

**Andean Divas:
Emotion, Ethics and Intimate
Spectacle in Peruvian Huayno Music**

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Declaration of Authorship

I, James Robert Butterworth, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the self-fashioning and public images of star divas that perform Peruvian *huayno* music. These divas are both multi-authored stories about a person as well as actually existing individuals, occupying a space between myth and reality. I consider how huayno divas inhabit and perform a range of subject positions as well as how fans and detractors fashion their own sense of self in relation to such categories of experience. I argue that the ways in which divas and fans inhabit and reject different subject positions carry strong emotional and ethical implications.

Combining multi-sited fieldwork in the music industry with analyses of songs, media representations and public discourses, I locate huayno divas in the context of Andean migration and attendant narratives about suffering, struggle, empowerment and success. I analyse huayno performances as intimate spectacles, which generate acts of both empathy and voyeurism towards the genre's star performers (Chapter 2). The tales of romantic suffering and moral struggle contained in huayno songs, which provide a key source of audience engagement, are brought to life through the voices and bodies of huayno divas (Chapter 3). The ethical self-fashioning of these female stars simultaneously embodies Catholic-influenced images of long-suffering women as well as images of hard-working and entrepreneurial neoliberal subjects (Chapter 4). From certain perspectives, huayno divas contest dominant gender discourses through their images of hard work and their symbolic and affective dominance of public space. However, as figures that privilege sentiment over sexuality and inhabit images of 'modernity' and 'success' while continuing to affirm their status as native Andeans, I argue that huayno divas largely conform to notions of propriety (Chapter 5). Drawing on theories and methods from ethnomusicology, anthropology and critical theory, my thesis contributes an ethnographic and music-centred approach to interdisciplinary debates about stardom, neoliberalism and public intimacy.

Table of Contents

Title Page	1
Declaration of Authorship	2
Abstract	3
Table of Contents	4
List of Figures	7
Acknowledgements	8
Introduction	10
<i>Stars, Divas and Stories</i>	13
<i>The Ethical Frame</i>	17
<i>Music, Emotion and Mass-mediated Public Culture</i>	21
<i>An Overview of Huayno: Terminological Challenges and Diverse Genre Worlds</i>	23
<i>Methodology: Practical and Ethical Issues</i>	28
<i>Organisation of the Thesis</i>	35
1. Migration, Mass Media and Andean Music, 1950-Present	38
<i>Rural-Urban Migration and Social Transformation in Lima</i>	39
<i>The Rise and Fall of the Commercial Andean Music Industry and the Birth of the Andean Star</i>	
<i>1950s-1970s</i>	40
Coliseos and the ‘Urban-Country’ Style	40
Technology, Industry and Stardom	43
Pastorita Huaracina (The Little Shepherdess of Huaraz)	47
Flor Pucarina (The Flower of Pucará)	53
<i>Urban Adjustment and New Directions: Chicha music, 1970s-1980s</i>	57
<i>The Rise of the Contemporary Commercial Huayno Industry, 1990s-Present</i>	61
<i>The Cultural Politics of Folklore, Place, and Nation</i>	63
Folklore, The State and Official Approval of Authenticity	63
From Regional to Andean: Place, Culture and Appeal	65
<i>Conclusion: Continuities and Transformations</i>	67
2. Intimacy and Spectacle: Commercial Huayno Shows	70
<i>Introducing Intimacy</i>	72

Intimacy and Publicness	72
Intimacy, Sociality, Pleasure and Power	74
<i>Introducing Spectacle</i>	76
Spectacle, Gaze and Alienation	76
Histories of Spectacle in Andean Music	77
<i>An Ethnography of Commercial Huayno Shows</i>	80
Introducing the Animador	80
Rosita de Espinar's Anniversary Concert	82
Beer Drinking	91
Gift Throwing	94
Dancing	97
Photograph Taking	97
Social Media	99
<i>Conclusion: 'Intimate Spectacle'</i>	102
3. Love Gone Sour: Huayno's Aesthetics of Emotion	106
<i>Histories of Sentiment</i>	107
Love, Music and Song in the Andes	107
Transforming Love? Lyrical Changes and Rural Urban-Migration	110
<i>Representations of Emotionality in Contemporary Commercial Huayno</i>	115
Song Composition	115
Love Gone Sour: Cynicism, Anomie and Emotional Excess	118
<i>Emotion in Performance</i>	128
Living the Song: Emotion, 'Sincerity' and Performativity	128
Escaping to and from 'Real Life'	130
<i>Conclusion</i>	133
4. Neoliberalism, Suffering and Ethics: The Paradoxical Self-fashioning of Huayno Divas	135
<i>Neoliberal Logics</i>	138
Economic Reform and the Huayno Music Industry	138
Ethics, Labour and the Neoliberal Subject	140
'Success'	146
<i>The Suffering Subject</i>	148
<i>Correlations and Contradictions: Religious Ideas and the Limits of Neoliberal Logics</i>	152
<i>Conclusion</i>	156

5. Chola Divas? Gender, Power and Propriety	158
<i>Intersecting Differences: An Overview of Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Andes</i>	160
<i>Lover, Mother, Migrant and Worker: Dina Paucar and Urban Andean Womanhood</i>	167
<i>Celebrity, Scandal and Mass Culture: The Transgressive Pull of Chollywood</i>	171
<i>Huayno Divas and Propriety: Dress, Ethics and the Body</i>	174
Stage Presence	178
Abencia Meza: A Foil for Propriety?	179
<i>Engendering Suffering, Empowerment and Agency: Realities, Desires and Commodities</i>	182
Engendering Suffering	182
Narratives of Empowerment	184
Performance, Agency and Public Space	187
<i>Conclusion</i>	188
Conclusion	190
<i>Final Reflections and Future Directions</i>	195
Glossary	199
References	204
Bibliography	204
Webography	219

List of Figures

<p>FIGURE 1. A PERFORMANCE AT THE COLISEO CERRADO DEL PUENTE DEL EJÉRCITO IN THE LATE 1960S. FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: MÁXIMO ALANYA, THE SINGER VICTOR HERRERA ‘EL HUANCA’, THE FEMALE SINGER ROSITA SALAS, A RADIO ANNOUNCER AND A JOURNALIST (AT THE MICROPHONE). PHOTO: COURTESY OF MÁXIMO ALANYA.....</p>	41
<p>FIGURE 2. PASTORITA HUARACINA AT THE COLISEO NACIONAL, 13 SEPTEMBER 1963. PHOTO: COURTESY OF LUZ ELENA ALVARADO).....</p>	49
<p>FIGURE 3. FLOR PUCARINA.</p>	56
<p>FIGURE 4. ‘CHICHA’-STYLE POSTER ADVERTISEMENTS IN LIMA. PHOTO: HTTP://WWW.MUNDO-FOTO.ORG/2011/01/LA-NUEVA-IMAGEN-DE-LIMA.HTML (ACCESSED 5 JANUARY 2014).....</p>	59
<p>FIGURE 5. ROSITA DE ESPINAR PERFORMS ON T-SHAPED STAGE TO THE CROWD AND TO THE CAMERAS. PHOTO: HTTP://WWW.FLICKR.COM/PHOTOS/ROSITADEESPINAR/6001024978 (ACCESSED 5 JANUARY 2014).....</p>	90
<p>FIGURE 6. PERFORMERS ENTERTAIN THE CROWD AT A COMMERCIAL HUAYNO PERFORMANCE IN CHORRILLOS, LIMA, JUNE 2012. PHOTO: JAMES BUTTERWORTH.</p>	90
<p>FIGURE 7. DINA PAUCAR PREPARES TO SLAP HER <i>ANIMADOR</i>, ORLANDO ÁGUIRRE AS THE PAIR ROLE PLAY A LOVERS’ TUFF ON STAGE IN CHUPACA, JUNE 2012. PHOTO: JAMES BUTTERWORTH.</p>	91
<p>FIGURE 8. DINA PAUCAR SAYS A TOAST AFTER BEING HANDED A CUP OF BEER FROM THE CROWD IN CHORILLOS, LIMA, JUNE 2012.</p>	94
<p>FIGURE 9. SPECTATORS AT A COMMERCIAL HUAYNO PERFORMANCE IN CHORRILLOS, LIMA, JUNE 2012. PHOTO: JAMES BUTTERWORTH.</p>	96
<p>FIGURE 10. ALEJANDRO PAUCAR (FATHER OF DINA PAUCAR) GETS IN ON THE ACTION BY THROWING POSTERS FROM THE STAGE INTO THE CROWD IN CHORILLOS, LIMA, JUNE 2012. PHOTO: JAMES BUTTERWORTH.....</p>	96
<p>FIGURE 11. A STUDIO PHOTOGRAPH OF MARISOL CAVERO.</p>	111
<p>FIGURE 12. DINA PAUCAR ADDRESSING A PRESS CONFERENCE IN HER ROLE AS UNICEF AMBASSADOR IN PERU, JUNE 2012. PHOTO: JAMES BUTTERWORTH</p>	142

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Introduction

It is Valentine's Day, 2012. Although the day of love has fallen during the working week, several hundred people have made it out for a night of music, dancing and drinking at a live huayno show in Comas, a working-class district in northern Lima. The headline act is huayno's most eminent diva, Dina Paucar, or, 'The Beautiful Goddess of Love', as she is also known. Dina, like many in the audience, is an Andean migrant. She has followed and come to symbolise the well-trodden path from rural highlands to coastal capital. This has been an emotional, as well as a physical, journey, entailing narratives of suffering, struggle and aspiration. It is a tale about people and places left behind, but it is also about notions of progress, success and the future. However, while Dina has searched for and found new horizons, she has not abandoned her Andean roots. As she stands and sings with her clenched fist resting on her bosom she is clad in an enormous embroidered pollera (skirt), a powerful symbol of Andean womanhood. Dina's pollera is covered in sequins that sparkle as it sways from side to side and is decorated with hundreds of individual pieces of gold, silver, white, red, purple and green material that together form images of Andean flowers, rivers and mountains.

Over half an hour into the show there is a brief musical lull in the proceedings as the harpist retunes for the next group of songs. 'Oh thank you my friend' Dina says into the microphone as a middle-aged woman passes up a bottle of Cristal beer and a plastic cup from the crowd. Inspecting the sealed bottle, with the hand-held microphone still hovering over her lips, Dina asks, 'But what am I going to open it with? With my eyelashes!?', lifting the bottle up to her delicately made-up eye. 'What about the guys?' somebody calls from the crowd, gesturing to the male musicians behind her on stage. 'No, no my daughter, these guys don't know how to open it!' Dina jibes. 'You've got to hand it to them all ready to go'. A ripple of pantomime gasps and cackles sweep through the crowd. Dina hands the bottle to a groupie at the side of the stage, who bites the lid off with his teeth.

Striding commandingly back to the centre of the stage, Dina asks, 'Right, who can I say cheers with?' She looks down into the front of the crowd. 'Yes, you, you in the checked shirt!' she utters impatiently. 'Come on, hurry up then! Climb up here daddio, hurry up! The young man walks to the front of the stage and pulls himself up onto the boards. 'Right, put yourself there,' Dina says, manoeuvring him by the shoulders.

'Now, what's your name?'

'Fernando,' the young man replies.

'And, what part of Peru are you from Fernando?'

'Bolognesi' [an Andean province].

'Ah, Bolognesi, in Ancash!'

'Ancash, Peru! Yes.'

'And how do they drink there? By the crate?'

'Yes, by the crate!'

'By the truck load! So, cheers!'

Dina raises the cup, first in Fernando's direction and then the crowd's, before hesitating. Fernando pours some more beer into Dina's half-full cup. 'Woah, woah! That'll do,' Dina cries. 'Give her more!' come shouts from the crowd. 'Ok, ok, I'll drink it, cheers!'

'So, here with a girlfriend? A friend with benefits perhaps?' Dina asks Fernando, bumping her pollera up against his skinny hips. 'Perhaps it could be you?' Fernando asks with a cheeky grin and a nervous laugh. 'With me!?' Dina exclaims flirtatiously, continuing to bump up against him playfully and letting out a little squeal, generating whoops from the crowd. The animador (compere) tries to interject, saying he must take care of 'the boss' but Dina ushers him away and pulls the now rather rigid Fernando to one side. She hands him the plastic cup and he serves himself a little beer. 'Is that all!?' Dina shouts, resting her arm on her hip. 'Come on, fill it up!'

Examining the now empty bottle, Dina asks, 'And now what?'

'I'll take it out in a minute.'

'What exactly are you going to "take out"?' she asks saucily, looking him up and down.

'Oh, just the bottle.'

'Aah, ok, ok sorry, I have a warped mind!'

Dina continues to joke around with Fernando and the crowd, forcing him to drink more and more beer before she suggests it might be time to get on with the show. 'Kiss! A little kiss,' she orders, holding out her cheek expectantly. Fernando obliges and hurries off the stage. Dina turns to the audience and states, 'When we women want to dominate a man, we make them dance right here,' pointing to the palm of her lightly cuffed hand. As she does so, the Andean harp begins to play and is soon joined by electric bass, keyboard, timbales and drum machine. As the harp introduces the song's undulating melody, the animador deploys his characteristic rhythmic calls, encouraging the audience to clap their hands and raise their arms. 'This is a new release, a new release, a new release!' he shouts. 'This song is

called "Dying of Love":' his voice cascades over the final cadence and a series of percussion fills. Dina places the microphone just below her bottom lip, tucks in her arms and closes her eyes:

Today, I am very sad

Because my lover

Told me everything

It ends here

Today, I am crying

Because my lover

Told me everything

It ends here

What will become of me without your love?

I am going to die because of you

What will become of me without your love?

I will faint because of you

Without your kisses

Without your affection

I will not live

Don't leave

You are killing me

With your goodbye

Don't go

Don't leave me

I beg you please

If you go

If you leave me

It will be because of you that I die

Stars, Divas and Stories

[T]o be famous means to be talked about. ... But to be talked about is to be part of a story, and to be part of a story is to be at the mercy of storytellers – the media and their audience. The famous person is thus not so much a person as a story about a person – which might be said about the social character of each one of us (Braudy 1986, 592).

This thesis explores the stories that people tell about themselves and others, some famous and others not. It is orientated around the star divas that perform contemporary commercial *huayno*, one of Andean Peru's foremost musical genres. Each of these divas is, at once, a multi-authored story about a person as well as an actually existing individual who experiences herself as such. The diva, then, inhabits a space between myth and reality, between personhood and selfhood. The person 'behind' the celebrity shares authorship of the meaning of their public image with individual and institutional mediators and consumers.

As a researcher, I too partake in this storytelling. I start from the premise that huayno divas and their music play a key role in Peruvian popular culture and that they and their stories both reflect and shape social, cultural and economic transformations. As Sean Redmond and Su Holmes explain,

[i]n reading a star or celebrity image one is hoping to get to the political matters of class, gender, race and sexuality that circulate in and through the public and private persona of the star or celebrity; one is hoping to make a case for arguing that they either support and/or undermine the dominant ideology of society at the time. When one reads a star or celebrity image one is attempting to suggest that they have something to say about the world they/we live in, and the power relationships that exist there. Textual analysis, then, needs to be supported by media, contextual and historical specificity (2007, 257).

Reading a star as a text, however, can be problematic.¹ The text is not fixed; its essence appears differently from different angles and in different contexts, hence the need for 'media, contextual and historical specificity'. Reading stars as texts can also be

¹ Richard Dyer (1998 [1979]) is commonly associated with the star-as-text model.

frustratingly abstract, vague or speculative. For these reasons, I have attempted to ground my discussion of huayno divas in ethnography and the particular.²

Ethnographic practice is still largely unused by star-studies scholars, though this is often because of difficulties to do with access rather than by design. Access issues are nothing new to ethnographic researchers but when studying (among) famous people they are especially acute and generate a particular set of methodological challenges, which I return to towards the end of this introduction. These challenges aside, I argue that ethnography is a crucial method through which to ground the meaning of the often abstract, distant and partly illusory nature of stardom in the lived realities of people's everyday lives. I hope this thesis makes the merits of ethnography clear.

There are many ways to interpret a star's image and the majority of scholars understand stars and the phenomenon of fame as inherently contradictory and paradoxical. 'The variety and diversity of celebrity culture is a constant barrier to meaningful generalization' (Rojeck 2007, 175). Some stars may reflect social ideals whereas others explicitly reject them. Depictions of divas often fall into the latter of these categories, though I contest this tendency at various points in this thesis.

Various authors have underscored the tension between uniqueness and typicality, where a star must be seen as extraordinary enough to justify being singled out yet, simultaneously, is required to exhibit identifiable traits and values that are shared by wider society (Nayar 2009, 13; Roach 2007, 8). To be successful, stars often have to strike a balance between these contradictory forces. Moreover, maintaining such a balance is also important in upholding societal notions of meritocracy and democratic access to the public sphere and its symbolic construction (Marshall 1997, 7): success must be as a result of talent, ability or individual achievement, rather than class, rank and genealogy. Indeed, a rags-to-riches narrative often surrounds stars that are perceived to have achieved success *in spite of* humble beginnings. As we shall see, this rags-to-riches narrative is especially relevant in the case of huayno divas.

² Abu-Lughod eloquently theorises the importance of the particular in ethnographic research (1991). For Abu-Lughod 'the effort to produce general ethnographic descriptions of people's beliefs or actions tends to smooth over contradictions, conflicts of interest, and doubts and arguments, not to mention changing motivations and circumstances. ... By focusing closely on particular individuals and their changing relationships, one would necessarily subvert the most problematic connotations of culture: homogeneity, coherence, and timelessness' (154). Ethnography of the particular need not ignore general trends or 'larger forces' but demonstrate how these 'are only embodied in the actions of individuals living in time and place' (156).

A further take on stardom comes from Richard Dyer who posits a relationship between a star's image and 'contradictions in ideology': 'The relation may be one of displacement, or of the suppression of one half of the contradiction and the foregrounding of the other, or else it may be that the star effects a "magic" reconciliation of the apparently incompatible terms' (Dyer 2007, 80). Taking Marilyn Monroe as an example Dyer notes how she was admired paradoxically for her sexuality and her innocence and, as such, epitomised ideological contradiction in 1950s America. As Dyer puts it, 'she seemed to "be" the very tensions that ran through the ideological life of 50s America' (ibid, 83). Although Dyer's approach may not have universal application I believe there is significant merit in considering how stars and celebrities embody tensions in society rather than singularly represent particular and distinct values, ideals and ideologies.

Much of what I have outlined above is relevant to studying stars and celebrities in general. Divas, however, represent a specific kind of star who is often associated with a particular complex of behaviours and characteristics. While my discussion of huayno divas invokes many of the dominant characterisations of diva-ness it also adds to its complexity and generates new contradictions; in contrast to common readings of the diva's transgression, my research presents a series of divas who might better be understood, on the whole, in terms of their normativity and embodiment of 'propriety' (I expand on this point below).

The word 'diva' has its roots in the nineteenth-century European operatic tradition and although the earliest use recorded in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is dated to 1883, opera scholars have traced the word back to 1840 in English, the 1830s in French and the 1820s in Italian (Cowgill and Poriss 2012, xxxii-xxxiii). These early uses of the word emphasised the divine and goddess-like quality of the diva; there was something mystically non-human about her. Over time, however, such positive characterisations were tempered by more negative ethical traits: the diva came to be understood as 'spoiled, whimsical, selfish, egoistical, and even sadistic' (ibid, xxxiii). Such characteristics, however, are tolerated because of the superlative nature of the diva's voice, her popularity and her ability to bring commercial success. The diva's voice, then, at least in opera, is of paramount importance and it must necessarily be considered virtuosic, beautiful, forceful and arresting. Such a voice, however, has ethical implications for the body, which is often considered a site of labour, sacrifice and exquisite control. Moreover, such vocal virtuosity and bodily work means the diva must perform and exist

at the limits of her ability, at the cusp of failure, weakness and vulnerability. However, as we shall see in the case of huayno divas, virtuosity and vulnerability are contingent on emotional rather than vocal control (or lack thereof).

In the twentieth century the word ‘diva’ migrated to popular culture, where its meanings have continually been transformed. While the voice has remained an important part of the diva complex, the primary connotations of ‘diva’ in popular culture appear to have shifted to matters of personality and ethics (c.f. Lieb 2013, 113).³ Most scholarship on divas depicts her as the embodiment of difference. For example, scholars have discussed ‘Disruptive Divas’ (Burns and Lafrance 2002), ‘Dissonant Divas’ (Vargas 2012), ‘deviant’ divas (Koestenbaum 1993) and ‘defiant’ divas (Monson 2012). Beyond the obviously irresistible alliteration, these descriptors paint a picture of the diva as fundamentally non-conventional, non-conformist and/or transgressive. She is a law unto herself and, as such, she contests, subverts or queers dominant ideologies.⁴ The diva is rarely from an upper-class background. She is typically a figure of humble beginnings that, in spite of her lowly structural position in society, is able to wield an enormous amount of power through her performance, the deployment of her voice and the manipulation of her body. Alexander Doty makes a connected point:

With predictable hypocrisy, dominant cultures and narratives are thrilled by the diva’s difference while frequently maligning or punishing her for not being a conforming good girl. Along the road to perdition, however, the diva makes herself a force to be reckoned with, so that even in defeat there is something gloriously iconoclastic about the “bitch.” (2007, 2-3).

The mixture of the underdog status and displays of power and resistance associated with the diva has also been appropriated as a metaphor for various forms of subaltern or subcultural experience and identity, most commonly in relation to ‘women-of-colour’,

³ Kristin Lieb, in contrast, writing in relation to female pop stars in the Anglo-American music industry, suggests that ‘[b]eing a *diva* is about what an artist can do vocally and what she can command as a result of this prowess’ (2013, 113).

