countries but also between diaspora communities themselves.
Caribbean music developed for instance after the Second World War through the relations between Caribbean populations and Caribbean migrants living in the United States. By the end of the 1960s, Puerto Rican migrants in New York City developed the *bugalú*, as a mixture of Spanish Caribbean music and R & B (Flores in Aparicio and Jáquez, 2003). By 1969 the *bugalú* was disappearing from view – just as *salsa* was beginning to emerge. The working class experiences in *salsa* and its transnational dimension have been factors for appropriation of a Caribbean music form in Africa (Padilla in Jáquez and Aparicio, 2003).

A clear factor of linkages between migrants and populations at home developed in Latin music. *Salsa* became a symbol of Latin American identity, linking the experiences of migrants with home countries. From Latin America, salsa expanded to other continents. African musicians picked up the rhythm and started a trend of African salsa with major interpreters. The perceived shared situation of exploitation of Latin migrants in the United States of America with African descendants in Latin America and the Caribbean facilitated the appropriation of salsa in Africa. The deep political meaning of reggae and its clear linkages with the African continent also facilitated its promotion and reinterpretation in Africa. Major figures such as Bob Marley evolved in a globalized music industry and influenced African music.

The Gambian *salsero* Labah Sosseh is one of the major examples of the influence of Caribbean musical transfers in Africa. Labah Sosseh listened to the first recordings of Cuban music arrived in Africa since the 1930s. Established in Dakar after the Independence, Labah Sosseh joined the *Star Band* of Dakar, based at the *Miami Club*, which led to the creating of bands such as *Orchestra Baobab* and *Super Dynamo*. The music of Labah Sosseh was mainly influenced by Caribbean structures. Dakar became the epicenter of Latin music in West Africa in the seventies. When he moved to Abidjan, Labah Sosseh kept performing Cuban music in bands such as *Special Liwanza Band*. In the 1970s, Labah Sosseh became an international figure. He moved to New York and performed in Cuba with major artists of Afro-Cuban music.
3. Music, politics and diasporas: Explaining the reception of Latin and Caribbean music in Africa

The existence of an African diaspora in contact with other communities and the role of different channels of cultural remittances played a part in the promotion of Latin and Caribbean music. The historic ties and the shared experiences of populations, in particular of African descent, facilitated the exchanges, yet other phenomena explain the reception that was given in Africa to music born in another continent.

**The promotion of African music after the period of Independence**

Latin music received a renovated impulse in Africa at the *aftermath of the Independence in many countries*. According to J. Collins, African musicians reflected in their behavior the political activity of the time: where colonial institutions were taken and were being Africanized, musicians *‘took the European-type of dance orchestra and transformed it into something African’* (Collins in Neisa, 2012: 1). European ballroom music, in particular music genres popular in French colonies, was very influenced by Latin rhythms. Recently born countries also turned their attention to black culture in the continent and in the diaspora, including the creations of Afro-Caribbean communities. In Senegal, Leopold Sédar Senghor created the Festival of Black Arts in 1966. Political leaders invested in the creation and the promotion of national music scenes. In Ghana, President Kwame Nkrumah promoted the *highlife* dance style. The first Guinean President Ahmed Sékou Touré witnessed the importance of Ghanaian highlife bands and funded seven bands to create a national music scene. After the independence in 1960, the Malian Government funded up to 40 national and regional groups (Collins, 1994).

*‘It is because young urban people [in Africa] wanted to break up with a rural heritage perceived as too cumbersome, and with European forms associated with colonial oppression that they chose America [for inspiration]’* (Martin, 2004: 6)

*After the African Independences, efforts were put in place to Africanize music and to promote African music forms, including borrowing African elements from other continents*
African leading bands started touring the continent and diffusing new music forms. Congolese rumba musicians were among the most active in spreading their music throughout the continent. The Ry-Co Jazz band toured for 13 years in Cameroon, Ghana, Senegal and Sierra Leone and reached Paris in 1964, influencing local African bands (Montes Pizarro, 2010).

Music forms from Latin America and the Caribbean have been given new senses in the Caribbean itself and in Africa. The meaning of music has evolved according to the circumstances. In particular, Afro-Caribbean music has a strong meaning and has been used by the diasporas or across the Caribbean for many different purposes (Aparicio and Jáquez, 2003). In the context of sub-Saharan Africa in the 1960s, Latin music was perceived as a claim and manifesto of independence. The Congolese superstar Le Grand Kalle and his African Jazz celebrated African independences with their Cuban-rhythmed song ‘Independence Cha Cha’, which became a pan-African success in 1960.

In the framework of this renewed interest for Latin and Caribbean music, West African singers started singing in Spanish – a language only spoken in Equatorial Guinea in sub-Saharan Africa. Some composers even wrote non-sense lyrics that sounded like Spanish. Singing in Spanish was not only an attempt to stay closer to the Latin and Caribbean aspect of music that West Africans were playing, but also a contestation to the established power. Malian musician Salif Keita said in 1989: ‘I used to sing in Spanish – or at least I think it was Spanish, because I didn’t actually speak it. I love Cuban music, but more than that, I consider a duty to all Malians to love Cuban music, because it’s through Cuban music that we were introduced to modern instruments’ (in Montes Pizarro, 2008: 4). Spanish was mixed with local languages: the Congolese band Ry-Co Jazz registered songs such as Caramba da ma Vida in a mixture of Spanish and Lingala and in cha-cha rhythm (Stewart, 2000).