⁴ Doty writes, for example, that ‘[divas] really aren’t about categories – they are about troubling and breaking out of their “proper” culturally assigned sex, gender, sexuality, class, national, ethnic, and racial spaces’ (2007, 4). Similarly, in their book *Disruptive Divas* (2002), Burns and Lafrance write: ‘We have selected a group of artists who, by means of their creative work, ultimately disrupt dominant discourses of sex, gender, race, and creed’ (xi).

especially in the U.S (Berlant 1997), and those who fall under the equally broad label ‘queer’. The diva, for example, has been a key resource in the establishment of what Wayne Koestenbaum labels a ‘collective gay subcultural imagination’ (1993, 84; see also Leonardi and Pope 1996).

In contrast to these typical characterisations of divas as disruptive, transgressive and/or subversive, I argue that huayno divas might, on the whole, be better understood in terms of their normativity (see Chapter 5). From certain perspectives, huayno divas do contest dominant gender discourses in Peru through their images of hard work and their symbolic and affective dominance of public space. However, in relative terms, I contend that huayno divas largely coincide with notions of propriety, through their sentimental expression, bodily modesty, maintenance of folkloric dress and their alignment with Catholic-influenced images of long-suffering women.

The Ethical Frame

I began the previous section by suggesting that each of the divas I discuss in this thesis is both an actual person as well as a multi-authored and mass-mediated story about a person. However, in Leo Braudy’s words, this ‘might be said about the social character of each one of us’ (1986, 592). Thus, while this dualistic dynamic presents itself as an explicit aspect of stardom, I suggest that something similar is at work among the non-famous individuals (fans, critics and those in between) who watch, listen to and hear about huayno divas and their music. These non-famous individuals balance their experiences as irreducible selves with acts of choosing, trying on, performing, rejecting and submitting to different subject positions, each of which one might think of as a character or a generic story about a person. In this thesis I consider how the practice and discourses of huayno divas give voice to such generic stories about persons, such as lover, sufferer, migrant and worker (to name just a few) as well as how fans and detractors alike fashion their own sense of self in relation to such categories. Crucially, such storytelling and self-fashioning is intricately bound up with issues of power and value. Thus, I aim to show that the ways in which divas and fans inhabit and reject different subject positions carry strong ethical implications, hence the ‘ethics’ in my title.

The kind of ethics I discuss in this thesis has to do with how the thoughts, feelings and actions involved in self-making are shaped in relation to influences and pressures from others as well as from moral codes. Subject positions are value laden, they indicate virtuous paths and nudge people toward how they *ought* to think, feel and act in relation to the perceived thoughts, feelings and actions of others. This is a site of disciplinary social pressures and interpellation but it is also a site of self-stylisation and intersubjectivity.⁵ People are coaxed toward ‘right feeling’ (Stokes 2010), variously triggering co-option, resistance, ambivalence, pleasure and agency. The kind of ethics I am interested in here has less to do with questions of right or wrong and more to do with what Foucault calls ‘technologies of the self’ (1997).

In much of his earlier work, Michel Foucault was concerned with analysing how the disciplinary power of discourse and institutions in society helped to create a subject, which, in turn, it conditioned. However, in later writings Foucault shifted his emphasis towards conceptions of a more agentive subject that had a more active and intentional engagement with its own constitution. This was certainly a new direction for Foucault but one that still perpetuated his concern with the relationship between the individual and society, subjectivity and discourse. Foucault writes:

I would say that if I am now interested in how the subject constitutes itself in an active fashion through practices of the self, these practices are nevertheless not something invented by the individual himself. They are models that he finds in his culture and are proposed, suggested, imposed upon him by his culture, his society, and his cultural group (ibid, 291).

For Foucault, as it is for me in this thesis, the practice of self-constitution is a foundational element of ethics. From this point of view, ethics has to do with what Foucault terms the ‘care of the self’, a relationship the self has to itself. The ‘care of the self’, however, does not operate independently of moral codes but it has significant control over how it establishes its relation to them. This intentional process of relation is what Foucault refers to as ‘subjectification’. One of the reasons I find a Foucauldian view of ethics appealing is because it proposes that ethics is something more dynamic and

⁵ My use of the term ‘interpellation’ refers to Althusser’s notion that the subject is always already the product of ideology or social structure (1971).

unpredictable than simple rule following or the strict conformance to moral codes. Lisa Downing summarises this point nicely:

There is a profound difference, Foucault thinks, between a system in which one understands the moral codes of one's culture and yet is free to adapt them creatively to one's own conduct, and a system in which an externally imposed series of moral rules governs the individual's conduct through that individual's fear of retribution. In the latter system, renunciation, rather than cultivation, of the self is the result (2008: 101).

Foucauldian ethics, then, are bound up with 'technologies of the self', which 'permit individuals to effect by their own means, or with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality' (Foucault 1997, 225). Here, however, my thinking parts company with Foucault. Although ethics may involve seeking to attain these kinds of virtues or ideals, I am not convinced that ethical work is always as teleological as Foucault suggests. I contend in this thesis that the care of the self just as often encompasses ambivalent and even cynical relationships with such normative virtues and ideals.

While strongly influenced by Foucauldian ethics, Henrietta Moore (2011) has compellingly modified and extended Foucault's ideas through a concept she terms 'the ethical imagination': 'the way in which technologies of the self, forms of subjectification and imagined relations with others lead to novel ways of approaching social transformation' (15). Moore's concept of the 'ethical imagination' differs from Foucault's concept of ethics in two crucial ways. First, Moore's concept has a much greater emphasis on the role of self-other relations and intersubjectivity in ethical practice. Although Foucault concedes that the care of the self may imply a certain relationship with others (1997, 287), Moore grants this aspect much more weight – as do I. In a mass-mediated and globalising world, she argues, our perceived relations with those near and far become central to our ethical practice. She writes,

the ethical imagination has scalar dimensions ... that link us both to those with whom we are most proximate and intimate, as well as those who are very distant. Within the domain of the ethical, the fantasmatic nature of intersubjectivity plays a

key role in maintaining forms of identity and belonging through establishing new possibilities for connection that are animated and propelled by hopes, desires and satisfactions (2011, 22-3).

The ‘fantasmatic nature of intersubjectivity’ that occurs between stars and fans, stars and publics and across publics permeates the interpretations I make in this thesis.

Second, Moore indicates that her thinking differs from that of Foucault in that she takes ethical practice to be ‘more than a work of thought or reflection’. In addition, she claims, and I am hastened to agree, it ‘also involves affect, emotion, the placement of the body, fantasy, and relations with objects, technologies and the material world’ (ibid, 21). Hovering in the background of Moore’s writing is the ‘affective turn’ in the humanities and social sciences. The turn to ‘affect’ has foregrounded the relational nature of feelings and emotions and the importance of pre- or extra-cognitive bodily experience. Theories of affect are concerned with, first, how feelings are transmitted both between people and between objects and people, and, second, how this transmission precedes and/or exceeds consciousness as well as culturally specific taxonomies of emotion. However, as Moore writes, while ‘[a]rguing for the decentring of the rational, humanist subject and the reinstatement of somatic engagement with the world are important moves’ (ibid, 203) they are also historically and culturally contingent. Moore concludes that ‘perhaps it is too early yet to abandon a notion of the human subject marked by what is specifically human, most especially our desires, hopes and satisfactions (ibid, 204).

The ethical self-fashioning of huayno divas is paradoxical and often involves embodying different and sometimes-contradictory subject positions. As we shall see, their labouring will, coupled with their business-like self-management, mean that they seemingly coincide with the kind of subject presupposed by neoliberal ethical logics, which, since around the 1980s, have become increasingly widespread in Peru. However, huayno divas also align themselves with an ethics of suffering, which bears the hallmark of Catholic moral philosophy and typically casts suffering as a potential source of virtue. As I discuss in Chapter 4, these different ethical subject formations sometimes overlap, creating mutual endorsement, and sometimes diverge, creating tension and contradiction. In addition, huayno divas enact ethical work on themselves and their images as lovers, mothers, migrants, women and sentimentalists, variously embodying notions of virtuousness, propriety and moral susceptibility. These ethical subject formations, or stories about a person, provide a bridge between performers and audiences that allow for

intersubjective acts of evaluation, empathy and judgement, which, in turn, feeds back into the process of self-fashioning among both divas and fans.

Music, Emotion and Mass-mediated Public Culture

One of the major concerns of this thesis is the contribution that huayno divas and their music make to representations of emotionality in the Andean-Peruvian public sphere. Such representations, I argue, provide one of the principal sources of public engagement with huayno, generating shared points of reference that afford possibilities for ‘public intimacy’ (Berlant 2008; Stokes 2010). Moreover, I aim to demonstrate how technology and mass mediation play important roles in the transmission of emotion and affect and the generation of particular kinds of publicness and sociality. Whether it is the microphone, the radio or the television/computer screen, technological mediation enables people to connect with others, generating a certain kind of shared experience, intimacy and intersubjectivity. However, technological mediation can also have alienating and distancing effects, drawing attention to the absence of face-to-face sociality and the disembodiment of voices and images. Thus, technological mediation, as I argue in Chapter Two, simultaneously creates both intimacy and spectacle. This dualistic dynamic, I suggest, is central to the efficacy of sentimental public culture, which gives birth to acts of both empathy and voyeurism. The self-other relations that characterise these acts return us to issues of ethics and the ethical imagination; that is, how we experience, evaluate and modify our own thoughts, feelings and actions in relation to those of others. Indeed, I aim to show that emotion and ethics are inextricably entwined.

My approach to studying the relationship between music and emotion in public culture has been influenced by the work of Christine Yano (2002: on Japanese *enka*), Martin Stokes (2007: on Egyptian film songs; 2010: on Turkish popular music) and Aaron Fox (2004: on American country music). I will address the arguments and contributions of each of these authors in turn. From the opening pages of Yano’s book, *Tears of Longing* (2002), the parallels between *enka* and huayno were clear to me and, by the end of the book, they were overwhelming (the connection with rural-urban migration, the clichés of emotional excess, the star system, the commercialism, the blue-collar audience and the domestic rather than international orientation). The way in which

enka and its emotional tropes presented listeners with a ‘simple, direct, and untarnished’ view of the world in the context of politico-economic ‘tumult and complexity’ also resonated with common narratives about huayno’s appeal (see Chapter 3). Theoretically, Yano is concerned with analysing the particular construction of emotion that *enka* entails as well as how emotion is aestheticised in musical sounds and bodily acts. This is something I seek to emulate in Chapters 2 and 3. In turn, Yano compellingly demonstrates that emotion and its musical expression play central roles in ‘public constructions of Japaneseness’. In the case of huayno, the link between musical sound, emotionality and nationhood may not present itself quite so explicitly but the ways in which the personal and the private aspects of emotionality are ‘scaled up’ to the level of social imaginaries is one that I share in this thesis.

This scalar dimension is also present in the work of Martin Stokes who similarly seeks to show how sentimental music cultures in Egypt (2007), Turkey (2010) and elsewhere play key roles in public life and conceptions of national citizenship. Drawing on Michael Herzfeld’s (2005 [1997]) concept of ‘cultural intimacy’ Stokes (2010) argues that sentimental music cultures tend towards intimate and ambivalent, as opposed to official, representations of the nation. I aim to highlight how similarly intimate and ambivalent modes of attachment are at work in huayno. Stokes is also concerned with analysing how specific iconic performers help to structure and sustain sentimental public discourse. Like Stokes, I am interested in how sentimental icons act as magnets that bring publics together. Moreover, I seek to illustrate how the sense of collectivity that such icons enable is offset by their contribution to an insatiable public desire for a peculiarly modern discourse on the individual. While acknowledging the potential for sentimental culture and its affective work to be appropriated for official, oppressive or even sinister uses, Stokes argues that sentimentalism still contains potential for social critique, justice and positive forms of collectivity in the context of neoliberal modernity.

Aaron Fox’s (2004) fine-grained ethnography of American country music presents a slightly different take on music and emotion by emphasising how country music’s sounds and logics permeate everyday life. Fox states that his interest lays outside the production, consumption and circulation of commodities and stars associated with country music as a commercial genre. Instead, he focuses on analysing country music ethnographically as working-class culture, embedded in everyday, class-based understandings of communication, emotion and social relations. In this thesis, however, I seek to shed light on both of these dimensions. Thus, on the one hand, I examine the

political economy of huayno as a commercial product and practice. On the other, I am concerned with how the aesthetics, ethics and discourses of huayno become embedded in everyday attempts by individuals to make sense of the world around them and their relation to it. I aim to demonstrate how people give culturally specific meanings to sounds, words, bodies and behaviours, which, in turn, shape ideas about emotionality and ethical subject formations.

An Overview of Huayno: Terminological Challenges and Diverse Genre Worlds

Huayno⁶ is the most widespread musical genre in the Andes.⁷ Its pervasiveness is a result of its lack of connection to specific religious, ritual or ceremonial contexts, making it the go-to genre for everyday leisure and celebration. Defining huayno, however, is a difficult task. On the one hand, this is because huayno varies a great deal according to historical moment, geographical area, social class and performance context. On the other, the difficulty also has to do with the fact that people may refer to the exact same style of huayno using different terms, which also vary according to geography, social class and the general context of any discussion. In this thesis I employ the term ‘contemporary commercial huayno’ as a broad moniker for the music that the divas at the heart of my study typically perform. Most Andean Peruvians I encountered referred to what I call contemporary commercial huayno simply as huayno or *folklor* (literally, ‘folklore’). However, such terms rely heavily on context as these are also used to refer to a vast array of Andean musical practices including distinct regional styles as well as genres that are perceived to be more traditional, artful or sophisticated. Generally, contemporary commercial huayno can be read as more or less synonymous with what Joshua Tucker refers to as ‘*huayno norteño*’ (‘northern huayno’) (2013a; 2013b), Claude

⁶ In Peru, ‘*wayno*’ is sometimes used as an alternative spelling and, in neighbouring Bolivia, ‘*huayñu*’.

⁷ Although it is a powerful index of the Andes and, in certain contexts, indigeneity too, huayno is the result of centuries of transculturation brought about through colonialism, bearing as it does traits of indigenous and European aesthetics. Certain clues from the colonial Spanish priest and lexicographer Diego González Holguín (1989 [1608]: 194), who provides the following definition for ‘Huay ñuyccuni’ or ‘Huayñuni’: ‘*Baylar de dos en los pareados de las manos*’ (dancing in twos with the pairing of the hands). Even today, most forms of huayno are orientated around social dancing, either as couples or in groups (see Chapter 2).

Ferrier refers to as ‘*huayno con arpa*’ (2010) and George Yúdice refers to as ‘huayno pop’ (2012). I explain the subtle differences between these terms below. I begin, however, by sketching some of the general features that unite diverse huayno styles and meanings before proceeding to map out some specific styles and the terms of their ‘genre worlds’ (Frith 1998). I will then elaborate on my use of the term contemporary commercial huayno and provide an overview of the musical scene I discuss in this thesis.

In many parts of the (Peruvian) Andes, particularly among rural indigenous communities, huayno is such a general term that it is effectively a synonym for ‘music’ or ‘song’ (see Turino 1993, 51 and 273n8). However, in contexts that one might loosely describe as mestizo and/or (semi-)urban, huayno performances tend to display certain key characteristics. Rhythmically, huayno is based on a continually repeating unit made up of a quaver (eighth note) followed by two semi-quavers (sixteenth notes). One can usually discern this rhythmic pattern in the instrumental accompaniment (often percussion) rather than the melody, which is typically heavily syncopated. While this rhythmic unit gives the impression of duple time it is sometimes set against a triplet pattern in the melody or elsewhere in the accompaniment, creating a distinctive lilting groove. Huayno melodies typically descend from high to low in an undulating fashion over the course of a phrase and/or section. They tend towards pentatonicism, though there are many exceptions to this general trend. It is not uncommon to hear notes (often passing notes) from outside the pentatonic scale and sometimes huaynos make use of full diatonic scales. Phrase structures typically follow an AABB pattern, or sometimes an ABAB pattern, and need not be symmetrical in construction. One of the most distinctive musical features of huayno is the constant oscillation between relative major and minor harmonies, where A-phrases typically land on the relative major and B-phrases on the relative minor, which tends to be interpreted as the ‘home’ or tonic harmony. Many of these musical characteristics overlap with other Andean musical genres. For example, genres such as the *huaylas*, *tununtada* and *chonguinada* – associated with the central Peruvian Andes (see Romero 2001, 76) – and the *chuscada* – associated with Ancash region – bear strong similarities with huayno.

Initially, huaynos are usually conceived of as songs, and lyrics are central to the genre’s expressivity (see Chapter 3).⁸ Lyrics often ‘strip away details extraneous to the

⁸ Although ensembles such as brass bands and *orquesta típicas*, (which play at festivals and celebrations all over the Andes) frequently perform purely instrumental music, their repertoire is often made up of huaynos that were first composed as songs with lyrics.

speaker's interior state, leaving only the bare contemplation of an emotional or personal crisis' (Tucker 2013b, 38). They may be sung in Quechua (the main indigenous language) or Spanish (the main official language). Although one might tentatively equate Quechua more with rural songs interpreted by Andean *campesinos* (peasants) and Spanish-language songs with urbanites this is by no means a uniform rule. The relationship between language use in song and social class, too, is far from simple. For example, Ayacuchano huayno artists, whose music is primarily orientated towards the Andean middle and upper classes, are much more likely to sing in Quechua than the huayno divas I focus on in this thesis, whose music is seen as a more proletarian 'cholo' expression.⁹ Thus, the 'ways in which language is seen to signal, confer, and validate indigenosity' is no simple matter and the 'equation of language = ethnic identity' must be continually interrogated (Jackson and Warren 2005, 557).

Joshua Tucker (2005; 2013a; 2013b) has made a significant contribution to scholarship on huayno music, although, his focus of study (Ayacuchano huayno) represents a very different genre world to that of contemporary commercial huayno. Ayacucho's huayno music has long carried associations with intellectualism, artistry and sophistication, operating as a vehicle of social distinction among the region's elite and upwardly mobile citizens. In his book *Gentlemen Troubadours and Andean Pop Stars* (2013b) Tucker explains how between the 1980s and 2000s Ayacuchano musical performers and mediators deployed a mixture of new, old, local and global signifiers to shape new markets, simultaneously catering to and defining a nascent Andean middle-class subjectivity. Tucker demonstrates how this 'refined' and 'cosmopolitan' *huayno* came to be defined in opposition to other styles, such as the boisterous style of Central Andean music (e.g. *orquesta típica*) and mass-popular styles like *chicha*, cumbia and *huayno norteño* (synonymous with contemporary commercial huayno). Although Ayacuchano huayno disrupted stereotypes of Andean music that cast it as primitive or tasteless, Tucker describes how it mapped old lines of distinction onto new signifiers. Thus, in claiming its respectability, refinement and sophistication it reinforced the notion that other Andean musical styles (contemporary commercial huayno, in particular) and their audiences were in some way backward, misguided or crass (esp. 112).

Among many middle- and upper-class Peruvians, mass-popular styles including contemporary commercial huayno are often considered to be trash and trivial, the singers

⁹ 'Ayacuchano' means from or of Ayacucho in the Southern Peruvian Andes. I use 'cholo' here to refer to the hybrid cultural forms associated with the migration of indigenous Andeans to urban areas.

are thought to be talentless, and the people who attend the concerts may be stereotyped as drunks, simpletons and criminals.¹⁰ Tucker writes that such styles ‘stand in the popular imagination for ignorance and a general lack of “culture,” and ... have traditionally been patronized by poorer, more “Indian” migrants’ (2005, 240). Tucker further notes Ayacuchano huayno practitioners’ condemnation of *huayno norteño* performers for what they perceive as tasteless, tacky and/or inappropriate attempts to fuse distinct styles and cosmopolitan symbols. One música ayacuchana producer, Eladio Díaz, points to the inclusion of ‘timbales, *guapeos* [cumbia-style vocal exhortations], animation, and choreography’, which appear to be drawn from cumbia and represent an improper form of fusion (2005, 263). Commercial huayno’s use of drum machines, too, is often criticised by Ayacuchano artists, as well as more ‘traditional’ performers from other regions. Tucker persuasively argues that such criticisms are not based on objective aesthetic criteria but are intimately linked up with processes of social distinction. ‘The dismissal of *huayno norteño*’s drum machine instead rests more specifically upon its derivation from chicha (or, cumbia andina), long associated with poorer Andean migrants, rather than any intrinsic property of “foreignness”’ (ibid).

Ayacuchano huayno performers and mediators have also had a pragmatic resistance to commercialism, ‘distinguishing proper commercial concessions from improper ones’ (2013b, 142). This involves a careful balancing act between catering to popular and fashionable tastes while maintaining a sense of connoisseurship that privileges artistry, aesthetic refinement and stylistic coherence (ibid, 141-2). According to the viewpoint of Ayacuchano huayno performers, their approach stands in direct opposition to what they perceive to be the indiscriminate and incoherent musical arrangements of *chicha* and contemporary commercial huayno, which they believe are motivated overwhelmingly by profitability:

Its reputation as a superlative music is tied to its quiet sentimentalism and its self-conscious literariness, best appreciated via contemplative engagement that bespeaks a cultivated mind, rather than through the ebullient bodily engagement demanded by mass-popular styles (ibid, 59).

¹⁰ Tucker cites the comments of Madalé, ‘a student at the UNSCH in Ayacucho and daughter of rural migrants’ who asserts ‘her dislike for chicha and norteño, “even though they’re Peruvian,” because “men drink with that music, and it’s gang members who like it”’ (2005, 127).

Ayacuchano huayno performers, too, are much more likely to locate their own practice within a historical lineage involving style, repertoire and old masters (ibid, 41) than commercial huayno divas whose interests tend towards following and shaping mass-cultural tastes and fashions.

In addition to the Ayacucho huayno that Tucker centres on, Ayacucho was also the birthplace of another type of huayno, known as *huayno testimonial* (testimonial huayno).¹¹ During the bloody violence associated with Peru's internal conflict during the 1980s¹², interpreters of this style from Ayacucho took huayno in overtly political directions. The focus of huayno lyrics became wrapped up in denunciations and laments connected with the horror, pain and injustice of atrocities in the highlands. While some testimonial musicians maintained huayno's typical musical traits others experimented with the genre, adopting longer instrumental sections, slower tempos and non-conventional melodies and forms. Throughout the 1980s the style spread throughout the country and gave birth a series of recordings by artists such as Martina Portocarrero, Nelly Munguía and Manuelcha Prado, among others. By the early 1990s the violence had largely subsided and seemingly, in turn, so had the desire for political songs.

In this thesis I focus on what I term 'contemporary commercial huayno'. However, if I had conducted my research even five years earlier, I may have opted for the term '*huayno con arpa*' (harp huayno) as most of the star divas of the 1990s and early 2000s performed with an ensemble consisting of Andean harp, bass guitar, drum machines and timbales. This style arose from *el norte chico* (the little north), an area encompassing the highlands of Lima and Ancash, but soon became a national phenomenon (see Chapter 1). As Tucker indicates, however, Ayacucho performers and audiences in the south typically refer to this style as *huayno norteño* (northern huayno) because of its origins in the highlands north of Lima.¹³ In contrast to Ayacucho huayno, as outlined above, *huayno con arpa/huayno norteño* carries a reputation for being commercial music for the masses. Furthermore, over the last several years many huayno

¹¹ My brief account of *huayno testimonial*, here, summarises key points from the accounts of Tucker (2013, 61-64) and Ritter (2006).

¹² Peru's internal conflict, which began in 1980 and gradually ceased over the 1990s, involved fierce fighting between Peruvian government forces and the Shining Path (*Sendero Luminoso*), a Maoist guerrilla insurgency movement. An estimated 70,000 people died in the conflict, many of whom were ordinary civilians (for further reading see Gorriti 1999; Stern 1998).

¹³ During my fieldwork in the capital Lima and the central Andean city of Huancayo, I encountered the label '*huayno norteño*' no more than a couple of times.

divas have begun performing with alternative instruments (for example, bandurria or keyboard, instead of harp), rhythms and melodies, many of which derive from fusions with *cumbia sureña* (a cumbia style associated with the borderlands between Peru and Bolivia) and other styles. For these reasons I adopt the broad label ‘contemporary commercial huayno’ in order to distinguish the divas’ music from more self-consciously ‘traditional’ and ‘artful’ styles (such as Ayacuchano huayno, *huayno testimonial* and folkloric styles associated with artists like Amanda Portales) as well as to allow room for increasing stylistic variation within Peru’s massified commercial huayno scene.

Methodology: Practical and Ethical Issues

My research in Peru began in June/August of 2008 when I participated in a five-week long project organised by The Catholic University of Peru (PUCP) and the associated Institute of Ethnomusicology (IDE). During the previous academic year I had written an undergraduate dissertation on traditional music making in the central Peruvian Andes, based on secondary materials. The project in Peru enabled me and four other international students to travel with Peruvian anthropologist Manuel Ruez to different festivals and ritual celebrations in the department of Ancash and the Mantaro Valley in the department of Junín. There, we observed, recorded, participated and discussed the role of music in these events. These activities gave me an important foundation upon which to base my own future research.

I returned to Peru for 6 weeks between April and June 2010 in order to conduct research for my Master’s thesis on the production and distribution of VCD music videos of folkloric music in the Andean city of Huancayo. I made contact with a family-run production label called *Producciones Ramos*, which granted me the opportunity to observe recording sessions, the audio-visual editing process, the sale of music discs, photo-shoots and on-location video shoots in primarily rural spaces around the region. During these video shoots I was regularly called on to carry gear, do basic technological tasks and even dance and act out roles such as ‘husband’ or ‘lover’ in the videos themselves. There were three common types of music video: a regional folkloric genre known as *santiago*, a regional ensemble known as *orquesta típica* (roughly, ‘traditional orchestra’) and the national contemporary commercial huayno style upon which I focus in this thesis.

Although at this point my Spanish language skills were extremely basic I managed to make lasting contacts with producers and singers who I continued to consult with during fieldwork for my doctoral thesis. I conducted the main period of fieldwork for this thesis between August 2011 and July 2012. The majority of this time was spent in and around Lima though I visited Huancayo for a week in August 2011, a few days in January 2012, two weeks in May 2012 and one week in June 2012.

A fundamental component of ethnomusicological research is fieldwork. However, defining where or what the 'field' is can be a difficult task. The 'field' may be conceived of in a variety of ways, including: geographically (such as villages, regions, towns, cities or countries); spatially (such as recording studios, performance venues or public spaces); in terms of groups of people (such as ethnic, class, gender or sexual); in terms of role (such as musicians, audiences, media workers); in terms of institutions; or in terms of musical style or genre. Researchers often conceive of their field sites as a combination of some or all of the above. Crucially, however, the ethnographer must *construct* 'the field' as a vehicle for his or her research. As Vered Amit observes:

in a world of infinite interconnections and overlapping contexts, the ethnographic field cannot simply exist, awaiting discovery. It has to be laboriously constructed, prised apart from all other possibilities for contextualization to which its constituent relationships and connections could also be referred (2000: 6).¹⁴

While I conducted ethnographic research in a variety of physical spaces, I constructed my 'field' around huayno divas – particular musical performers linked to a particular musical genre. During my fieldwork I followed the divas and their music wherever they or their influence were observable. They were constantly on the move and their bodies, voices and stories were constantly circulating through media networks and objects. Thus, I found myself – sometimes on purpose and sometimes by chance – doing fieldwork in homes, cafes, restaurants, recording studios, radio stations, offices, tour-buses, taxis, *combis*, instrument-making workshops, dress-making workshops, on-location video shoots, cultural institutions, disc shops, plazas, backstreets and performance venues. This was very much multi-sited fieldwork (Marcus, 1995). The majority of my time was spent

¹⁴ Similarly, Rice notes that 'the field' is a metaphorical construct that does not exist a priori (Rice 2008: 48).

in and around the capital Lima but I also spent time in the central Andean departments of Junín and Huancavelica.

In Lima, my research forced me to travel all over the enormous schizophrenic city. As I moved around the urban space I felt myself being transported between parallel universes, travelling from the gated houses of La Molina, to the cosmopolitan chic of Miraflores, to sleepy middle-class neighbourhood of Pueblo Libre where I lived, to friends houses and huayno shows in the noisy urban sprawl of peripheral migrant neighbourhoods like Los Olivos, Villa Sol, Chorillos, Santa Anita, San Juan de Lurigancho and Santa Clara.

Conducting research on huayno divas and huayno music presented a range of ethical and conceptual challenges. It is important to emphasize that in this section my use of the words 'ethics' and 'ethical' has to do with well-established discourses in the humanities and social sciences concerning the responsibilities and challenges of conducting human-centred research, especially the ethnographic kind (Barz and Cooley 2008; Clifford 1986; Slobin 1992). The words 'ethics' and 'ethical', here, have no significant relationship to the usage of these terms as a theoretical framing of my thesis as a whole. Some of the ethical and conceptual challenges I faced were similar to those faced by ethnographic researchers for decades: coping with insider/outsider dichotomies (Nettl 2005, 149-160; see also Rasmussen 2004; Trimillos 2004); balancing objective, subjective and reflexive interpretation (Rice 1994; 2008; Shelemay 2008); gaining the trust of consultants (Beaudry 2008), grappling with the politics of representation (Clifford 1986); and managing one's place in relation to competing interests and pre-existing social hierarchies, tensions and rivalries.

However, one of the greatest ethical and conceptual challenges for me was conducting ethnographic research with people that are famous. In some respects, these challenges parallel those of Sherry B. Ortner in her attempts to carry out ethnography in Hollywood. Borrowing the phrase 'studying up' from Laura Nader (1974 [1969]), Ortner describes the difficulties she encountered attempting to penetrate Hollywood's notoriously strong boundaries between 'insiderness and outsiderness' (2010, 213). Ortner notes that whereas participant observation and interviews normally go hand in hand during ethnographic fieldwork, when studying up, it is often not possible to conduct significant or meaningful participant observation. Thus, the anthropologist might only succeed in organising formal interviews with relatively unimportant people and without the privilege of context and experiential knowledge that participant observation typically

generates. Ortner realised that she had ‘nothing to offer’ (ibid, 218) to potential consultants working in Hollywood, likening her experience to Joshua Gamson’s observation that the academic researcher is ‘perceived as someone wanting a piece of the action for free, with nothing to trade’ (1995, 87). This was a problem I frequently came up against in my encounters with huayno divas and industry figures whose professional social relations were intricately bound up with patterns of economic exchange.¹⁵ In responding to the challenges she faced, Ortner proposes the practice of ‘interface ethnography’, which she defines as ‘doing participant observation in the border areas where the closed community or organization or institution interfaces with the public’ (2010, 213). The most obvious example of this ‘interface ethnography’ from my fieldwork was my attendance at live huayno shows. While sometimes I had ‘backstage’ access I often attended concerts like any fan, queuing with friends to have my photo taken with huayno celebrities.

However, Ortner and ethnomusicologists and star-studies scholars in general have failed to theorise ethnographic research on famous people from an ethical point of view. In theorising this type of research it is important to highlight three things. First, due to issues of access, few scholars of stardom actually get to conduct ethnographic research directly with famous people. Instead, they tend to rely on textual readings of media representation of stars and their work (songs, films, performances etc.) and any ethnographic research is typically limited to fans, media workers or what Ortner refers to as ‘interface’ events (ibid). Second, if the researcher does manage to conduct ethnographic research directly with famous people s/he must analyse, interpret and represent both the star’s public image and the star as an individual to whom the researcher has an ethical duty to represent fairly. This situation potentially raises unique challenges, such as if a famous person asks you not to disclose certain information that is already widely in public circulation. Does an ethical response to an explicit request of a (famous) consultant trump a researcher’s duty to provide a faithful and critical account? This represents an ethical scenario unique to human-centred research that a researcher conducting a purely textual reading would not have to confront.

¹⁵ In her research on Japanese *enka* music, Yano similarly notes that business establishments were unwilling to provide long-term access without the promise of financial reward. As a result Yano’s study is broad in design: ‘a multi-sited ethnography anchored in sounds rather than places, institutions, or people’ (Yano 2002, 10).

Third, due to the intricately linked histories of anthropological enquiry and (post)colonialism, the ethical frameworks employed by ethnomusicologists and anthropologists implicitly tend to assume that the ethnographer, though an outsider, occupies a historically defined position of power, where as informants are inevitably vulnerable to misrepresentation, exploitation or manipulation. As a white, middle-class British ethnomusicologist researching in Peru, a country of the Global South and no stranger to American and European imperialism, I am obviously implicated in historically pervasive power relations. However, conducting research among famous Peruvians, many of whom are very successful, in demand, difficult to contact and sometimes extremely wealthy, presents different challenges, which skew the power relations upon which anthropology's default ethical frameworks are based. The initial capital that an ethnomusicology graduate student has when approaching popular music stars is fairly limited compared to that of event promoters, TV networks, corporate advertisers and transnational NGOs. During my fieldwork, my approaches to famous singers, which were usually conducted through their managers, occasionally piqued genuine interest, often required stubborn perseverance involving dozens of phone calls over weeks and months and regularly fell on deaf ears, assuming the phone was even answered.

Language skills have been extremely important to my research. Only one person I met as part of my research spoke English. All those I encountered spoke Spanish, Peru's main official language, and while some spoke the indigenous language Quechua, many did not. Although learning Quechua would undoubtedly have enriched my understanding of huayno music and Andean culture it was not essential for my research purposes and given the time constraints of a PhD I focussed my efforts on learning Spanish. In so doing, I recognise the limitations of my research, particularly in relation to understanding how commercial huayno relates to indigenous Quechua-language music, lyrics and poetry. However, contemporary commercial huayno performances hardly ever required audiences to comprehend Quechua, even though a large proportion undoubtedly did. Although the Spanish spoken by many Andean Peruvians contains the odd loan word from Quechua I only recall hearing a commercial huayno diva speaking or singing in Quechua during a performance on only a couple of occasions.

While I had taught myself the basics of Spanish between 2008 and 2010 I had no previous formal training when I began my PhD. Thus, I decided to undertake one month of intensive one-to-one tuition at the 'EDEAQ' (Escuela de Español Ari Quipay) language school in the southern Peruvian city of Arequipa in February/March 2011 and a

further month in August/September 2011. By this point I was able to speak fluently. Between September and December 2011 I continued with intensive one-to-one tuition for several hours a week at the 'Peruwayna' language school in Lima in order to expand my vocabulary and help maintain my fluency. My language skills enabled me to follow conversations, song lyrics and stage-talk, as well as information on TV, on radio, on websites and in newspapers. They also allowed me to engage with local Peruvian scholarship as well as Spanish-language scholarship in general.

Conversations, ranging from informal chats to formal interviews, formed a key part of my fieldwork. These conversations came about differently with different groups of people. I met most huayno fans at concerts and continued interaction via telephone, Facebook and face-to-face meetings. Sometimes, concerts afforded me the opportunity to speak to music industry figures, such as event promoters, video producers or comperes. In general, however, I approached most music industry figures first by email or Facebook and then by telephone in order to arrange face-to-face meetings. I invariably approached huayno singers through telephone calls to their managers or representatives. Many of these singers were in high demand and most managers were not in the business of granting interviews easily unless with major TV networks and many seemed suspicious and sceptical about my explanation that I was a researcher from the University of London doing a project on huayno singers. A few friends told me that my male voice was a problem, given that most of the singers I was calling were female and their usually male managers might have been protective or jealous. Others also advised me that I needed to sound a bit less humble about my 'university project' and stacks of free time and to make myself sound more important and busy. For a start, one suggested, if I was really worth talking to I would have a secretary who would arrange meetings for me. Thus, on one occasion I paid a female friend to broker interviews with several singers. This generated four scheduled interviews in two days, though only two actually materialised. One was cancelled at the last minute and another involved being stood up completely.

Although there were a large number of well-known huayno singers whom I attempted but failed to meet in person, I was able to spend a significant amount of time with Dina Paucar, Peru's most famous huayno singer. This was made possible initially by a chance encounter. When discussing my research plans with one of my Spanish teachers in Arequipa, he told me that he knew a Lima-based entertainment journalist called Johnny Padilla whom he believed had contact with Dina Paucar. On my return to Lima I

made contact with Johnny, who proved very supportive of my project and instrumental in helping me establish links with Dina. Johnny knew that the introduction required more than a phone call so one weekend he invited me along to attend a live broadcast of his radio show 'En Escena' ('On Stage') on Peru's national station RPP. The show was to feature an interview with Dina Paucar and I had assumed Johnny simply intended to introduce me to Dina after the show. As I entered the studio I was ushered to a seat next to Johnny with an ominous-looking microphone in front of me. Sat opposite me was Dina Paucar. Within moments the show went live and with no warning and much to my horror Johnny introduced me as a special guest and asked me to offer my greetings to the listeners and the guests, which also included the Ayacuchano huayno maestro Raúl García Zarate. With raised eyebrows and a firm stare in Johnny's direction, I recounted my surprise before nervously explaining what an honour it was to be in the presence of such Andean music greats. Thus, my first of many meetings with Dina occurred via Johnny's bold gesture, which put me on an equal platform with Dina as someone interested in Andean music and worthy of addressing a national public. Without this, I may never have managed to build a relationship with Dina and this research may have turned out quite differently.

I recorded the majority of my formal interviews on a small portable digital audio recorder. I gained verbal consent from all interviewees to record their testimonies and cite their words in my future publications. Asking for such permissions seemingly puzzled most performers and fans alike, with a number questioning what the point of an interview was if I was not going to cite them. I usually conducted interviews with a prompt sheet of questions and topics but wherever possible I allowed interviewees to define the trajectory of the conversation. I paid a transcription company to transcribe all of my recorded interviews in Spanish apart from one, which was transcribed by a friend of a friend. This has been enormously helpful in my research, allowing me to review interview data much more quickly and easily than would otherwise have been possible. On the few occasions that I did not make audio recordings of interviews, I took detailed notes during and after the event.

Collecting and analysing information transmitted through various kinds of media also formed a central component of my research method. I regularly listened to huayno radio stations, watched entertainment programmes live on TV as well as in the form of YouTube clips and read websites and newspapers (mainly the tabloids such as *El Ojo*, *Ajá*, *El Popular* and *Trome*, which were more likely than the broadsheets to contain

entertainment stories). I also followed the activity of artists and industry figures on Facebook. This enabled me to follow who was performing when and where as well as make sense of networks of people. For example, photos that appeared on artists' Facebook profiles sometimes featured industry figures, such as event promoters, that I otherwise may not have known about. Often these people were 'tagged' in photos, which enabled me to link to their own Facebook profiles and send them a private message in order to arrange a phone call or face-to-face meeting. Facebook was also an extremely important way of building and maintaining relationships and contacts both during and after fieldwork.

When doing fieldwork most ethnographic researchers tend to have a space in which they can 'hang out', a place to participate casually in the everyday life of their consultants. Because of issues of access and the hectic urban environment of the huayno music industry, finding places to hang out in, or people to hang out with, was always a challenge. However, one place I spent many an afternoon shooting the breeze was at the shop of *Arpas Espiver*, a harp-making business run by Noel and Rosario, a young couple in their mid to late twenties. The shop and workshop were located just off Plaza Dos de Mayo, a huge bustling roundabout encircled by dilapidated colonial buildings covered in peeling blue paint and housing almost all of Lima's instrument shops and music schools. Here, I learnt the basics of harp construction, observed and chatted with many amateur and professional performers and listened to and discussed huayno songs. After commissioning Noel to make a harp for me I spent many hours practising at the store and at home but by the end of fieldwork I could still only struggle my way through a handful of songs. I had hoped that learning the harp would allow me to accompany vocalists with ease but it turned out I needed to do much more practice. However, learning the harp enabled me to become more familiar with the rhythms, melodies and structures of huayno songs and although my performance level was poor my learning afforded me a certain amount of respect and credibility among my consultants.¹⁶

Organisation of the Thesis

¹⁶ For examples and theorisations of learning to perform as a research technique see Baily (2001) and Rice (1994).

Chapter 1 provides an overview of various Andean musical responses to rural-urban migration from the mid-twentieth century to the present. I locate particular musical developments within broader social, demographic and technological shifts, highlighting how, together, migration and mass mediation helped to forge new publics and social imaginaries. Running parallel to these transformations was the growth of individual star singers. In particular, I discuss the lives, music and images of Pastorita Huaracina and Flor Pucarina, two Andean divas who rose to fame with the ‘urban-country’ style between the 1950s and 1980s. After exploring some of the musical, cultural and social changes associated with *chicha* music of the 1970s and 1980s I consider the rise of the contemporary commercial huayno industry over the 1990s and 2000s. Finally, I reflect on how the shifting cultural politics surrounding these various musical developments help to illuminate historical continuities and transformations. Specifically, I focus my attention on the changing relationships between region and nation, culture and place, state and society. My historical framing serves to contextualise my discussion of contemporary huayno divas in the remainder of the thesis.

In chapter 2, I examine how live contemporary commercial huayno performances generate both intimacy and spectacle. I argue that thinking about intimacy and spectacle together provides a productive framework for analysing the performance interactions, imagined connections and affective exchanges between and among huayno divas and their audiences. While the concepts of intimacy and spectacle carry very different connotations, I suggest that in huayno shows they are inextricably entwined and often created from within the same phenomenon. My ethnographic account describes and analyses the scenography and multi-sensory stimulation of huayno shows, the role of the *animador* (compere), the throwing of gifts from the stage to the crowd, beer drinking, the use of the microphone, the diva’s gestures, the audience’s engagement, dancing, photography, video recording and social media interactions. Many of these practices, I suggest, are complexly commodified in ways that have the potential to disempower, alienate or co-opt but are also simultaneously embedded in deep-seated Andean cultural practices, relations of intimacy and modes of sociality.

My focus in Chapter 3 is huayno’s aesthetics of emotion; that is, how emotion is ordered, given meaning, performed and ascribed beauty and value. While I consider evidence indicating that particular representations of emotionality have roots extending back at least to colonial times, I also chart how huayno’s emotional expression has developed over recent decades in connection with rural-urban migration. I then focus in

detail on the representations of emotionality in contemporary commercial huayno lyrics. Here I highlight many of the common tropes that exemplify the genre's tendency towards cynicism, anomie and excess. I also suggest that the way in which emotions become value-laden is intricately related to questions about morality and ethics. In the final section I explore how representations of emotionality are personified through the performances of huayno divas and how, in turn, audiences engage and evaluate these performances in relation to discourses of sincerity and realism.

In Chapter 4, I explore the relationships between economics, politics and religion in relation to the ethical subject formations of huayno divas. First, I consider how the self-fashioning and public images of huayno divas variously coincide with the kind of subject constructed by neoliberal ethics: autonomous, rational and personally responsible for its own self-development. Second, I discuss how huayno divas also inhabit what I term the 'suffering subject', which, I suggest, bears a notable Catholic influence and is a deep-seated part of the cultural values and practices surrounding huayno music and musicians. Finally, I examine how the ethical implications of the 'neoliberal subject' and the 'suffering subject' overlap, creating mutual endorsement and, diverge, creating tensions and contradictions. More broadly, I challenge the all-consuming nature of many accounts of neoliberalism and argue for the need to analyse how neoliberalism interact with coterminous phenomena, processes and ethics as a means of better understanding social realities and subjectivities.

Finally, in Chapter 5, I examine how huayno divas reflect and shape ideas about Andean (migrant) women and female subjectivity in contemporary Peru. I am concerned with analysing both how these divas perform gendered roles and how gendered meanings are read on to their public images. Furthermore, I aim to show how gender discourses are intricately bound up with the uneven landscapes of class, ethnicity and race. Here, I discuss how the images of huayno divas intersect with the heavily gendered and racialised stock-character of the '*chola*'. In certain respects, huayno divas appear to contest dominant gender discourses. However, in comparison with other representations of women in the public sphere, I argue that huayno divas might be better understood in terms of their normativity and embodiment of 'propriety'. Finally, my attention turns to questions of power and agency. Here, I explore tensions between suffering and success, struggle and empowerment and consider what kind of agency huayno divas have and how they achieve it.