Diasporic influences: Between modernity and traditionalism

Two different sets of factors are often mentioned to explain the reception of Latin and Caribbean music in Africa:
Latin and Caribbean music would be picked up by African musicians because of its similarities with traditional African music forms. African traditional music is essentially polyrhythmic, leaving space for different voices to express themselves at the same time. It is different from European music, which has one type of beat. This characterization of African music was what was recognized by them when they heard early jazz, ragtime and other non-linear rhythms coming from America. This explanation is based on a conception of the African diaspora in which diasporic communities have conserved a cultural legacy that is easily integrated back in the homeland. Cultural remittances are valued for their appeal to the traditional roots of the diaspora.

The second set of factors highlights the modern aspect of Latin and Caribbean music for West African musicians. Latin music allowed an entry into modern music avoiding the music imports promoted by the European colonial powers. Rumba in the Caribbean was originally despised by upper classes because of its Afro-Cuban roots (Pietrobruno, 2006). The subversive character of this music was picked up by musicians emerging from the colonial period. Cultural remittances would be received for what they had of modern and transgressor.

The consideration of these two approaches together provides a complete picture of the reception of musical transfers from Latin America and the Caribbean in Africa. Latin music appealed to the traditions of African music in its instruments, rhythms and structure. Yet at the same time it ensured an entry into the world of modern music away from the rigidities of the rural African world and the cultural dominance of colonial powers.

In Senegal, the ‘bolero’ was frequently used as a format to bring to ‘modern’ orchestras the praise and exploit songs typical of mandé and wolof griots’ (Montes Pizarro, 2010: 27). Orchestra Baobab registered in the seventies a bolero called Lamine Gueye, honouring an African political figure that lived under the French colonial rules. Cultural forms imported from the Black Atlantic space were appropriated in Africa in a double movement of reminiscence of
traditional music and entry into modernity. The process was mostly involuntary: young musicians took advantage of the situation in African cities creating a ‘modern urban identity’ (Benga, 2002).

The success of the introduction of Latin American and Caribbean music in Africa proves the multidimensional aspect of diasporas and the mutual influences existing between the home countries and the diasporic communities. The example of Latin music also speaks of the simultaneous traditional and modern aspects required from cultural remittances for their reception in home communities.

4. Recommendations and good practices

4.1 Research

Despite being an important phenomenon, cultural remittances of migrants in the ACP countries, and other countries for that matter, are under-researched. The contribution of migrants to the development of their countries of origin is often approached through an ‘economic’ perspective. The human development approach involves a more complex range of issues. It can be defined as ‘a process of enlarging people’s choices’ (UNDP, 2009 as adopted by ACP Observatory on Migration, 2012: 23). Cultural remittances shape the realities of countries of origin of migrants and can be perceived as enlarging opportunities. The potential negative impact of cultural remittances may be taken into consideration.

The role of migration in the cultural industries of ACP countries of origin should be analysed. Migrants are often in direct contact with their families and communities and promote cultural practices from their countries of residence. The presence of international broadcasting outlets and media (cinemas, internet) in ACP countries facilitates the use of globalized products. The impact of these practices in local cultural industries should receive more focus. Diaspora products channeled through thematic channels could be well received in countries of origin.

The relation between diaspora communities in cultural practices and transfers could be studied. Cultural relations are not only based on the link
between the home country and the diaspora but also between diaspora communities in different countries. Research has highlighted the presence of transnational families, whose members are scattered in several countries (see for instance Melde, 2012). The transnational nature of diasporas is a factor of cultural creation, change and challenging existing norms.

4.2 Promotion of cultural Industries

The ACP Secretariat and the European Union have implemented initiatives aimed at promoting cultural industries in ACP countries. The objective of these programmes is to support the cultural production of ACP countries. A special attention could be paid to the production of ACP diasporas in South-South frameworks.

- **Diaspora communities are in a situation of dialogue with their hosting countries and their communities of origin.** This situation often facilitates artistic creation and the development of cross-cultural expressions. The South-South perspective offers an original approach to study the creations of South-South diaspora, including intra and extraregional flows. The artistic relevance of cultural remittances from the Caribbean to Africa should be promoted. Regional integration also has a positive effect in the movement of artists.

- **Exchange programmes and scholarships** to promote cultural creation can be supported. These initiatives let to the development of cultural remittances in the music field. Cultural creation can be a vector for mutual understanding between different populations and can help fighting xenophobia.

ACP Cultures and ACP Films are initiatives whose objective is to promote the cultural industries in ACP countries

Cultural exchange programmes including grants can be supported and have value in fighting discrimination and xenophobia

The University of the West Indies has carried out a study on the economics of the Caribbean diaspora resulting in the film Forward Home
The economics of diasporas are receiving an increased attention. Diasporas are producers and users of goods from the homeland; they invest and spend in their travels. Cultural industries can be included in this approach: diasporas consume cultural products from the homeland and they produce new artistic forms in their host country. ACP countries could facilitate the cultural movements between home countries and the diasporas, and among diasporic communities themselves. Nostalgia trade, including CDs and music, is one of the areas of the development impact of diasporas (Newland, 2012).

4.3 South-South Cooperation

Cultural cooperation is often rooted in a South-North relationship. South-South cooperation between ACP countries can introduce interesting perspectives and reinforce cultural production of ACP countries.

Promoting partnerships between cultural institutions in ACP countries is an important step to promote the cultural and musical production of ACP artists.

The involvement of the emerging ACP private sector (private companies and foundations) should be promoted. Private institutions such as the Fondation Zinsou in Benin are taking a leading role in the promotion of arts. Other philanthropic efforts may be strengthened to develop the engagement of the private sector.
5. Further Reading

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