ONE

Migration, Mass Media and Andean Music, 1950-Present

In this chapter I provide an historical overview of the development of mass-mediated Andean music in relation to the profound social, cultural and economic changes wrought by rural-urban migration, technological mass mediation and the growth of the cultural industries since the mid-twentieth century. A range of scholars have documented different parts of this history (Alfaro 2005; Llorens 1983 and 1991, Romero 2001 and 2002; Tucker 2013a; 2013b; 2013c; Turino 1988; 1993) but here I synthesise their accounts and interweave data from my own research and interviews with people who were part of this history, who recounted memories of encounters with key musical figures or who described to me how they perceived the legacies of yesteryear's musical performers. While scholars often mention the importance of early stars and pioneers of folkloric music there has been little written about the details of their lives, experiences, or characters. Thus, I aim to provide some texture to our understanding of these early folkloric stars. My historical framing will also serve, in the remainder of the thesis, to contextualise contemporary huayno divas and their broader significance in terms of shifting musical aesthetics as well as notions of ethnicity, gender, emotion and ethics. Furthermore, this chapter provides the basis for considering the role that rural-urban migration and musical responses to it played in creating new imagined social formations, or publics, to which individuals orientated themselves, in part, as a means of making sense of their own experiences of social and cultural change. I am also concerned with the importance of technological mediation in this process. Overall, the principal aim of this chapter is to highlight the historical continuities and transformations in mass-mediated forms of Peruvian-Andean music and its star performers.

I begin by outlining the broad demographic and social transformations brought about by rural-urban migration in Peru in the twentieth century. I then examine the rise and fall of the commercial Andean music industry and the birth of the Andean diva

between the 1940s and 1970s. After a discussion of the new directions for Andean migrants represented by *chicha* music of the 1970s and 1980s I consider the rise of the commercial huayno music industry and contemporary huayno divas during the 1990s and 2000s. In the final section, I discuss the cultural politics surrounding these musical shifts, exploring the changing relationships between notions of culture and place, region and nation, the state and society.

Rural-Urban Migration and Social Transformation in Lima

Mass rural-urban migration throughout the twentieth century has been fundamental in Peru's political, economic, social and cultural development. Until the midpoint of the twentieth century, migration from the Andes to the capital Lima was limited to the wealthier Andean elites. At the beginning of the 1950s the population of Lima had only just reached one million people. However, after the midpoint of the twentieth century Andean migrants from across the socio-economic spectrum began to arrive in the capital in ever-greater numbers. Peru changed from being 73.1 per cent rural in 1940 to 53 per cent urban in 1972 (Cotler 1978, 290). Fueled by chronic underdevelopment and rural poverty the majority came as economic migrants hoping to find better employment opportunities and higher standards of living. In the 1980s, with Lima still growing, Andean migrants also began arriving as escapees of the political violence connected to the country's internal war. Lima's population has continued to increase year on year until the present day where the number of inhabitants in the capital now exceeds eight million (almost a third of Peru's entire population). Though not the exclusive cause of Lima's ballooning population, rural-urban migration from the Andes has been the primary factor in the rapid and vast expansion of the city's borders. This '*desborde popular*' ('popular overflowing'), as Matos Mar termed it, radically altered the political, economic, and cultural structures of Peru and presented an overwhelming challenge to the state (1984). The sheer scale of the migration meant that many highland migrants who arrived to Lima could not be integrated into existing industries or provided for by public services. The *laissez faire* attitude and even negligence of the state did little to ameliorate the situation. In this context the informal sector grew rapidly. Land invasions established new settlements known as *pueblos jóvenes* and migrants often scraped

a living as street sellers and domestic workers. It was many years after these invasions that such settlements received official recognition from the state, which then gradually implemented infrastructure works, extending electricity, water and roads to the new peripheral neighbourhoods. This process is still on going.

Of particular importance to the present study is the effect that such massive migration has had on cultural production and consumption, the mass-mediated public sphere and the ethnic and gender discourses that circulate within these domains. As Andean migrants flocked to the capital, many soon abandoned markers of Andean identity such as traditional dress and Quechua language, in large part, due to the stigma derived from the prejudices of coastal criollo elites, which were widely internalised by highland migrants. Andean music, however, was not so easily discarded in this *mestizaje* (mixing) and remained a primary form of cultural expression for many arriving from the provinces.¹⁷

The Rise and Fall of the Commercial Andean Music Industry and the Birth of the Andean Star 1950s-1970s

Coliseos and the 'Urban-Country' Style

Throughout the 1940s and into the 1950s, an array of performance venues known as *coliseos* sprung up around Lima. These *coliseos* were typically owned and run by urban entrepreneurs and were home to performances of music, dance and theatre as well as boxing and *cachascán* matches.¹⁸ While a number of them included criollo and foreign performers from other Latin American countries, these venues came to form the principal site for performances of Andean music in the capital. According to information from some of my interviewees, entrepreneurs – such as Enrique Varé (Coliseo Bolívar), Enrique Basurco (Coliseo Lima, Coliseo Inca, and Coliseo Dos de Mayo), Teófilo Baldeón (Coliseo Mundial), Max Aguirre (Coliseo Luna Park) and Manuel Palomino

¹⁷ Studies have indicated the importance of music and dance in fostering a sense of Andean and/or indigenous heritage among *mestizos* who, in terms of dress, language, education, and employment have assimilated themselves within modern urban lifestyles (Romero 2001; Tucker 2013b; Turino 1993).

¹⁸ *Cachascán* was a style of freestyle fighting akin to Mexican *lucha libre*.

Rivera (Coliseo Cerrado) – teamed up with artists, folklorists and promoters to put on shows to highland Andean migrants. A study by Alejandro Vivanco indicated that there were close to fifteen ‘*coliseos folklóricos*’ in Lima during the 1950s (Vivanco, cited in Lloréns, n/d, 29). Initially, folkloric dance and singing troupes, known as *compañías folclóricas*, were the mainstay of the *coliseos* but, as we shall see, solo singers soon grew in number and popularity. The early 1950s witnessed the foundation of the Coliseo Nacional, which became one of the most prestigious and popular venues for Andean folklore performance. Previously, most *coliseos* had been tents that had circus-like performance spaces where audiences watched and listened in the round. However, as octogenarian folklorist Máximo Alanya told me, the Coliseo Nacional was different. Alanya – brother of the renowned composer and folklorist Emilio Alanya – recounted seeing the Coliseo Nacional for the first time:

I saw a tent that they were putting up and after walking around it a few times, I was curious, so I entered the circus tent, there were the galleries and I expected the stage to be in the centre, all circuses are in the round, no? But it wasn’t like that and at the back there was a stage like in a theatre, which grabbed my attention (Máximo Alanya, interview, Lima, 5 January 2012).



Figure 1. A performance at the Coliseo Cerrado del Puente del Ejército in the late 1960s. From left to right: Máximo Alanya, the singer Victor Herrera ‘El Huanca’, the female singer Rosita Salas, a radio announcer and a journalist (at the microphone). Photo: courtesy of Máximo Alanya.

Máximo recounted to me that he went to find his brother, Emilio, to tell him about the novel layout and the two of them came back to make some business enquiries. Eventually, relying on the financial support of entrepreneur and boxer Max Aguirre, they struck a deal with folklorist César Gallegos, who ran the Coliseo Nacional. Máximo told me that he often took charge of publicising events and his brother Emilio was involved in putting together the programme.

Coliseos were venues where audiences generally sat and watched the performance in a relatively passive way (Figure 1). There were no opportunities for dancing or for consuming alcohol and food as highlanders were used to in Andean fiestas and which, today, is now common at contemporary commercial huayno shows (see Chapter 2). The large venues with audiences and stages thus signalled a shift towards presentational rather than participatory musical performance (Turino 2008). Events usually took place on Sundays, which was often the only day highland migrants did not have to work. Performances typically lasted for a few hours during the evening, rarely running later than eleven or twelve o'clock. This compares to today's contemporary commercial huayno shows that regularly run until dawn. In the *coliseos*, promoters usually booked a mixture of performers, combining relatively unknown amateur musicians who performed either for free or meagre wages and singing stars who pulled in the punters but demanded higher fees. According to Elisabeth den Otter (1985, 296-8), while an amateur musician may have received 1,000 to 2,000 soles, famous artists were paid much more: Princesita de Yungay was paid 20,000, Pastorita Huaracina 40,000, Jilguero del Huascarán 50,000 and Flor Pucarina 100,000. In 1981 this compared to a day labourer's wage of 1,000 soles (ibid). I have not been able to corroborate such figures and it is not clear whether such sums were paid entirely to artists or whether they were divided up further between intermediaries and other musicians.

These artists performed a new urban style of folkloric music, which, following Turino (1988) I refer to as the 'urban-country' style.¹⁹ This music was principally constituted by huaynos but also included other genres such as the *muliza*, *chuscada*, *pasacalle*, and *huaylas*. Singers tended to use only the middle vocal range, which, for women at least, contrasted with the high-pitched nasal aesthetic typically associated with female vocalists of rural Andean songs. Turino has described this shift in vocal register as 'derived from urban-Western tradition', also noting the incorporation of 'a wide Western

¹⁹ Referring to the same musical style Romero uses the phrase 'urban popular style' (2001, 114).

vibrato (absent in traditional Andean singing) and a clear-from the diaphragm-vocal style' (Turino 1988, 136). While Romero also observes the abandonment of high-pitched vocal performance in favour of the middle vocal range, he is less convinced about viewing this as a form of Westernisation. Although he does not mention Turino, Romero takes a slightly different view:

I would be reluctant to suggest that the singing style of Andean recording stars was essentially shaped by "urban-Western" aesthetics. As noted earlier, Andean performers may be better served when acknowledged as appropriators of aesthetic forms that were and are available in the global world. Rather than being portrayed as compliant artists, they can be seen to reorder these forms for their own use in the national context (Romero 2001, 114).²⁰

Highlighting the influence of 'urban-Western' aesthetics on famous Andean vocalists of the time also blinds us to the myriad musical influences, especially from other Latin American countries. For example, vocal and musical influences during the 1940s and 1950s included *rancheras*, *corridos* and *boleros* from Mexico, *guarachas* and *rumbas* from Cuba and *tangos* from Argentina. Many of these styles became known through radio broadcasts. Mexican and Argentinian films that circulated in Peru, too, were also key vehicles in the transmission and popularisation of their respective national musical styles. Cinemas and foreign films were popular across Peru but it is likely that the entrance costs for showings prohibited the attendance of poorer Andean audiences.²¹ In spite of such cosmopolitan influences, the vocal style of 'urban-country' stars remained distinctly Andean, employing characteristic glissandi, vocal breaks, and Andeanised Spanish pronunciation.

Technology, Industry and Stardom

Emerging technologies and cultural industries also played a crucial role in the development of Andean music. In the first half of twentieth century, recordings and

²⁰ It is also worth noting that as this 'urban-country' style developed, it emerged in addition to earlier 'traditional' styles rather than as a replacement (Romero 2001, 114).

²¹ Although beyond the scope of this thesis, research is needed into the circulation and reception of foreign films and musical genres in Peru at this time. Without in-depth research, it would be difficult to trace any direct influences without knowing exactly who was listening to what and when.

broadcasts were limited to coastal criollo and foreign music, especially from other Latin American countries. Record producers did not believe there was a viable market for Andean music and there were rigid socio-economic and cultural barriers that prevented Andean music being played on the radio. This changed around the mid-point of the twentieth century when record companies released the first widely available discs of Andean folkloric music. At the beginning of the 1950s, too, Luís Pizarro Cerrón convinced Radio *El Sol* to broadcast his programme, 'El Sol en los Andes' (The Sun in the Andes), which is thought to have been Peru's first radio programme dedicated to Andean folkloric music.

Although the Victor recording company made a number of early recordings in Peru (as early as the 1910s), including some of Andean musicians and genres, these are unlikely to have been widely available to Andean audiences.²² It appears that the widespread commercial release of Andean music recordings only occurred after significant struggles on the part of highland performers and folklorists. The renowned writer, folklorist and state functionary José María Arguedas seemingly played a key role in negotiating with record companies at this early stage. Arguedas, a champion of Andean music and culture throughout his life, convinced Odeon Records to release a selection of recordings that he himself had made of music from Ancash, Cuzco and the Mantaro Valley (Romero 2001, 109-111). Much to the surprise of record executives, the recordings were a huge commercial success. There are no official statistics regarding record sales in Peru but, based on discussions with various senior industry figures, Romero estimates that between the 1950s and 1980s, Andean folkloric music occupied 50% of the entire record market. During this time, 'Odeon Records merged with the national company IEMPSA (an acronym for the Spanish translation of Peruvian Electric and Musical Industries S.A.) and became a major producer, followed by Virrey (in association with Philips), FTA (which became a subsidiary of RCA Victor), Sono-Radio (an affiliate of Columbia Records), MAG Records, and Smith Records' (Romero 2001, 112). In the 1970s, the number of smaller independent labels began to increase, generating recordings of rural and instrumental musical styles, too. However, such labels often relied on renting technology and studios from the larger record companies, which also pressed records for a fee (ibid, 112). As occurred in musical traditions throughout the world, recording limitations meant that instrumental introductions, interludes and concluding sections were shortened so as to fit within the time constraints of carbon and

²² For further information regarding Victor's recordings in Peru see Luis Gomez's PhD dissertation (2010).

vinyl discs. While recording and reproduction technology no longer carries such restrictions, it is rare for recordings of contemporary commercial huayno to last longer than three or four minutes, though introductions, interludes and conclusions are frequently extended during live performance. Furthermore, recordings of the pioneers (1950s-1980s) were usually recorded 'live', in a single take, unlike today where multi-track recording means instrumentalists and singers record separately and sometimes do not even meet.

The development of recording, broadcasting and performance industries connected with Andean music relied on crucial technological shifts. The microphone, for example, enabled singers to compete with loud musical ensembles, and thus played a fundamental role in one of the most striking aesthetic changes in Andean music: the birth of the solo singer. The rise of the solo singer heralded a significant shift for Andean music. As Romero notes, the 'notoriety of the soloist allowed a selected few of them to achieve celebrity status among their followers, thus breaking the metaphors of anonymity and communality that has heretofore identified Andean folklore' (2002, 221).²³ Although these solo artists continued to employ regional markers in their music, dress and stage names, technological mediation allowed them to transcend regional boundaries. Most huayno stars and their music were orientated towards regional publics though some became stars at a national level. Of these, Pastorita Huaracina ('The Little Shepherdess of Huaraz'), Flor Pucarina (The Flower of Pucará), Picaflor de los Andes (Hummingbird of the Andes) and Jilguero de Huascarán (Goldfinch of Huascarán [Peru's highest mountain]) are the four that linger strongest in collective memory. I discuss the first two of these stars below.

Although some musical groups (*orquestas típicas*, *conjuntos* and *bandas*) also became well known nationally, it was solo singers that emerged with the highest profiles and greatest commercial success. Solo singers brought about a personalisation of folkloric music and a growing relevance of ideas about fame and celebrity. These processes of personalisation and star making were, in turn, reliant on mass media. Although historical continuities in the phenomenon of fame can be traced back many centuries (Evans 2005), there is a clear homology between mass media and contemporary formations of fame. Mass media enable stars to be visually and vocally present in everyday life and as the recorded images and sounds of stars circulate in the public sphere they are rendered

²³ Mendoza argues that the trend toward popular soloists began as early as the late 1920s even though soloists did not achieve widespread fame until the 1950s (2008, 102).

‘more immediate, available and knowable’ (Nayar 2009, 72). It was these processes of mass-mediation that enabled Andean musicians to be recognised and accessible nationally for the first time.

Mass-mediation, however, brought with it more than just visibility; it also brought a sense of intimacy. The microphone, in particular, enhanced the ability to communicate the intimacies of the voice to ever-greater numbers (see Chapter 2). More generally, recording, reproduction and broadcast technology in general enabled voices and sounds to be captured, carried and reproduced throughout Peru in spite of its difficult mountainous geography, bringing faraway citizens into aural communion (see Llorén 1991). Through the circulation of discs and especially through the radio, the mutual orientation of strangers around musical texts and performances began to mould ‘imagined communities’ (Anderson 1991) and publics. Visual technology, too, played a key role. Photography, for example, provided opportunities for intimate portrayals of singers and groups as well as for the depiction of landscapes, forms of dress and musical instruments full of rich significance. The intimate somatic representations of stars on album covers and occasionally on posters partially reunited bodies with their disembodied voices and often served to highlight the interiority and individuality of the soloist.

The relations of intimacy that characterise fame are paradoxical. While the sense of intimacy stems from the perpetual mass-mediated presence of stars, these famous people are often, simultaneously, socially and physically distant. Chris Rojeck describes this aspect of fame as a form of ‘para-social interaction,’ a process where non-reciprocal and illusory relations of intimacy are constructed between fan and celebrity via mass media rather than through face-to-face encounter (Rojeck 2007, 171, see also 19). However, while such relations of intimacy may have an illusory aspect, their effects can be very real. I return in more detail to the issue of intimacy in Chapter 2.

In the following sections I offer profiles of two star divas of the ‘urban-country’ style: María Alvarado Trujillo, known artistically as Pastorita Huaracina, and Leonor Chávez Rojas, known artistically as Flor Pucarina. In doing so, I aim to lay the foundations for considering the continuities and evolution of Andean divas and the sociocultural context of which they are a part.

Pastorita Huaracina (The Little Shepherdess of Huaraz)

María Alvarado Trujillo was born in 1930 in Malvas, in the province of Ancash. Her mother died when she was young and she spoke of her solitude after she often found herself alone in her rural home while her father worked out in the fields (Oliart 1984, 91). At the age of nine, she fled with her cousin to Lima and worked as a domestic maid for much of her early life. Describing memories of her arrival to the capital to Dutch anthropologist Elisabeth den Otter in 1980, she recounted that Lima had been:

an unknown world, a completely separate world, that had never heard my music and where no Quechua was spoken. Provincial girls and huaynos were almost an offense (den Otter 1985, 294).

In an interview with Patricia Oliart around the same time in her career, Alvarado made a similar point about the sonic foreignness of Lima and her experiences of marginalisation: 'Lima seemed such a distinct world to me...because I no longer listened to my huayno – on the radio there were only rancheras, guarachas, that's all – nor could I sing because I felt that people looked at me like a strange animal' (1984, 74).

From the age of 12-years old Alvarado became involved as a dancer in folkloric performances and at the age of 13 she married Carlos Antonio Romero Manzanedo, director of the musical ensemble 'Los Andes del Perú'. In 1944, she made her debut as a singer with the 'Huayna Capac' dance troupe, initially stepping in for an absent performer. It was around this time that she began using the stage name by which she would become famous: 'Pastorita Huaracina' ('The Little Shepherdess from Huaraz'). Like most stage names during this period, this moniker indexed not just her Andean heritage, but also a specific regional one (from Huaraz). As a live-in maid Pastorita Huaracina had to ask permission from her employers to leave in order to go to rehearsals of the *compañía folklórica* she was part of. Her employers were rarely compliant and so she often got fined by the company for missing rehearsals or got let go from her job, forcing her to move on to find new work (Oliart 1984, 92). Such experiences were ones shared by hundreds if not thousands of Andean performers, whose artistic and cultural expressions were frequently scorned by criollo elites. In the 1950s, she sang for what she called '*el mundo alto*' (roughly, 'high society') with a string orchestra called 'Conjunto Ancashino Atusparia' but she broke away from this group to sing at more working-class venues (den Otter 1985, 295).

Many of Pastorita Huaracina's songs spoke about love and love gone wrong, employing many similar sentiments and tropes as those of contemporary commercial huayno (see Chapter 3). However, like most Andean songs of this period and before, her lyrics made reference to nature (flowers, rivers and mountains), especially through metaphor. The song 'El Perfume de una Rosa' (The Perfume of a Rose) is exemplary:

<i>El perfume de una rosa</i>	The perfume of a rose
<i>Solo dura un momento</i>	Only lasts a moment
<i>El perfume de una rosa</i>	The perfume of a rose
<i>Solo dura un momento</i>	Only lasts a moment
<i>Así lo mismo cholito</i>	It's the same with you, <i>cholito</i>
<i>Así lo mismo negrito</i>	It's the same with you, <i>negrito</i>
<i>Nuestro amor no es para siempre</i>	Our love will not last forever
<i>Así lo mismo cholito</i>	It's the same with you, <i>cholito</i>
<i>Así lo mismo negrito</i>	It's the same with you, <i>negrito</i>
<i>Nuestro amor no es para siempre</i>	Our love will not last forever
<i>Ay, para mi no hay consuelo</i>	Ay, for me there is no consolation
<i>Ni en el mundo ni en tus ojos</i>	Not in the world nor in your eyes
<i>Ay para mi no hay consuelo</i>	Ay for me there is no consolation
<i>Ni en el mundo ni en tus ojos</i>	Not in the world nor in your eyes
<i>Hasta las flores del campo</i>	Even the flowers in the fields
<i>Para mí se han marchitado</i>	For me they have withered
<i>Las desdichas que yo tengo</i>	The misfortunes that I have
<i>Hasta las flores del campo</i>	Even the flowers in the fields
<i>Para mí se han marchitado</i>	For me they have withered
<i>Las desdichas que yo tengo</i>	The misfortunes that I have
<i>Así, así, así ha de ser</i>	Like this, like this, like this is has to be
<i>Pásame la mano por aquí nomas</i>	Just give me your hand over here
<i>Si eres casado una solo vez</i>	If you are married, then just once
<i>Si eres soltero cada vez no más</i>	If you are single, each time is the last
<i>Así, así, así ha de ser</i>	Like this, like this, like this is has to be
<i>Dame un besito por aquí nomas</i>	Just give me a little kiss over here
<i>Si eres casado una solo vez</i>	If you are married, then just once
<i>Si eres soltero cada vez no más</i>	If you are single, each time is the last

During this period, too, most singers performed distinctive regional styles with particular forms of instrumentation and subtle variations in rhythm, melody and harmonisation. Pastorita Huaracina typically performed with a type of string ensemble characteristic of her home department of Ancash, which was made up of guitar, violin, mandolin and accordion. Her voice sat in a middle register and carried a nasal quality derived from Andean female vocal performance. A similarly Andean vocal technique involved stressing certain words and syllables with rapid vocal breaks where her voice momentarily shifted into a falsetto register.



Figure 2. Pastorita Huaracina at the Coliseo Nacional, 13 September 1963. Photo: courtesy of Luz Elena Alvarado).

In addition to Pastorita Huaracina's imposing voice, she had an imposing character, too, by all accounts, impressing local audiences and foreign anthropologists alike. After meeting her in 1980, Elisabeth den Otter revealed:

I was truly impressed by this 'grand old lady' of the highland music. Her knowledge and love of Peruvian music, her professionalism, her tenacity and her kindness were quite remarkable (den Otter 1985, 295).

In 1978, Pastorita Huaracina began presenting her own radio programme, 'Canta el Perú Profundo' ('Deep Peru sings'), on Radio Santa Rosa, which broadcast a range of Andean folkloric music. For much of the time, the programme only aired early in the morning, between 6.00am and 7.00am. Alvarado explained, 'it looks as if they are ashamed of Andes music, the authentic music, the way they only broadcast it early in the morning' (quoted in den Otter 1985, 296). However, during the time of the Velasco government (1968-75) the programme received a more prestigious time slot between 5.00pm and 6.00pm.²⁴ This was part of an official nationalist drive to increase the amount of Peruvian music broadcast on the radio. Pastorita Huaracina was also the first folkloric artist to break through to television, hosting a programme called 'Alma Folklorica' between 1976 and 1979. Up until this point – and to some extent even today – television was a medium controlled by the interests of criollo elites who were often uninterested and/or oblivious to Andean music.

Pastorita Huaracina was a key reference and role model for many Andean performers. In an interview I conducted with Anita Santibañez, a contemporary huayno diva who rose to fame during the 1990s and 2000s, she recalled listening to Pastorita Huaracina's radio programme when she was young:

I remember, I was a child, I turned on radio Santa Rosa, when she used to present the programme, and I was left astounded because, despite the fact she said she only

²⁴ It is tempting to speculate that the stigma attached to time slots is primarily an urban phenomenon. In rural Andean areas, early-morning time slots have been favoured because this is when the morning meal is being prepared and many are able to listen (Henry Stobart, personal communication). Paradoxically, in rural areas, far fewer people would be able to listen at other times of day. The relationship between radio time slots, working patterns and matters of class, ethnicity and gender is undoubtedly an important topic for future research. For discussion of the cultural politics of radio time slots in Ayacucho, see Tucker (2013b, 147-176).

had primary education, she could speak in front of a radio microphone with naturalness, she performed well [*displayaba bien*], she was very articulate, she wasn't the kind of person to say something vulgar, something ugly in order to make you laugh ... she had that magic of being able to make you laugh when she wanted to, how can I say, using her gift, the angelic-ness that she had in conquering the public like that. She didn't need to mock or say anything aggressive to make you laugh, and I always loved that (Anita Santibañez, interview, Lima, 28 February 2012).

Anita Santibañez's comments chime with those of others I heard during my fieldwork. Together these comments paint a picture of a female star credited for her propriety. This is a quality that a number of contemporary commercial huayno divas share (among their target audience, at least) and one that contradicts a dominant discourse about divas' transgressions and dubious morals (see Chapter 5). Anita Santibañez also spoke of meeting Pastorita Huaracina and the admiration she had for her approach to performance:

I met *la señora* Pastorita Huaracina, I saw her in two or three concerts, I had the opportunity to share the stage with her, and what I admired was that she did her work very well ... I really admired the way she gave herself up [*se entregaba*] to the public, that naturalness and that vitality she had and displayed ... perhaps it was the way she knew her own work, she took a lot of responsibility for her work (Anita Santibañez, interview, Lima, 28 February 2012).

Pastorita Huaracina's reputation for having a good work ethic resembles pervasive contemporary narratives connected with current commercial huayno divas (see Chapter 4). However, it is difficult to assess whether this was a common narrative at the time or is part of a retrospective look back through contemporary discourse.

In the 1980s, a young journalist, named Lily Bustamente, encountered Pastorita Huaracina for the first time and soon became involved in preparing and disseminating the singer's press. In an interview I conducted with Lily, she explained how she had been struck by Pastorita's 'imposing' character and professionalism:

At times she could be a bit despotic [*déspota*], a bit, you know, arrogant [*altanera*] ... Sometimes you entered and she would barely be able to respond to your greeting, or look at you ... Even if musicians got annoyed they kept their mouths shut ... She had a temper but artistically speaking she was formidable ... She rehearsed with

her musicians, she got them together the day before in the same venue ... She was very punctual ... a rare thing with folklore artists at that time (Lily Bustamente, interview, Lima, 16 January 2012).

This description loudly resonates with dominant characterisations of divas as figures that are accustomed to getting their own way, in large part, due to the power and leeway afforded by their performance abilities and popularity. References to Pastorita Huaracina's punctuality and discipline also reinforce the work-ethic narrative, mentioned above. Like many Andean migrants, she took up work as a domestic maid and, though she struggled to read, she later attributed her success as a singer to her being a graduate of the 'university of life'. The journalist Lily Bustamente, like others I spoke with, also commented on the singer's generosity and explained that, in contrast to other artists (such as Flor Pucarina), 'she took good care of herself and was never involved in any scandals'. The tension between propriety and scandal is still very much part of today's huayno scene, as we shall see in Chapter 5.

A 1988 article in the magazine 'Fiesta: The Magazine of Popular Art', edited by Bustamente, described how the star had opened wide the doors of her house in San Martín de Porres so that the magazine could 'penetrate the intimacy of her home'. The article mentioned the spacious but homely living room, a mirror with a gold-plated frame, walls of trophies and awards, a telephone on a small table, objects collected from her trips abroad and a kitchen equipped with modern electric appliances. All of this was the result of '45 years of intense hustle and bustle from stage to stage in Peru and abroad' and thus these objects served as markers of aspiration, success and the fruit of labour. But the article also communicated Pastorita Huaracina's advice to fellow artists to 'save for a rainy day' (*guardar pan para mayo*), displaying an awareness about the potential fickleness and economic insecurity of fame. Just as important was that the article enabled readers to get a view of the private life supposedly 'behind' the singer's public image.

By the end of her life Pastoria Huaracina had received several titles and decorations, including 'Living Cultural Patrimony of the Nation' and 'Dean of National Folklore', and was recognised by the Senate as a 'Commander of the Nation'. Such titles were obviously testament to her courage, persistence, strong-will and passion but were also signs of a significant – if constrained – re-orientation of 'official' Peru toward Andean populations and their musical and cultural expressions. Four decades on from her debut in the early 1940s Pastorita Huaracina was aware of profound changes in Lima: 'the countryman now feels proud of being a highlander ... now s/he dances, sings and

shouts his/her huayno wherever and says: I'm a highlander [*yo soy serrano*]' (Oliart 1984, 73). Indeed, it is difficult to overstate the role that music and sound have played in the Andeanisation of the Peruvian public sphere. Today, while contemporary commercial huayno may still be scorned by certain middle and upper class sectors, its sonic and visual domination of physical space and the mass-mediated public sphere mean that from a certain perspective it has achieved a particular kind of populist hegemony.

Later in life Pastorita Huaracina used her voice to advance explicit social and political goals, though these were rarely part of her songs. Through her radio programme she argued for greater democracy and better rights and conditions for the working classes, especially for women involved in domestic service. In 2004, three years after her death, an exhibition of her discs, photos, costumes and letters, titled 'Genius and Ingenuity of Pastorita Huaracina', was opened by the First Lady, Eliane Karp de Toledo, who said:

With all the force that emanated from her, she said everything exactly how she wanted to say it. Her songs arose from the umbilical cord, from the attachment that she had to the fields, the smell of the earth, to the presence of the animals in the harvest, all this magic cycle with the mother earth [Pachamama]. We will continue singing, crying with her songs, dancing her little huaynos (quoted in *Concertando para el cambio*, Año 3, No. 6, Lima, enero-junio 2004).

Such sentiments were undoubtedly shared by large swathes of the Andean public. In discussions about Andean music, Pastorita Huaracina's name, songs and ethical and artistic traits continue to be invoked, often in connection with another female singer known as Flor Pucarina, to whom I now turn.

Flor Pucarina (The Flower of Pucará)

Leonor Chávez Rojas was born in 1935 in Pucará in the central Andean province of Junín. She moved to Lima with her mother at an early age, where they set themselves up along with thousands of other Andean migrants in La Parada, the city's largest flea market at the time. As for most highlanders in the capital, life was materially precarious and involved continual social discrimination and marginalisation. Initially, she helped her mother selling vegetables in La Parada but before long they moved back to Pucará after

finding life in the capital hard. But Chavez soon returned to Lima once again, finding work as a domestic maid, seamstress and laundry woman.

In line with my own conversations, Romero notes that '[s]tories are told of how she used to sing Mexican corridos and rancheras before turning to singing huaynos and mulizas' (Romero 2001, 116). In the late 1950s, the musical brothers Teófilo and Alejandro Galván took Chavez under their wing, recognising her talent and supporting her development as a folkloric singer. It was at this point that she adopted the name 'Flor Pucarina' (The Flower of Pucará). She made her first recording in 1960 with the label El Virrey and sang songs composed by a range of composers, including Paulino Torres and Emilo Alanya. Her recording of Alanya's huayno 'Ayrapito' with El Virrey was one of her most famous songs and reinforced her image as a woman who was betrayed by love. The song is a lament about the all-consuming pain of love gone sour, which is addressed to a type of cactus fruit, known as 'ayrampo', which grows throughout the Andes ('ayrapito' is simply an affectionate diminutive)²⁵:

<i>Estoy muy triste en la vida</i>	I am very sad in life
<i>Malaya mi destino, ayrapito</i>	Oh, what fate, <i>ayrapito</i>
<i>Estoy muy triste en la vida</i>	I am very sad in life
<i>Malaya mi destino, ayrapito</i>	Oh, what fate, <i>ayrapito</i>
<i>Como quisiera tomar chichita de tus flores</i>	How I would like to drink <i>chicha</i> from your flowers
<i>Y así podría beber el néctar del olvido</i>	So that I could drink the nectar of forgetfulness
<i>Como quisiera tomar chichita de tus flores</i>	How I would like to drink <i>chicha</i> from your flowers
<i>Y así podría beber el néctar del olvido</i>	So that I could drink the nectar of forgetfulness ²⁶
<i>Desde muy joven en la vida</i>	Since I was very young
<i>Amaba con el alma, ayrapito</i>	I loved with all my soul, <i>ayrapito</i>
<i>Desde muy joven en la vida</i>	Since I was very young
<i>Amaba con el alma, ayrapito</i>	I loved with all my soul, <i>ayrapito</i>
<i>Tantas mentiras, tantas traiciones he tenido</i>	I've had so many lies, so many betrayals
<i>Ya no quisiera amar a nadie en la vida</i>	I no longer want to love anyone in this life
<i>Tantas mentiras, tantas traiciones he tenido</i>	I've had so many lies, so many betrayals

²⁵ 'Airampo' is an alternative spelling.

²⁶ '*Chicha*' is a type of home-brewed Andean beer as well as the name of musical genre, which I discuss later in this chapter.

Ya no quisiera amar a nadie en la vida

I no longer want to love anyone in this life

Ay ayrapito, ayrapito

Ay ayrapito, ayrapito

Tu nomas sabes mi dolor

Only you know my pain

El dolor que estoy llevando

The pain that I'm carrying

Aquí dentro de mi pecho

Here in my chest

Whereas an Ancashino string band had accompanied Pastorita Huaracina, Flor Pucarina normally sang with the backing of an *orquesta típica*, an ensemble strongly associated with the central Peruvian Andes. The *orquesta típica* is an ensemble usually made up of several or more saxophones, a couple of clarinets, a violin and a harp. Performers of the wind instruments employ an intense and rapidly oscillating vibrato and the primary aesthetic ideal is to create a dense and loud wall of sound. The wind instruments play the main melody in homophonic fashion, usually harmonised in thirds, fourths or fifths. When there is a singer, the wind instruments mirror the melody performed by the vocalist. In live performances, these often-boisterous sections alternate with much quieter introductions and interludes, which are played by the violin and harp, though because of time restrictions on recordings these interludes are frequently cut. Although the harp plays throughout the performance, providing rhythmic and harmonic accompaniment, it can barely be heard when the saxophones and clarinets are playing. Additionally, a key vocal aspect of music and dance performance associated with regional ensembles is the use of *guapeos*, stylised and rhythmic shouts of encouragement, for which Flor Pucarina was renowned.

Flor Pucarina's life is often remembered as full of tragedy, romantic betrayal and debauchery but also stoicism and independence. As Peruvian singer and anthropologist Sylvia Falcón Rojas (2011, 5-7) writes, in her lyrics 'we will always find a woman lover, that suffers because of love gone sour but that does not allow ungrateful men to pity her'. However, it was Flor Pucarina's unique ability to take command of the stage and to connect with the public in spite of, and because of, these life experiences that sustained her appeal. Such a discourse surrounding the combination of complete control on stage and susceptibility – such as to alcohol and suffering – off stage is one that extends to countless stars in different parts of the world and throughout history. Her songs of solitude were also heightened by the fact that she divorced her husband Humberto Sarmiento and was childless. But Flor Pucarina had an irreverent persona and she was a diva renowned for getting her own way. For example, most artists were prohibited from

drinking before going on stage and during recording sessions but promoters and producers were much more tolerant of the diva from Pucará. As journalist Lily Bustamente explained to me: ‘she was Flor Pucarina and they had to accept whatever she said’, not only because of her presence but also because of her popularity and talent, which, in turn, meant selling more discs and tickets (Lily Bustamente, interview, Lima, 16 January 2012).

In an interview with Anibal Alanya, son of Emilio Alanya (composer of a number of Flor Pucarina’s songs), he described her to me:

[A.A.] She was a beautiful person, very lively. She was an artist that got up on stage and didn’t need a compere, she did it all herself, playing and joking with the public. If she was still alive, my God [*pucha madre*!] She wasn’t just a star but a super star because she had a unique command of the stage, it was unique, and an incomparable voice. And beautiful too, very beautiful, she was very tall, I’m not sure how tall, but very tall, she was a really top lass [*bien buena moza*].

[J.B.] What did she have that other singers didn’t?

[A.A.] Perhaps for that era, we’re talking about the seventies, the artists were a bit inhibited, they weren’t so forward [*entradora*].



Figure 3. Flor Pucarina.

In many ways, Flor Pucarina and her slightly more transgressive image acted as a foil for Pastorita Huaracina and her image of propriety. As Adrain Huamán Meneses, a veteran musician who performed alongside most of the folkloric stars of this generation, explained:

[Pastorita Huaracina] was very conservative, she went from the dressing room to the stage, and from the stage to her house. Flor Pucarina, on the other hand, had a little, she'd have a swig of liquor. To get up on stage she'd always have her cup of *pisco* [white brandy] and then she valiantly took to the stage [*salía valiente al escenario*] (Adrain Huamán Meneses, interview, Lima, 29 November 2011).

Eventually, Flor Pucarina's drinking habits caught up with her. After spending a year in hospital she died of kidney failure in 1987, causing tens of thousands of mourners to take to the streets. By the 1980s, however, the 'urban-country' style of Flor Pucarina and Pastorita Huaracina had largely receded and various new musical currents were demanding the attention of Andean migrant audiences.

Urban Adjustment and New Directions: *Chicha* music, 1970s-1980s

The 'urban-country' style that circulated during the 1950s and 1960s exhibited relatively stylised and standardised versions of regional traditions. Recording companies, such as El Virrey and Sono Radio, maintained significant power over what types of music and which performers gained promotion. The *coliseos*, run by urban entrepreneurs, also played a key role. Over the 1960s and 1970s, however, regional-migrant clubs (Turino 1988, 138) and *peñas* (folkloric taverns) (den Otter 1985, 298) became the principal venues for folkloric music performance and the popularity of this 'urban-country' style dwindled. Citing interviews with migrant musicians between 1984 and 1986, Turino suggests that *coliseos* – the principle venue for this 'urban-country' style – 'disappeared because ensembles lost patience performing for free to enhance the profit of the *coliseo* owners' (ibid.). While this may well have been a factor in the demise of folklore's 'golden age', equally, if not more, important was the rise of *chicha* music throughout the 1970s, peaking with the *chicha*-mania of the early 1980s. Whereas the 'urban-country' style offered listeners a more nostalgic look back to the Andean past,

chicha presented Andean migrant audiences with a more fashionable expression of the urban here and now. At weekends, sports fields, car parks and wasteland were converted into performance venues known as *chichadrómos*. At the height of the *chicha*-mania, prices to hire these venues shot up, as they did for radio airtime, too (Hurtado Suárez, 180). Until 1983, for example, the radio station Radio Inca had only played folkloric music but began playing *chicha*, as a means of making the business more profitable (ibid).

Chicha reflected and generated a new musical and social dynamic involving a series of re-evaluations of Andean migrant identity. It developed as a fusion of Andean huayno and Colombian *cumbia*, which was facilitated by the rhythmic and metrical similarities between the two genres. It combined Andean-like melodies and structures with ‘tropical’ cumbia beats and the novel sound of the electric guitar. For many *chicheros* (roughly, ‘*chicha* people’), the electric guitar represented ‘the cool’ and ‘the modern’ and was much better suited to large-scale performances than the acoustic ensembles hitherto employed by folkloric musicians. As *chicha* musician and sociologist Wilfredo Hurtado Suárez indicates, many members of the generation that sparked the *chicha* boom were, at that time, listening to New York salsa from the Bronx, *guaracha*, *bolero* and *cumbia*, in addition to Andean huayno (Hurtado Suárez 1995, 171-2). Hurtado Suárez also describes how early *chicha* performers even copied vocal aesthetics from salsa and *guaracha* (171). Among many Andean migrants, *chicha*, more broadly, became a fashionable symbol of urban modernity, connected to international and cosmopolitan trends, while distinguishing itself as a uniquely Andean-migrant creation that spoke directly to everyday realities.

There was a range of other aesthetic shifts, too, both on and off stage. For example, while there were a few individual stars and idols (such as Chacalón) the *chicha* scene was primarily orientated around all-male bands. Many of these *chicha* bands performed novel dance moves that were rather different to dance styles previously associated with Andean culture. *Chicha* music also paralleled the development of a *chicha* visual aesthetic, employing bright-neon-coloured iconography on album covers and poster advertisements, which still permeate urban working-class neighbourhoods today (Figure 4).²⁷

²⁷ Recently, *chicha* visual aesthetics have undergone a (global) resurgence, especially in hipster and ‘higher art’ circles. In London, for example, *chicha* art can be seen lining the walls at Ceviche, a hip new Peruvian restaurant in Soho and it was also recently the focus of an exhibition at the Maddox Gallery in November 2013.



Figure 4. ‘Chicha’-style poster advertisements in Lima. Photo: <http://www.mundo-foto.org/2011/01/la-nueva-imagen-de-lima.html> (accessed 5 January 2014).

While there were many similarities between huayno lyrics and *chicha* lyrics, the latter are often identified by their more obvious socio-political content, containing more explicit affirmations of migrant identity and references to everyday urban migrant experience. This shift was epitomised by the *chicha* anthem, ‘Soy Provinciano’ (roughly, ‘I’m a migrant’):

<i>Soy muchacho provinciano</i>	I’m a migrant kid
<i>Me levanto bien temprano</i>	I get up real early
<i>Para ir con mis hermanos</i>	To go with my brothers
<i>Ay ay ay ay, a trabajar</i>	Ay ay ay ay, to work
<i>No tengo padre ni madre</i>	I have no father or mother
<i>Ni perro que a mi ladre</i>	No dog to bark at me
<i>Solo tengo la esperanza</i>	All I have is my dream
<i>Ay ay ay ay, de progresar</i>	Ay ay ay ay, to achieve

<i>Busco un nuevo camino en esta ciudad</i>	I'm searching for a new path in this city
<i>Donde todo es dinero y hay maldad</i>	Where it's all about money and there's evil
<i>Con la ayuda de Dios sé que triunfaré</i>	With the help of God I know I will succeed
<i>Y junto a ti mi amor feliz seré</i>	And together with you my love I will be happy

This song and *chicha* in general were part of a ‘choloification’ of urban Peru: highland migrants brought their own values and customs to the cities, modifying them in relation to urban life and integrating them with internationally circulating symbols and practices in ways that were perceived as improper from the viewpoint of criollo elites. By the 1980s, Andean migrants, as Patricia Oliart observed at the time, were ‘more willing to defend their identity and their social position as Peruvians, learning to use global symbols [*referentes totalizadores*] without losing their particularity’ (Oliart 1984, 73). Although this scenario involved intra-national rather than international migration, it echoes Tina Ramnarine’s observation that ‘diaspora discourses with their attendant historical narratives are as much about placement as they are about displacement’ (Ramnarine 2007, 26).

In contrast to the popularity and zeal for *chicha* music among the Andean migrant population, middle- and upper- class characterisations of *chicha* tended to depict it as vulgar and tasteless. Furthermore, *chicha* was surrounded by negative stereotypes of aggression, which were connected to fears about dangerous, drunk, criminal and violent Andean migrants. As the journalist Lily Bustamente explained to me, there was a general discourse that if you went to a *chicha* event ‘someone would pull a knife on you or break a beer bottle and cut you’. The development of such stereotypes was further fuelled by a kind of masochistic emotionality associated with certain *chicha* lyrics, which, like many contemporary commercial huayno songs today, were characterised by expressions of emotional and bodily excess. I regularly found this particular type of emotionality indexed by pejorative characterisations of *chicheros* as people ‘who want to cut their own veins’. Such discourses feed into an on-going polarised debate about *chicha* music and what it represents. As Joshua Tucker observes, at one polarity, *chicha* performers are considered ‘urban chroniclers’, responding to the emotional needs and realities of migrants. At the other polarity, *chicheros* are thought of as revellers in marginality and antisocial behaviour (2013, 150). These competing interpretations, Tucker argues, have been part of wider struggles over the definition of ‘a new kind of popular subject’ emerging out of the demographic transformations and associated socio-cultural and

economic shifts driven by Andean migration. Very similar dynamics are at work in contemporary commercial huayno and, indeed, many middle and upper class Peruvians do not make a clear distinction between the two genres.

In music circles, however, there have often been discursive divisions between ‘*chicheros*’ and ‘*folkloristas*’, and in practical terms, by all accounts, events rarely mixed *chicha* and folklore music. However, in spite of these conceptual and practical attempts to separate *chicha* from folkloric music, the two have always been closely related. For example, the mother of the brothers and *chicha* stars Alfonso Escalante Quispe (‘Chacál’) and Lorenzo Palacio Quispe (‘Chacalón’) was Olimpia Quispe, known artistically as ‘La Huaytita’, a folkloric performer at Coliseo Bolívar. Similarly, one of Los Shapis’ most famous songs ‘El Aguajal’, released in 1982, was based on the huayno ‘El alizal’, which subsequently became popular in its own right, sung by the male-female duo Totito Cruz and Mina González. This was just one of dozens of *chicha* songs based on existing huayno lyrics and melodies. In spite of discourses that presented *chicha* and folklore gigs as separate events that catered for entirely different publics (as was evidenced in many conversations I had during my fieldwork), ‘it’s necessary to highlight how *chicha* again took huayno as a point of departure for its success’ (Hurtdado Suárez 1995, 179).

The Rise of the Contemporary Commercial Huayno Industry, 1990s-Present

While *chicha* music was at its height in the 1970s and 1980s, a different musical current was beginning in *el norte chico* (the little north), an area encompassing the highlands of Lima and Ancash. It was here that performers began to popularise a style of huayno played on Andean harp, which was to become the iconic instrument of contemporary commercial huayno throughout Peru. Popular artists included the duo Totito Cruz and Mina González, the brothers Lucio and Tomas Pacheco and the young diva Alicia Delgado. Initially, these performers recorded just with harp and voice, adding handclaps and guiro for percussive effect. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the style gained increasing recognition with recordings and performances by Sósimo Sacramento, Elmer de la Cruz and Danny Mendoza, among others. These artists played a key role in a series of important innovations, which were led by the producer and promoter Samuel

Dolores and his company PRODISAR. Artists began using electric bass and timbales to thicken the instrumentation and make the music more suitable for dancing and live open-air spectacles. Whereas previous folkloric performances in the *coliseos* involved static, seated and generally silent audiences, PRODISAR took inspiration from *chicha* and cumbia events, initiating *bailes sociales* (social dances) where people came to dance, drink and socialise. As we shall see in Chapter 2, these social dances also involved a much greater role for *animadores* (emcees/comperes), who began to offer encouragement to the crowd and provide a greater communication and interaction between those on the stage and those in the audience.

Just as entrepreneurs had been key drivers of folkloric performance, recording and broadcasting during the mid-twentieth century, entrepreneurial activity was once again an essential component of the rise of contemporary commercial huayno. Such a scenario mirrors widespread trends in the formation of popular Latin American music and dance genres during the twentieth century, where entrepreneurialism and capitalism have been integral ingredients. In some countries, such as Brazil, this went hand-in-hand with state sponsorship – often on the grounds of nation building – and the participation of mainstream national media (McCann 2004). With huayno music, however, this was more of a grassroots affair, largely unconnected to nationalist causes and unsupported by dominant media channels. Furthermore, as the popularity of contemporary commercial huayno continued to grow over the 1990s, it was huayno stars themselves who were among the chief entrepreneurial drivers, rather than record executives or venue owners. In an interview with Jaime Ponce, huayno’s premier *animador* (who I discuss in more detail in Chapter 2), the stars of old did not have the economic motivations or commercial know-how that many contemporary commercial huayno stars do. He explained:

Picaflor [de los Andes], [Flor] Pucarina, Pastorita [Huaracina], Indio Mayta; none of them took advantage economically of their moment of fame. They attracted thousands of people, but they only lived from the applause of the public, from the little bits of money that they earned (Jaime Ponce, interview, Lima, 25 April 2012).

However, as we shall see in Chapter 4, the entrepreneurial discourses and practices associated with contemporary commercial huayno divas are integral to their personal ethics and public images. In the final section of this chapter I consider some of the cultural politics surrounding the various musical and social shifts outlined above.

The Cultural Politics of Folklore, Place, and Nation

Folklore, The State and Official Approval of Authenticity

Beginning in the 1940s, the Peruvian state adopted an official role in monitoring and assessing the authenticity and validity of folkloric performance. However, although this state involvement had some important implications it did not amount to a sustained systematic approach. Furthermore, in contrast to nation-building projects in other Latin American countries during in the twentieth century, the Peruvian authorities maintained a relatively laissez-faire attitude towards music, art and culture (c.f. Turino 2003). Nonetheless, the shifting cultural politics surrounding Andean folklore and the state reveal key discourses about the relationships between place and culture and between region and nation. These shifts have important ramifications for our understanding of the evolution of Andean divas over the last several decades.

Between 1946 and 1964, a process known as *calificación* (roughly, ‘audition’) was instigated and overseen by the Section of Folklore and Popular Arts of the Ministry of Education. The responsibility subsequently moved to the Department of Folklore of the House of Culture (1964-1971) and the Office of Music and Dance of the National Institute of Culture (1972-1974). Since 1975 the National School of Folklore, now separate from the National Institute of Culture, has undertaken the responsibility but the authority and prestige of the process has declined significantly. Whereas all Andean stars during the golden age of the ‘urban-country’ style (1950s-1980s) went through this verification process and were issued with official certification, today, only a handful of contemporary commercial huayno performers have gone through the process.

The process of *calificación* involved folkloric performers singing or playing several pieces in front of a committee of ‘expert’ judges. These judges assessed and advised performers on their particular musical interpretation, dress and repertoire, and were concerned primarily with notions of authenticity. Throughout much of the twentieth century, tropes of authenticity in Andean music have been dominated by beliefs about the neat alignment of place and culture, whereby a performer’s authenticity is reliant on the performance of particular regional styles from his or her place of origin. During much of the twentieth century, this programme of nation building, based on the

aggregation of multiple regional cultures and identities, was a dominant model. However, it was not until 1964, that José María Arguedas, as head of the Casa de Cultura created a fixed set of instructions for the process of *calificación*. As Romero informs us:

The document contained thirty provisions that regulated the registration of all folklore performers in Lima, the operations of the *agrupaciones folklóricas* (folklore companies), and the functions of the company directors, local musical performers in Lima, musical performers in transit (visiting from their regions of origin), and even the radio broadcasters of folklore. This set of regulations was obeyed by the artists themselves, coliseos and radio stations, television stations, theaters, and recording companies to whom this legal decree was sent (Romero 2001, 99).

Such rules and regulations were developed as a means to avoid the aesthetic changes and confusions associated with earlier folkloric performances in Lima, especially when performers from different regions adopted repertoire and forms of dress from Cusco, due to its status as the old capital of Inca Empire. In an interview with José Antonio Lloréns, for example, Pastorita Huaracina explained,

I always appeared dressed as a Cusqueña, because I did not yet understand the difference, or how I could identify myself with my own region [Ancash]. I sang songs from Ancash, but with Cusqueño dress. We performed, in chorus, different types of music, pieces like 'La pampa y la puna,' and 'Virgenes del sol,' but with costumes from Cusco. I made my debut, months later [in 1943] with the name Pastorita Huaracina in Ayacuchana clothing singing songs from Ancash although mixed with other songs from Huancayo, or sometimes from Cusco (quoted in Lloréns, 114-15).

Arguedas' views on Andean folklore were paradoxical. On various occasions he stated that folklore should be defined by the people and not by those in power, yet, in his role as a state functionary, he frequently acted on concerns about 'unnatural' or excessive changes to Andean music and dance, especially among highland migrants in Lima (Lloréns, n/d). In 1949, a supreme resolution was passed, outlining the threat to 'artistic values' and 'public morals' [*la moral pública*] from the increasing commercial and populist activity surrounding folkloric music (Resolución Suprema No 1753, del 14 de septiembre

de 1949, cited in Arana 2006, 36).²⁸ Romero notes that, in spite of the bureaucracy and rigidity of this ‘official’ involvement by the state, ‘to this day folklore artists in Lima manifest their nostalgia for this time...this period has been preserved in memory as one in which the state really cared about folklore, regional identities, and the need to preserve “authenticity”’ (2001, 100). While I encountered similar sentiments among folkloric performers from older generations, especially associated with more ‘traditional’ and ‘sophisticated’ genres, this was not a view shared by many contemporary commercial huayno practitioners and audiences, which also tended to be younger. The decentring and democratisation of cultural production over the last few decades – in part due to neoliberalisation and globalisation – mean that, for many people I spoke with, the idea of the state policing culture seems rather peculiar and out-dated.

From Regional to Andean: Place, Culture and Appeal

Andean divas such as Flor Pucarina and Pastorita Huaracina became known throughout the country, though they employed a range of regional indexes and their fan bases relied on significant regional support. This regionalism was manifested musically, too. As mentioned above, Flor Pucarina performed with an *orquesta típica* in a style strongly associated with the central Peruvian Andes, whereas Pastorita Huaracina used string-band accompaniment typical of her department of origin, Ancash. Their stage names too, provided powerful signifiers of place (from Pucará and Huaraz respectively). Today, however, huayno stars rarely use stage names that carry such regional significance and their appeal is spread across the whole of Peru’s Andean region. As I explore in the remaining chapters, names like ‘The Beautiful Goddess of Love’ (Dina Páucar), ‘The Beer-loving Queen’ (Marisol Caveró) and ‘The Brave Woman’ (Abencia Meza) rely on non-place-specific discourses that construct their personas in relation to wider emotional and ethical discourses.

People interpret this shift, from specific regional to generic Peruvian-Andean modes of identification and presentation, in a variety of ways. Many performers and audiences – especially from older generations – perceive this shift as part of unwelcome homogenising forces that spell the decline of authenticity and a loss of ‘essence’, which were previously distinctive features of regional styles and cultures. However, those with

²⁸ I have not been able to source a copy of the resolution in full.

such views do not constitute a unified camp. Instead, such views cover heterodox forms of malaise, unease and ambivalence. In an interview I conducted with Amanda Portales, a diva who stands historically and stylistically between the ‘urban-country’ style of yesteryear and today’s contemporary commercial huayno stars, she spoke of her dissatisfaction concerning recent trends among younger folklore divas:

They put on their garb, but they don’t say which town the dress represents. The dresses that they wear, that shine [son de luces], they are beautiful, but they don’t represent anywhere ... and their songs are not from a place. I don’t mind adding more rhythm, making it a bit more lively but I don’t lose the essence. (Amanda Portales, interview, Lima, 22 November 2011).

Amanda Portales articulated her concern in a similar manner to many I spoke with. The abandonment of regional place signifiers in folkloric performance was regularly cited as a reason for the loss of ‘essence’ in contemporary commercial huayno. This shift is manifested in musical styles, lyrics, dress and stage-names (see Chapter 3 for discussion of lyrical transformations). In terms of dress, contemporary commercial huayno divas typically wear similar outfits to each other that bear little or no regional specificity. The sartorial style adopted by most huayno singers has been strongly influenced by the company Arte Dorado (Golden Art), which, under the management of embroiderer and entrepreneur Francisco Herrera, currently enjoys the largest market share, regularly providing dresses for singers such as Dina Paucar and Sonia Morales. Musically, too, contemporary commercial huayno follows a much more uniform aesthetic, dominated by the Andean harp and, increasingly, a distinctive keyboard sound deriving from *cumbia sureña* (southern cumbia). Rhythmically, contemporary commercial huayno also displays influences from cumbia, *chicha* and occasionally rock and salsa. For Amanda Portales, this fusing of different musical elements has led to problems in defining the genre:

What do you even call it? ... It lacks a definition... It’s a cross between huayno, cumbia, *chicha*, with that rhythm that gets people up to dance ... calling it folklore is mislabelling it (Amanda Portales, interview, Lima, 22 November 2011).

In terms of both music and dress, then, there is a sense that contemporary commercial huayno has developed as a genre open to a broad range of influences, which, has largely led to the abandonment of regional indexes. However, while this ‘place-less’

quality is disturbing to some, it might be argued that this growing pan-Peruvian-Andean aesthetic and identification is part of a wider re-alignment of urban Andean migrant populations and their relatives in rural areas, too, towards broader national and ethnic allegiances. Indeed, this 'place-less' quality could equally be conceived of as 'national', albeit centred on Lima, and, arguably, it is exactly this that accounts for huayno divas' pervasiveness and popularity. This is not to suggest that notions of place have been abandoned altogether. It remains important in common narratives about divas' journeys from the Andes to Lima and, as we shall see in Chapter 2, place is a key part of the stage talk at live huayno shows. Though here, all that is important is that it is somewhere in the Andes. In fact, I have even come across up-and-coming artists publicising that they were born in the Andes when in fact they were born in Lima. In part, this may be a form of coming to terms with the difficulty of self-identification as a second or even third generation migrant. However, such stories are also interwoven with commodified narratives based on a trope of humble beginnings in the Andes followed by a journey to Lima, consisting of suffering and struggle on the promised path to 'progress'.

Conclusion: Continuities and Transformations

In this chapter I have provided an historical overview of certain kinds of Andean musical responses to rural-urban migration from the mid-twentieth century to the present. Such musical developments occurred in relation to profound social, cultural, economic, demographic and technological transformations. I have highlighted how migration and mass mediation together helped to shape new publics and social imaginaries and how particular technologies enabled new ways of producing, disseminating and consuming music. Recording, reproduction and broadcast technology enabled voices and sounds to be captured, transported and transmitted throughout Peru's vast and varied geography, bringing faraway citizens into aural communion. The microphone, in particular, afforded solo singers the ability to compete sonically with large ensembles and to communicate the intimacies of the voice to unprecedented numbers of people. The increasing importance of notions of stardom, coupled with technological mediation, also engendered novel relations of intimacy between fans and stars and across publics. I explore the issues of stardom, intimacy and technological

mediation in greater depth in the next chapter in relation to contemporary commercial huayno.

In this chapter, I have also introduced two huayno divas of the ‘urban-country’ style (1950s-1980s): Pastorita Huaracina and Flor Pucarina. These two figures and their star-images present us with a series of aesthetic and ethical traits that help to illustrate some of the continuities and transformations in Andean divas. Both of these musical stars had powerful voices and imposing characters. Their artistic, performative and communicative abilities, as well as their huge popularity, afforded them a kind of agency and public profile largely unknown to Andean-migrant women at the time. The majority of the songs of both artists deal with issues of love and love gone sour, though primarily expressed through metaphoric allusions to nature and place. As I explain in more depth in Chapter 3, the continued development of huayno music in relation to rural-urban migration has meant that contemporary commercial huayno, in contrast, exhibits a more direct and literal mode of expression. In the case of Pastorita Huaracina, we find a diva credited for her propriety and avoidance of scandals. As I return to in Chapter 5, this is a quality shared by a number of contemporary commercial huayno divas, which seemingly disputes a dominant discourse about the transgressive and ethically dubious nature of the diva. In the case of Flor Pucarina, however, we find a diva with tragic and slightly transgressive associations but who nonetheless garnered huge support and empathy in response to her stoicism and her emotional vocal renditions.

This chapter has also served to illustrate the shifting relationships between region and nation, culture and place, state and society. Artists who performed in the ‘urban-country’ style (1950s-80s) were primarily orientated toward regional publics, as was evidenced in their stage names, musical style and dress. This situation was founded on particular notions of authenticity and nation, in which the state took an active, if unsystematic, role in safeguarding. Achieving authenticity usually meant ensuring that artists performed according to the customs in their regions of origin and minimising any inter-regional or international influences. This notion of authenticity was closely related to a concept of the nation founded on the aggregation of distinct regional cultures and identities. With *chicha* music of the 1970s and 1980s and contemporary commercial huayno music of the 1990s onwards, Andean musical stars abandoned a range of regional signifiers. Contemporary huayno divas took on stage names that indexed non-place-specific ethical traits and adopted dresses and musical styles that soon became part of national rather than regional phenomena. These aesthetic changes are part of a shifting

social landscape where modes of pan-Peruvian-Andean identification and attachment have taken much greater hold, especially among migrant populations. The concomitant democratisation and decentring of cultural production, too, has signalled a cultural-political shift, which has tended to leave older generations nostalgic for a time of state recognition, whereas younger generations are inclined to be sceptical about the state's role in cultural production. As I discuss in Chapter 4, these shifts parallel broader neoliberal transformations where artists have become icons of entrepreneurialism.

In the next chapter, my attention turns to contemporary commercial huayno shows. Whereas musical performances in the *coliseos* featured static, seated and generally silent audiences, contemporary commercial huayno shows are multi-sensory social events where people come to drink, dance, socialise and get up close and personal with huayno stars.

TWO

Intimacy and Spectacle: Commercial Huayno Shows

In this chapter I examine commercial huayno shows as sites for the creation of intimacy and of spectacle.²⁹ I argue that thinking about intimacy and spectacle together provides a productive way of analysing the performance interactions, imagined connections and affective exchanges between, and among, stars and fans, performers and audiences. Intimacy and spectacle carry rather different and often contradictory sets of connotations. Intimacy, on the one hand, implies connection, closeness, sociality, (inter)subjectivity and agency. Spectacle, in contrast, connotes separation, distance, alienation, objectification and passivity. However, while intimacy and spectacle may seem to be in tension, I argue that, in huayno performance, the two concepts are inextricably entwined. I aim not only to interrogate the relationship between intimacy and spectacle but also to problematise each of the concepts individually. In doing so, I aim to blur the boundaries between, on the one hand, ‘real’ and imagined social relations, and, on the other, representation and ‘unmediated’ experience.

Intimacy is a term that has become increasingly popular in the humanities and social sciences, though scholars have interpreted and put intimacy to use in different ways. Here, I follow various authors in thinking about intimacy in broad terms as a phenomenon that is fluid, diffuse, distributed and that traverses, and reformulates the divisions between, the public and the private, the real and the virtual (Berlant 1998; 2008; Bigenho 2012; Herzfeld 2005 [1997]; Stokes 2010). While much of my ethnography deals with sites of physical co-presence I aim to illustrate the interpenetration of these forms of sociability, social imaginaries and mass-mediated representations.

²⁹ In Peru, a live commercial huayno show is generally referred to interchangeably as a ‘*concierto*’ (concert), ‘*evento*’ (event), ‘*presentación*’ (performance), ‘*show*’ (show) or ‘*espectáculo*’ (spectacle). In addition, performers also use terms such as ‘*compromiso*’ (obligation/engagement), *trabajo* or the slang term *chamba* (work) and the slang verb *chivear* (to gig).

Critical discourses about mass-mediated worlds can easily default to Adornian or Debordian claims about their false-consciousness-inducing nature, as worlds full of spectacles, which provide false promises and surface pleasures that veil underlying instrumental and alienating logics. However, I offer commercial huayno as an example of the ways in which mass-mediated and complexly commodified musical worlds are sites of contested meanings, social relations, and affective exchanges that overflow reductive politico-economic readings. By keeping both live commercial huayno performances and mass-mediated representations in the frame, I suggest that intimacy and spectacle are phenomena that flow between sites of physical co-presence, imaginaries ‘hailing publics of strangers’ (Dueck 2013a, 239) and mass-mediated fan-star relationships and performances.³⁰ Furthermore, I consider how technological mediation (microphones, photographic and video cameras, screens and speakers) and commodification become central to this parallel generation of intimacy and spectacle. While intimacy and spectacle may be the products of different phenomena, I illustrate how they are often forged within the same phenomenon.

This chapter is in two parts; the first is primarily theoretical and the second is primarily ethnographic. I begin Part I by reviewing various theoretical approaches to the concept of intimacy, including intimacy’s relation with notions of publicness, pleasure and power. I then discuss ways of approaching the concept of spectacle, focussing on issues of agency, gaze and alienation, as well as how discourses of spectacle developed in relation to Andean music throughout the twentieth century. These introductions to theories of intimacy and spectacle provide a backdrop for discussions in the remainder of the chapter as well as in Chapter 3. Part II offers an ethnographic account of the ways in which intimacy and spectacle are manifested concomitantly in live commercial huayno shows, simultaneously engendering closeness and distance, connection and separation, empathy and voyeurism.

³⁰ In this thesis I make reference to Byron Dueck’s chapter, ‘Civil twilight: country music, alcohol, and the spaces of Manitoban aboriginal sociability’ (2013a). I do not refer to his monograph, *Musical Intimacies and Indigenous Imaginaries* (2013b), which was published in November 2013, two months before this thesis was submitted. I hope to engage and integrate the arguments Dueck makes in this book in future research and writing.

PART I

Introducing Intimacy

Intimacy and Publicness

The tensions surrounding the relationship between intimacy and publicness have long animated social theorists. Legacies of Victorian thought have led to intimacy and publicness being cast as opposites within a dualistic frame where the intimate has been understood as the realm of the personal, the familial and the emotions and publicness as the realm of politics, citizenship and rationality. The notion of the public sphere described by Jürgen Habermas, for example, depicts it as a site where individuals convene to engage in critical, rational debate about public issues. This discussion occurs via face-to-face meetings as well as through the circulation of media and typically foregrounds instrumental logics based on means-ends calculations. As we shall see, however, a range of authors has sought to destabilise this notion of the public sphere, instead emphasising how publics are constituted through intimate and affective modes of attachment.

Byron Dueck proposes a way of thinking about the relationship between intimacy and publicness that differentiates between face-to-face encounters and mass-mediated social formations. In his study of aboriginal music venues in the western Canadian city of Winnipeg, Dueck proposes that such venues ‘accommodate [two] distinct but intersecting kinds of sociability: they are oriented to social imaginaries, hailing publics of strangers, yet they are simultaneously sites of intimacy, places within which known and knowable persons interact.’ While Dueck’s dual model of ‘social imaginaries’ and ‘intimacies’ provides a powerful description of the different ways individuals come to feel connected to others it still circumscribes intimacy as something which occurs through face-to-face interaction and physical co-presence. In this chapter, however, I am interested in how intimacy might be seen to traverse the domains of face-to-face interaction, on the one hand, and, on the other, ‘imagined’ relationships and collectivities articulated through mass mediation. As Michelle Bigenho cautions, there is a danger that the concept of intimacy can ‘potentially lead analyses into perpetuating dualistic oppositional frames – intimacy being balanced out by the public, the global, and the mass’ (Bigenho 2012, 176). Such dualisms run parallel to others that concern me,

including real versus virtual sociality, genuine versus simulated emotion and unmediated experience versus representation. In this thesis I resist treating intimacy and publicness as mutually exclusive opposites and, instead, approach them as interwoven and co-constituted. I do not argue that these two domains should be collapsed into each other; rather, I employ intimacy as a loose, fluid and flexible concept that need not be limited to face-to-face interaction or sites of physical co-presence. Here I find useful Henrietta Moore's discussion of virtuality, in which she claims we need to advance beyond the spectre of authenticity to understand the significant and meaningful ways that individuals feel connected to others in modernity (2011, 130-5).

Lauren Berlant's concept of 'intimate publics' powerfully captures the multi-directional mediations between intimacy and publicness, showing them to be intricately connected and co-constituted (1998; 2008). I follow Berlant in her concern, outlined in the introduction to her edited volume, *Intimacy*, with 'the modes of attachment that make persons public and collective and that make collective scenes intimate spaces' (1998, 288). According to Berlant's formulation, publics both rely on and generate intimacy while intimate spaces come to be moulded by a sense of publicness. Mass-mediated representations of intimacy come to constitute 'autobiographies of collective experience' where the boundaries between the personal and the general are effectively dissolved (Berlant 2008, vii). 'Intimacy', Berlant writes,

involves an aspiration for a narrative about something shared, a story about both oneself and others that will turn out in a particular way. Usually, this story is set within zones of familiarity and comfort: friendship, the couple, and the family form, animated by expressive and emancipating kinds of love. Yet the inwardness of the intimate is met by a corresponding publicness (1998, 281).

The 'zones of familiarity and comfort' that Berlant highlights are frequently normative, coercing people toward stereotypes of simple, understandable and controllable lives and away from radicalism.

Berlant's theorisation of intimate publics goes beyond the idea that individuals become connected to a public through their orientation toward particular texts (in the broadest sense). In richly commodified and mass-mediated worlds, '[w]hat makes a public sphere intimate is an expectation that the consumers of its particular stuff *already* share a worldview and emotional knowledge that they have derived from a broadly common historical experience' (Berlant 2008, viii). Berlant also goes beyond the notion

that belonging and intimate identifications are generated when individuals see themselves and their experiences reflected in the representations of other subjects and their lives. Although this element of reflection remains an important part of intimate publics, Berlant adds a reflexive dimension whereby individuals are trained ‘to expect to be recognizable by other members of this intimate public, even if they reject or feel ambivalent about its dominant terms’ (Berlant 2008, 6). Thus, reflexivity and ambivalence become key concepts for considering the interrelation of intimacy and publicness; one’s personal encounters and introspections are experienced and interpreted as something shared, as something social.³¹ This reflexive dimension, which involves coterminous acts of self-fashioning in relation to others, takes us back to the ‘ethical imagination’ outlined in the introduction (Moore 2011).

The kind of public I discuss in this chapter is orientated to a circulating collection of texts. However, as Dueck writes, following Warner (2002), public culture is ‘performative’: ‘A public is not a population it is rather a social formation that comes together through acts of mutual orientation and through the mass-mediated circulation of performances and publications’ (Dueck 2013, 251). In this chapter and in Chapter 3 I am concerned with how these performances and publications claim, in various ways, to represent the everyday emotions and experiences that are commonly presented as universal, even though they are often met with ambivalence. These are representations of the personal or private but displayed and performed in the public sphere.

Intimacy, Sociality, Pleasure and Power

In addition to its relation with publicness, intimacy, as a concept, can be a productive means of thinking through issues of pleasure and power. Michelle Bigenho and Michael Herzfeld, among others, have proposed compelling analyses of how pleasure and intimacy accrue across asymmetrical power relations. For Bigenho, the concept of intimacy forms a key conceptual framework in her examination of the

³¹ Reflexivity is also an important concept in Shryock’s theorisation of intimacy. Shryock writes that “we” are all engaged in self-aware and Other-conscious manipulations of what Appadurai calls “the cultural”: “the process of mobilizing certain differences and linking them to group identity” (1996, 14) (Shryock 2004, 14). Acts of performing social identities in quasi-private spaces, which Shryock terms ‘off stage’, are conceived of as if they were public displays on ‘global stages’.

intercultural nexus arising from the movement of Andean music and musicians between Bolivia and Japan. Bigenho stakes out her position on intimacy in two important ways. First, following authors such as Lauren Berlant, Svetlana Boym and Ann Stoler, she suggests that ‘conceptualizations of intimacy make of desire a broader field of inquiry’ (176) which allow ‘for affect, desire, pleasure, and passion within and beyond sexual intimacy’ (25)³². Second, Bigenho pledges her allegiance to ‘a terminology of the intimate’ because of its ability to enable a discussion about ‘pleasure and a closeness with Others, while also accounting for the relations of power and inequality within these encounters’. Such an understanding helps to challenge binary understandings of power as sustained by epistemological legacies of colonial, imperial and authoritarian projects and, instead, positions intimacy, pleasure and desire as fundamental means of ‘making sense of social inequality’ (Bigenho 2012, 176). Bigenho is concerned with analysing desire across various power-inflected self/other boundaries wherein the ‘embodiment of the Other becomes a strategy for quite different claims of both intimacy and distance, ways of feeling simultaneously oh so close to and yet still so far from an Other’ (Bigenho 2012, 25).

Although Bigenho’s notion of intimate distance primarily operates at the transnational it resonates with Michael Herzfeld’s work on ‘cultural intimacy’ and the nation-state. In a repost to earlier theorisations of nationalism, Herzfeld proposes cultural intimacy as ‘an antidote to the formalism of cultural nationalism’ (Herzfeld 2005, 14). He thus rejects a view that posits States as the authors and sources of nationalisms that are then naturally internalised by a submissive citizenry. Instead, the author is concerned with processes of ‘*disemia*’, by which he refers to the split between official and intimate ‘registers’ of national belonging (14). This intimate register, Herzfeld argues, is characterised by a reflexive embarrassment, which serves as a crucible for the creation of ambivalent yet affectionate senses of national belonging. Cultural intimacy, he writes, is ‘the recognition of those aspects of a cultural identity that are considered a source of external embarrassment but that nevertheless provide insiders with their assurance of common sociality, the familiarity with the bases of power that may at one moment assure

³² Svetlana Boym suggests a way of thinking about intimacy (‘diasporic intimacy’) that ‘shifts away from the sexual and the personal interiorities of the modern private Western subject, and instead takes up chance meetings, fleeting relations established in passing, and the belief that human beings just might be able to get along’ (Bigenho 2012, 26).

the disenfranchised a degree of creative irreverence and at the next moment reinforce the effectiveness of intimidation' (Herzfeld 2005, 3).

Bigenho and Herzfeld, then, are concerned with analysing pleasure and intimacy across asymmetrical power relations and scales. For Bigenho, '[i]ntimacy, as a concept, chaotically herds the unruly ambiguities of social relations that are infused with historical structures of power and the coexisting experiences of pleasure and affect' (Bigenho 2012, 177). Luran Berlant appears to have something similar in mind when she identifies the difficulty 'of naming what appears when a collectivity is historically created by biopower, class antagonism, nationalism, imperialism, and/or the law and, at the same time, is engendered by an on-going social life mediated by capital and organized by all kinds of pleasure' (Berlant 2008, 8). Although my ethnography focuses on different subject matter and different issues, what I take from the approaches of Bigenho, Berlant and Herzfeld is their various emphases on the ways in which intimacy can operate in spite of, and even because of, difference, separation, ambivalence, inequality and even antipathy (c.f. Giddens 1992).³³

Introducing Spectacle

Spectacle, Gaze and Alienation

The Oxford English Dictionary defines 'spectacle' as a 'person or thing exhibited to, or set before, the public gaze as an object either (a) of curiosity or contempt, or (b) of marvel or admiration.' Leslie Kan, in a 'keywords' essay on spectacle, also stresses its captivating qualities: 'much of the spectacle's appeal (or repugnance) derives from its visual power and ability to hold the gaze of the viewer' (Kan, n/d). Beyond these elementary definitions, discourses about spectacle tend to display a suspicion about its authenticity; in other words, we may believe that spectacle is something other than 'real' despite its purporting to be so. According to such a viewpoint, spectacles obscure, distort and distract us from some kind of truth. Literature on spectacle also invariably highlights

³³ These authors' approaches thus differ markedly from that of Anthony Giddens (1992), who posits a 'transformation of intimacy', which, enabled by the permeation of democratic and egalitarian values throughout Western society, relies on the assumed dissolution of difference.

a power discrepancy between the viewed and the viewer, but the polarity of this discrepancy varies. For example, in postcolonial perspective, the colonised or indigenous subject becomes objectified as spectacle, through exoticisation, orientalism or essentialism (Hunt and Lessard 2002, Kaplan 1997). Thus, the colonial gaze affords control over the meaning of that which is being viewed, the ‘other’ (Hall 2001). Similarly, in feminist perspective, the female body becomes a spectacle, objectified and its meaning conditioned by a hegemonic discourse and masculine gaze (Burns and LaFrance 2002, 74-77, Hunt and Lessard 2002, Kaplan 1997).

In Marxian perspective, however, such as that espoused by Guy Debord (1983 [1967]; see also Osumare 2013), the power dynamic is reversed; that which is viewed is imbued with the power to alienate and estrange the viewer, stripping the spectator of his/her agency. For Debord, spectacle is the material manifestation of an ideological framework rooted in capitalist accumulation and commodity fetishism. As the spectacle advances, it supposedly erases the traces of the human labour that brought it into being, generating alienation and blinding us to the structural inequalities created and sustained by capitalism. Spectacle thus carries a pacifying force, ‘which stupefies social subjects and distracts them from the most urgent task of real life – recovering the full range of their human powers through creative practice’ (Kellner 2003, 2-3). Although Debord’s observations remain apt for explaining many of the mechanisms of capitalism and spectacle, his totalising pessimism today seems inadequate when it comes to accounting for change (social, cultural, political and economic) or spectator agency.

My use of the concept of spectacle is not limited to any single one of these various perspectives. Instead, at different times I invoke postcolonial, feminist, Marxian/Debordian and other interpretations of spectacle. Given the variation in these interpretations, the task for the researcher is to identify where agency lies within a field of shifting subject-object relations.

Histories of Spectacle in Andean Music

The folklorisation and commercialisation of Andean music during the twentieth century provide a useful starting point for examining conceptualisations of spectacle. From the late 1920s, Andean – and specifically *cuzqueña* – music came to be included in official contests and public performances in the coastal capital, Lima (Mendoza 2008, 44-48 and

59-63; Turino 2008b, 100).³⁴ Many of these performances took place at the Pampa de Amancaes and attracted huge crowds, with one source reporting audiences as large as 50,000 (Vivanco, cited in Mendoza 2008, 45). Here, regional, and predominantly *cuzqueña*, music was exhibited before the public gaze, which, via a process of extrapolation, came to represent *lo incaico* (Incaness) and *lo andino* (Andeaness). The driving forces behind these spectacles during the first half of the twentieth century was the intellectual movement known as *indigenismo*.³⁵

Indigenistas were concerned with safeguarding indigenous ‘traditions’ not only in the face of the perceived threat of cultural imperialism from abroad but also, perhaps more importantly, as a means of forging a regional nationalism that would challenge the dominance of the coastal creole elites’ vision of the nation by positioning Andean, and specifically *cuzqueña*, culture as the basis for an emerging *peruanidad*, or ‘Peruvianess’ (Lloréns 1983; Mendoza 2008). These activities led to a folklorisation of indigenous music, dance and theatre, through which cultural expressions were formalised, stylised, categorised and presented as representative of regional and national identities. Dynamic musical practices became ‘fixed’, turning ‘lived’ culture in to spectacle. However, for the most part, *indigenistas* were concerned with representing indigenous culture as a pure and unmediated continuation of Incan lifeways, and Incaic imagery and rhetoric were fundamental to their output. This amounted to the valorisation of a glorious Inca past, while they implicitly rejected present-day indigenous realities.³⁶ The process of folklorisation brought indigenous music into the public sphere, mediated through staged performances and spectacular presentations that were often stripped of their ‘original’ ritual and participatory significance and aesthetically adapted to urban *mestizo* and *criollo* tastes. While a few indigenous musicians possessed discernable agency in the design of such folkloric spectacles (Mendoza 2008), the *indigenista* movement, on the whole, left little room for agentive indigenous subjects. Furthermore, such spectacles were largely conditioned by *mestizo* and *criollo* aesthetic ideals and, later, by the effects of tourism. In

³⁴ *Cuzqueño/a* means from or of the city of Cuzco.

³⁵ In this chapter, as elsewhere, proponents of *indigenismo* are referred to as *indigenistas*.

³⁶ A connected, but distinct, movement of intellectuals known as neo-Indianists became sceptical about the *indigenistas*’ preoccupation with *lo incaico* and were much more concerned with cultural practices and knowledge pertaining to the lived experience of contemporary Indians. This meant recognising and even celebrating the already ‘hybrid’ nature of contemporary indigenous populations and culture. Ruth Hellier-Tinoco (2011, 58) and Alan Knight (1990) observe similar intellectual shifts among *indigenistas* in post-revolutionary Mexico.

the minds of *cuzqueño indigenistas*, Mendoza writes, spectacles were held ‘as a way of proving their modernity and to outline national identities’. She continues,

These spectacles, which try to simplify for the tourist – and therefore present in concentrated fashion – the otherwise complicated task of deciphering the intricacies of the everyday life of culture the tourists are approaching ... are essentially an attempt to establish what Kirshenblatt-Gimblett calls a ‘touristic realism’ in order to convey the illusion that these are nonmediated events (Mendoza 2008, 67; see also Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 8 and 59).

This outward facing dynamic remains integral to a range of folkloric spectacles, yet, as we shall see, the introspective orientation of contemporary commercial huayno provides a rather different model.

From the 1950s onwards Andean music in Lima underwent further important changes, particularly in relation to the development of the commercial recording industry (Romero 2001, 109-121; Romero 2002). As discussed in Chapter 1, solo singers emerged and soon became stars, signalling the growing relevance of ideas about fame, performance and individuality, where there had hitherto been an emphasis in Andean music on community, participation and anonymity (Romero 2002, 221). Here, in addition to elements of display and performance, the concept of spectacle resonated as a function of a nascent celebrity culture. From a Debordian perspective, social life began to be supplanted by ‘mere representation’ and technological mediation was central to this dehumanising shift. The initial move towards solo singers, for example, was facilitated by the introduction of the microphone. Thus, in the Debordian sense, the spectacular took on an aural dimension as a split emerged between representation and ‘unmediated’ reality via the technological mediation of the voice. Crucial to both these processes is what Turino identifies as a shift from participatory to presentational performance, where the value attached to community music-making during feasts and rituals is superseded by distinctions between audience and performer and a greater emphasis on achieving high aesthetic standards (Turino 2008a). However, such distinctions must only be considered as heuristic devices. Today, for example, in spite of a clear divide between performers and audiences in contemporary commercial huayno shows, there remains a strong participatory element and even many of the most popular artists are recognised as having technical imperfections. This leads me to Part II, in which I provide an ethnographic account of contemporary commercial huayno shows.

The *indigenista* and tourist spectacles mentioned above have tended to make explicit claims about historical-cultural authenticity and reified difference, often orientated towards the eyes and ears of ‘outsiders’. Contemporary commercial huayno, in contrast, tends not make such claims. While I recognise that the distinctions are never clear-cut, contemporary commercial huayno, instead, tends to address the present desires, anxieties and tastes of the Andean proletariat. As we shall see, the appeal of huayno shows stems from the aural, visual and haptic excitement of high-energy spectacles as well as the intimacy and identification generated by dancing, drinking and sharing in a discourse of complicated romance and Andean roots.

PART II

An Ethnography of Commercial Huayno Shows

Introducing the Animador

Almost all art worlds are sites of collective activity characterised by ‘cooperative networks’ and particular divisions of labour (Becker 2008 [1982], 1). Although solo singers tend to be the most prominent and visible actors in commercial huayno as well as my own analysis, it is important to note the role of other producers, performers and mediators, too.³⁷ In addition to singers, then, another crucial role is performed by the *animador*. The figure of the *animador* (literally, ‘animator’) roughly equates to a compere, emcee or master of ceremonies but takes a particularly active role during performance and is responsible for holding much of the performance together. The word *animador* comes from the verb *animar*, which can be variously translated as ‘to encourage’, ‘to animate’ or ‘to enliven’. The *animador* is seen as an essential and integral performer in live huayno shows. Through his or her interactions with the audience and the other performers the *animador* must sustain the energy and intensity of the show, keep the attention of the crowd and frame how members of the audience experience what is seen and heard on stage. The *animador* thus presents, narrates, comments on and animates the performance. This performance involves a series of verbal and gestural actions and

³⁷ Joshua Tucker (2013b), for example, has argued for the importance of placing ‘media workers on a par with performers as contemporary sociomusical agents’ (7).

interactions between the *animador*, the singer, musicians and dancers on stage and the audience. The patter of the *animador* features recurring themes, jokes and stock phrases as well as spontaneous interjections in response to the crowd and other performers on stage. Throughout the performance he or she also gives shout-outs and greetings to members of the audience who pass messages up to the stage, scrawled on scraps of paper and the backs of beer bottle labels.

During my fieldwork, Jaime Ponce, one of huayno's leading *animadores* became a key interlocutor and friend. I accompanied Jaime to various recording sessions and live performances and twice conducted formal interviews with him. Jaime was born in the central Andean city of Huancayo and from a young age was fascinated by music and the radio. He grew up listening to Rod Stewart, the BeeGees and ABBA as well as Andean folklore and Latin popular music, fancying himself as a bit of a 'rocker'. Jaime recounted the excitement of holding a microphone for the first time at the age of twelve, after beginning to work as an errand boy at a local radio station known as 1550. After several years he got the chance to present his own radio show at around the time that *chicha* music was becoming increasingly popular (see Chapter 1). It was in the *chicha* scene that Jaime learned the ropes of being what he termed a 'social communicator', a role encompassing all kinds of verbal public performance, mass mediated or otherwise. But it is as an *animador* that Jaime has become most well known. 'The *animador* is basic', Jaime explained to me. 'An artist without an animator does not have much to deploy on stage' (*no tiene mucho despliegue en el escenario*). The importance of the *animador* is evidenced by the fact that almost without exception, huayno stars (and even many lesser known performers), each have their own *animador* who travels with them as part of their entourage.

The figure of the *animador* appears to have little historical precedent in Andean music, seemingly developing out of the *chicha* music scene of the 1970s and 1980s. Up to and during this time, huayno music, in contrast to *chicha*, was performed in small venues where artists often performed to an audience that sat and observed the show in a relatively passive manner. As explained in chapter one, from the 1940s, roughly up until the 1970s, there was a limitation of audiences' senses beyond listening and watching. People did not drink, eat or dance. And while there was usually somebody responsible for introducing the artists to the audience and thanking them afterwards such compères were rarely involved during the performance of the song itself. During the 1980s, however, most of these music venues ceased to exist and in the early 1990s live huayno

performance began to take a similar form to *chicha* events of the 1980s. Small concerts in tents became large open-air spectacles. The audiences' previously rather passive experience of sitting and watching the show became a more social and multisensory experience where people danced, socialised and drank. By the 1990s, powerful sound systems, light displays and choreographed routines became increasingly widespread, with many changes driven forward by a production company called PRODISAR. Jaime Ponce described his personal involvement in the use of *animadores* in huayno performance:

When I arrived at PRODISAR I got up on the stage and I presented [the singer] Doris Ferrer – but I didn't get down. She began to sing and I began to harangue and rouse the audience, you know. "Hands in the air! Palms in the air! Greetings for such and such a person". And the boss liked it a lot ... [before,] they were only presenters but when I entered, Jaime Ponce, that's when the trend of animation arrived. So I dressed in the same outfits as the singer and the dancers and we were a group ... Now there is more fluidity of communication between the artist on the stage and those that are dancing. Before, this wasn't the case ... you didn't have direct communication with artists (Jaime Ponce, interview, Lima, 18 November 2011).

The animador, along with the singer, plays a key role in initiating and framing the spectacle on stage as intimate, while ensuring the fluidity of communicative and affective exchanges among performers on stage and between performers and the audience. Their patter relies on creating opportunities for intimate identification, for example through shout-outs for people's hometowns in the Andes, articulations of national identity and voicing common tropes that hail strangers as members of an intimate public (Berlant 2008). This public – organised around tropes such of romantic suffering, being skint or the figure of the troublesome mother-in-law – is founded on shared experiences of, and attitudes toward, romance, family, migration and belonging. In such a context, agency is distributed widely though unevenly. Such spectacles involve multi-directional meaning making rather than following a single hermeneutic line linking the viewer (or listener) and the viewed (or the listened to).

Rosita de Espinar's Anniversary Concert

One Saturday in November 2011, on the cusp between afternoon and evening, technicians test the sound and beer vendors fill up their stocks at *El Huarcocondo*, a music locale in the migrant neighbourhood of San Juan de Lurigancho, in northeast Lima. Tonight is the *aniversario* of Rosita de Espinar, a huayno diva from Southern Peru. *Aniversarios* are anniversary concerts that mark a certain number of years since the beginning of a singer's *vida artistica*, or 'artistic life'. They are normally the highlight of a singer's calendar and often their biggest commercial ventures too (see Chapter 4). Tonight, Rosita will be supported by around a dozen other artists and groups that will provide entertainment, building up to her appearance sometime after midnight. There is no real concept of a beginning to a huayno spectacle; for the vast majority of attendees the music is already playing when they arrive. For now, a *nuevo valor*, or 'up-and-coming talent', who has been given a chance to perform, takes to the stage to sing to a large open empty space where several hours later there will be several thousand people. In spite of the lack of an audience she thanks the public for supporting her and explains how grateful she is for the opportunity to sing. There are a couple of dozen people milling around, including technicians, security guards and a handful of spectators. Among them are two middle-aged men who have come, already inebriated, to unwind after a week of manual labour. With the venue almost to themselves they dance, drink and laugh at each other's jokes, encouraging others, including myself, to join in.

Outside the venue small groups begin to congregate and stream steadily into the locale. Some arrive on foot while others fall out of heaving buses and jam-packed taxis. Most people arrive in groups made up either all of men, all of women or of a fifty-fifty split between men and women. The women seem to have made more of an effort to dress-up, most wearing jeans, smart tops and heels. Most men, on the other hand, wear their everyday clothes. Groups of teenage boys and girls stand quietly and shyly side by side, unsure about how to stand or where to put their arms and seemingly nervous about the romantic expectations of the night ahead. One group debates whether the 30-soles (US\$11) entry price will be worth it and what alternative, cheaper options there might be nearby.

The chokes and roars of antique bus engines from the nearby highway competes with booming bass notes, the tinny distorted sound of an amplified Andean harp and wails of romantic despair coming from a female singer. Even my feet feel the vibrations. While the music and stage-talk boom out from the open-air venue those congregating outside are unable to see in past the high concrete walls and vast iron doors. The fact

that the sound carries well beyond the walls of the venue, yet nothing can be seen, serves to enhance the sense of anticipation for the visual spectacle of the staged performance inside. The aural spectacle offers a tantalising impression of the performance but until one is inside the walls in full view of the stage it does not count as ‘being there’.

Spectators buy their tickets through a narrow hatch in the wall that is little more than a foot wide, before making their way inside through a small doorway. The dusty ground outside the venue is also a prime spot for food vendors with plenty of people coming past, who, aware they might spend the next several hours drinking their way through a crate of beer, are well-advised to line their stomachs. The smell of grilled meat hangs in the air along with dusty earth and exhaust fumes. A middle-aged woman walks around trying to sell chewing gum, candy, chocolate and sweets displayed on a large wooden tray resting on her belly and hung from her neck with string. On her back she carries a rucksack full of supplies in case she needs to top up her tray later in the evening. Other sweet sellers pay to enter the venue in the hope that they will get more business inside, though they probably have to work a few hours before they break even.

Inside the venue, the crowd gradually grows and the *animador* encourages people to come up to the front to dance, to shout suggestions and to compete in various ways to win free discs and posters. In between songs he strikes up a conversation with the crowd. ‘Put your hand up if you’ve brought money?’ A few hands go up. ‘Where are the people that are skint [*misio*]?’ Many more hands go up. ‘Right, these are the guys that are going to steal your wallets so be careful everyone!’ he jokes. A series of smiles and chuckles ripple across the crowd and a few people playfully point fingers at the potential ‘thieves’. Over the course of several hours performers come and go, building up to the appearance of the headline act, Rosita de Espinar. Soon after 1 a.m., Rosita’s entrance is announced by hyperbolic exclamations from the *animadores* over a cumbia-style rhythmic bed and interspersed with deafening ethereal synthesiser sounds and flashes of light from the stage. The audience then hears Rosita’s voice but she cannot yet be seen. Then, heads begin to look up to the right where Rosita suddenly comes into view. With fireworks exploding in the skies above, Rosita hovers high up in the air in a carriage draped in silky pink material. As she sings to the crowd below, the diva’s carriage is gradually lowered to the stage by a mechanised crane. Still singing, Rosita steps out of the carriage, before disappearing in a multi-coloured explosion of confetti and clouds of smoke. The spectacle has captured the crowd’s undying attention.

After performing several songs, the band strike up a tune familiar to most of the

crowd. Rosita and the *animadores* engage the crowd as the musicians play and audience members jump up and down, waving their arms in time with the music. Rosita hassles the women, encouraging them to pump their hands in the air before telling them to ‘get down’, demonstrating the manoeuvre by coquettishly descending into a squatting position. Then it is the men’s turn: ‘Where are the men?’ ‘Where are the single men?’ come the shouts from the stage. After a couple of minutes of build up, Rosita launches into the song ‘Suspiros de Amor’ (‘Sighs of Love’):³⁸

A mi corazón le debes	You owe my heart
Dos mil quinientos suspiros	Two thousand five hundred sighs
A mi corazón le debes	You owe my heart
Dos mil quinientos suspiros	Two thousand five hundred sighs
Si alguna vez lo has pagado	If you’ve ever paid [your debt]
Enséñame tu recibo	Show me your receipt
Si alguna vez lo has pagado	If you’ve ever paid [your debt]
Demuéstrame tus papeles	Show me your papers
Acaso para que me quieras	Perhaps so that you want me
Te puse puñal al pecho	I put a dagger to your chest
Acaso para que me ames	Perhaps so that you love me
Te puse puñal al pecho	I put a dagger to your chest
Que te costaba decirme	What would it have cost you to tell me
‘Cholita yo soy casado’	‘ <i>Cholita</i> I’m married?’
Que te costaba decirme	What would it have cost you to tell me
‘Cholita tengo mis hijos’	‘ <i>Cholita</i> I have my children?’
Amantes somos amantes	Lovers we are lovers
Tan solo fuimos amantes	We were only lovers
Amantes somos amantes	Lovers we are lovers
Tan solo fuimos amantes	We were only lovers
Tu eres casado cholito	You’re married <i>cholito</i>
Yo soy soltera que pena	I’m single, what a shame

³⁸ The original author of ‘Suspiros de Amor’ is Julia Palma.

In its romantic cynicism this is a fairly typical huayno. Like most huayno lyrics it invokes an intimate realm, dominated by emotionally charged introspections, accusations, declarations and laments concerning personal experiences of love and romantic breakdown. These are the ‘autobiographies of collective experience’ that structure public intimacy (Berlant 2008, vii).³⁹ Most of the audience know the lyrics and many spectators – mostly women – sing and gesture along with Rosita as she pounds her clenched fist against her chest and raises her arm outstretched. A multitude of voices and bodies works affectively together though all slightly out-of-synch.⁴⁰ This collective activity is not necessarily something people would do individually, at least not in the same way, and serves to illustrate the contagious nature of emotion and affect in social situations (Yano 2004, 45). The singer’s gestures provide a sense of intimate spectacle, characterised by acts of both voyeurism and empathy. By holding her hand to her chest, indicating the source of her emotional outpouring, or outstretched, as if to project and amplify that emotion or invoke a higher power, the singer makes a spectacle of her solitude, interiority and vulnerability, which magnetises a voyeuristic attention from the crowd. Yet, simultaneously, this spectacle induces a sense of intimacy and empathy, inviting audience members into a shared affective space where they imagine the emotions conveyed through the singer’s gestures as similar to their own.

Sometimes Rosita sings directly to an individual near the front of the stage, creating a fleeting moment of intimacy that is necessarily short so as to maintain the interest of the crowd. Here, the relations of intimacy between star and fan is unstable and unbalanced, born out of the orientation of many around a single persona. In moments when the singer makes eye contact with an individual in the crowd or has her photo taken with an individual fan, the bond of intimacy becomes concentrated and individuated – the emphasis comes to be on the personal rather than the public, stimulating further desire in those that were not singled out.

³⁹ While the intimate realm invoked by the lyrics is an important element in my overall analysis, I reserve more detailed discussion of its ethics of love, emotion and suffering for Chapter 3. Here, I am primarily concerned with the multidirectional relations of intimacy between and among stars, others performers, and audiences.

⁴⁰ The slightly out-of-synch nature of these shared vocal and bodily grooves chimes with Charles Keil’s notion of ‘participatory discrepancies’ (1987).

Behind Rosita, the dancers and musicians perform tightly choreographed and visually spectacular movements in synchrony (e.g. Figure 6).⁴¹ At one point the guitarist and a dancer bend back, facing upwards, while using one arm to bounce up and down on the stage in a series of humping gestures, a sight that draws smiles and laughter from sections of the crowd. Throughout the performance a myriad of mesmerising lights spin, swirl and flash rapidly across the stage and out towards the audience, magnetising the crowd's attention. Machines continue to pump out clouds of smoke, shrouding the performers in moving veils that obscure the audience's view, generating a sense of mystique and leaving the audience straining to apprehend the full and 'true' image of the diva. High above the performers at the back of the stage, a huge illumination advertising Cristal beer simultaneously conjures up modern capitalism and religious iconography while preaching down to people about which beer they should buy at the kiosks encircling the crowd.⁴² Most members of the crowd duly oblige; sharing and drinking beer is a fundamental aspect of the social experience that an event such as this entails. Below the Cristal illumination, Rosita moves back and forth along the T-shaped stage, which juts out into the crowd, adorned along the edges by flowers and strewn with confetti (Figure 5). Although the *animadores* occasionally come forward along the walkway, the space belongs principally to Rosita. The T-shaped stage, which penetrates the crowd, enables an intimate and more proximate encounter between singer and audience (Stokes 2010, 25). Yet the same T-shape creates a spectacle of the individual's solitude, focussing and controlling the gaze of the viewer. Here, intimacy and spectacle are inextricably entwined, produced conterminously within the same phenomenon.

The lovelorn narratives contained in Rosita's lyrics – like most commercial huayno performances – are brought to life through the gendered interaction between her and the male *animadores* (e.g. Figure 7). These performers act out the scenarios in the songs in time with the lyrics or the *animador* chips in with romantic reflections, advice and jokes that give light to a series of gender stereotypes. Rosita jokes with the *animadores* about how she is looking for a new man. Drawing a parallel between romance and

⁴¹ With the exception of Figure 5, which actually features Rosita de Espinar, the other images in this chapter are intended as guides only.

⁴² Cristal occupies the greatest share of the Peruvian beer market and its branding is intimately connected to national identity. The brand is owned by Backus and Johnston, a company that also own almost all beer brands in Peru except Bramha. Unbeknown to most Peruvian beer drinkers, Backus and Johnston is itself a subsidiary of the London-based SABMiller group, which is a prime example of the monopolistic tendencies and stealthy expansion of global capitalism.

materialist wants she cheekily insists that she is not interested in anything ‘second hand’ (*cosa usada*) but, rather, wants ‘something brand new’ (*algo nuevecito*). Meanwhile, the *animador* continues to offer encouragement to the crowd to keep drinking beer and provides perpetual shout-outs for audience members’ home towns and regions in the Andes: ‘hands up Espinar!’, ‘where are all the people from Apurimac?’, ‘who’s in from Ancash?’ Among the common gendered tropes one often finds *la mujer sufrida* (the suffering woman), *la mujer luchadora* (the struggling/fighting woman), *el hombre ingrato, traicionero y mentiroso* (the ungrateful, betraying, lying man) and *el hombre pisado* or *el hombre mantenido* (the kept man). These gendered stereotypes belong to a shared emotional and ethical field; they generate a type of cultural intimacy, founded on ‘self-stereotypes that insiders express ostensibly at their own collective expense’ (Herzfeld 2005, 3). Here, ambivalence is integral to the generation of intimacy.

My description of this performance featuring Rosita de Espinar is based, in part, on a live music video, supported by my own experiences of attending dozens of similar live huayno shows, including several by Rosita.⁴³ Recording technology makes it possible for the spectator to become divorced temporally and spatially from the spectacle (Kane/d). In Debord’s terms, this has the effect of making the video appear as mere ‘representation’ and the live spectacle as unmediated ‘directly lived’ experience (1983, 1; c.f. Auslander 2008). This distinction, however, is problematised by the fact that technological mediation is already part of the live spectacle, with different layers of mediation combining to form a sort of meta-spectacle: the numerous cameramen filming on stage, from the crowd and on the mechanised crane above, become part of the very spectacle that they are trying to capture (Figure 5). At one point, too, Rosita looks firmly down the barrel of the camera lens in a close-up moment of heightened televisual intimacy. This close-up shot makes a spectacle of the emoting face, yet provides a sense of intimacy through privileged proximity and the immediacy of expression. Are we voyeurs or empathisers? Any sense of intimacy, however, is reserved for the video viewer and largely lost on the audience present on the night. For the concert audience, the star appears momentarily distracted, the ‘authenticity’ of the intimate communication between star and audience is interrupted and the means of producing filmic

⁴³ The video can be found on YouTube and is titled, ‘Rosita de Espinar tema: Suspiros de Amor video www.rincondelhuayno.com’. Available from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ogv-x8clXLo> (accessed 5 January 2014).

representation is laid bare through live performance. ‘Ah ha!’ no doubt Debord would shout. ‘The intimate moment never actually happened – it is mere representation’.

The relationship between the video viewer and the singer – as Yano writes in relation to *enka* music in Japan – is ‘held together by the suspended sense of time and place: it is an asynchronous, disembodied intimacy.’ (Yano 2002, 82). However, the sense of emotional ‘authenticity’ that this technological channelling of intimacy engenders is a direct result of televised spectacle rather than something that occurs in spite of it. As Carolyn Stevens writes, ‘[i]magined intimacy can be more satisfying than real intimacy’ (Stevens 2004, 74). However, attempts to determine the boundaries between the ‘imagined’ and the ‘real’ can fail to capture the way intimacy in a mass-mediated and richly commodified field traverses spaces of physical co-presence and virtual worlds. While some might be tempted to discard this intimacy as fake, as the source of false-consciousness, it is important to recognise that although it may be a different kind of intimacy to that of physical co-presence with ‘known and knowable people’ (Dueck 2013a), it remains significant and meaningful in spite of, or even because of, its virtuality. Returning to Bigenho’s terms, perhaps ‘distance’ is an integral part of the experience of intimacy in the first place.

As with video recording and the T-shaped stage, the microphone, too, affords the possibility for the simultaneous production of intimacy and spectacle. It transduces the voice, capturing its intimate ‘grain’ and catapulting it out as aural spectacle, which magnetises attention from the crowd (Barthes 1977). Listeners have little control over what they hear – they cannot close their ears as they could their eyes. However, this amplified and disembodied voice brings people into an intersubjective state of aural communion. It becomes the source for multiple affective attachments as listeners engage with it viscerally by singing and gesturing along and semantically by interpreting lyrics and relating them to personal and shared experiences. Agency to determine meaning and affect is constantly flowing and shifting between performer and audience, humans and objects.

In the short sections that follow I provide vignettes of different activities (beer drinking, gift throwing, dancing, photograph taking and social media use) through which intimacy and spectacle are manifested.



Figure 5. Rosita de Espinar performs on T-shaped stage to the crowd and to the cameras. Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/rositadeespinar/6001024978> (accessed 5 January 2014).



Figure 6. Performers entertain the crowd at a commercial huayno performance in Chorrillos, Lima, June 2012. Photo: James Butterworth.



Figure 7. Dina Paucar prepares to slap her *animador*, Orlando Aguirre as the pair role play a lovers' tiff on stage in Chupaca, June 2012. Photo: James Butterworth.

Beer Drinking

At huayno concerts there is a particular Andean etiquette surrounding drinking beer. Like many Andean social occasions, drinking is a fundamentally social activity (Harvey 1994b). Rather than each person having their own bottle of beer or even their own cup, a single bottle of beer is circulated along with a single cup. As the person before you in the chain fills the cup they pass the bottle to you before taking a drink. The beer is typically drunk in one or two gulps and then the cup is shaken out on the ground to get rid of any excess foam. The cup is then passed to you, along with an invitation to 'serve yourself'. You fill the cup and then pass the bottle on before taking your drink and then passing the cup. It is generally frowned upon to dawdle when the cup comes to you, as it is important to keep the drinking cycle well oiled. People are often quick to make jokes about who is keeping the cup warm by hanging on to it too long. Refusing an offer to drink can also be socially awkward, potentially signalling a lack of respect, mean-spiritedness or a disavowal of reciprocal relations. Often, it is preferable to pour yourself a token splash, take the smallest of sips and throw the rest on the ground than to reject an invitation. Occasionally, people also top up your cup themselves if they think you

have been stingy in serving yourself. The celebration of abundance in relation to drinking also extends to huayno lyrics, which commonly refer to drinking two bottles of beer, not just one, such as in the song ‘Dos Cervezas’ (Two Beers), sung by Dina Paucar: ‘Two beers please, I want to drink to that man that cheated me’ (I discuss references to drinking in song texts in more detail in Chapter 3).

The social expectations surrounding drinking also extend to artists, even when they are on stage (e.g. Figure 8). Accepting an offer of beer from the audience helps to create a sense of intimacy between the performer and the public, demonstrating that even stars are embedded in wider social relations. An artist who refuses a drink may appear antisocial or ‘*sobrado*’ (roughly, ‘stuck-up’). Sharing in drinking, even if only a little, demonstrates the credentials of the artist and helps to sustain a sense of reciprocity and shared intimate inebriation. Many artists pride themselves on their drinking image, a point that extends to artists’ stage names, such as in the case of Marisol Caverro, who is known as ‘*La Reina Chelera*’, or ‘The Boozy Queen’. When I asked Marisol about this stage name she explained:

This is because when I’m on stage I drink with the public, let’s say, they pass you a glass, there are people, at least when we travel to the south, they bring you a crate, two crates, half a crate, two bottles, so there are places where we begin to drink with my musicians and when I drink I say ‘When I drink, everyone drinks’, I myself fill everyone’s cups full, so sometimes we end up drunk (Marisol Caverro, interview, Lima, 3 March 2012).

By drinking, artists are also able to match deeds with the words of huayno lyrics (which are littered with declarations of the desire to get drunk) and stage-talk (which incites the continual flow of alcohol). The *animador*, in particular, plays an important role in sustaining this alcoholic discourse and its corresponding expectations: ‘Bottles in the air!’ ‘Raise your hands if you are feeling tipsy!’ ‘Serve yourself! ‘Cheers!’ ‘If you don’t have a bottle in your hand what are you doing here?’ come the shouts from the stage. Similarly, Marisol explained to me she commonly shouts phrases like ‘if you don’t drink you are a kept man!’ However, the admission that comments such as this are simply ‘in jest’ does little to reduce social expectations, especially when invitations to drink up are fused with shout-outs for audience members’ hometowns in the Andes. Scraps of paper are passed up to the stage where the *animador* converts the written message into a loud

exclamation: ‘Greetings to Ricardo and Rolando Cornejo from Sicuani,’ before adding, ‘in Sicuani they drink by the truck load!’

The importance of the relation between drinking and the practice of naming places emerged in an interview with Jaime Ponce. When I asked him how the audience responded when *animadores* were first introduced at huayno performances, he explained:

It was a boom! It was a great success [*golazo*], because I remember that even Samuel Dolores [the boss of the production company PRODISAR] told his *animadores* from that moment onwards that they had to animate like me, because...I made people drink more beer. [I said to the crowd] ‘Hey where are all the beer sales to the people from Huaraz [a northern city in Peru]?’ You have to toast those details, you know. And it seems like a lie, but that motivates you to go and get more beer...just like now, you know, shouting ‘raise your hands, raise your bottle, raise your glasses,’ which they do, you know. So we are indirect sellers of beer. We have a lot of influence so that the people dance and drink. ... For example, a guy from a town in Abancay, let’s say Uripa and nobody has ever mentioned his town and you say ‘Greetings for all the people from Uripa’ jeez that guy wakes up and right there they drink the bar dry because they get excited (Jaime Ponce, interview, Lima, 18 November 2011).

The patter of animator is thus a key part of the aesthetics and ethics of drinking at a huayno event. Moreover, there is a commercial dimension to all this talk of beer and the *animador*’s role is important in this regard. There are widespread narratives about beer companies funding the composition and performance of songs about beer, though I have yet to find more than anecdotal evidence for this. Equally pervasive is a narrative about the success of concerts being measured by the number of crates of beer sold, rather than the number of tickets or any qualitative assessment of the audiences’ enjoyment. Even though there is significant historical precedent for songs about drinking alcohol in the Andes, such songs have become enmeshed in complex processes of commodification. From one perspective, audiences are manipulated and duped into buying more beer by performers who are either active or complicit participants in a spectacle driven by the will for capitalist accumulation. From another perspective, the act of drinking is integral to Andean modes of sociality and in order to achieve an intimate relation with audiences, singers must comply with such social expectations.



Figure 8. Dina Paucar says a toast after being handed a cup of beer from the crowd in Chorillos, Lima, June 2012.

Gift Throwing

Followers, fans and fanatics congregate directly below the elevated stage. The most animated attendees jump up and down, waving long slim multi-coloured balloons and hoping their animated state will qualify them for a free gift thrown from the stage (e.g. Figure 9). Arriving with bags of *regalos*, or gifts, to throw to the crowd is a key aspect

of most live huayno shows (e.g. Figure 10). These gifts are rarely of high economic value but are collected as mementos, often only obtainable from events themselves. Gifts are almost always branded with the name, face and/or voice of the artist: these include key rings, bottle openers, 'official' original CDs or DVDs, hats and posters.⁴⁴ These gifts also serve as grassroots marketing products and commonly include telephone and email contact details for bookings.

The throwing of gifts into the crowd also adds to the excitement and spectacle of the show. At various points, the excitement spreads beyond the keen followers at the front to those much further back. The singer or *animador* asks who in the audience would like a gift. People jump up and down, screaming, shouting, waving their arms, trying to catch the performers' attention. The excitement is contagious and is sustained intersubjectively. It is hard to imagine anyone behaving like this if they were alone. Gifts are then thrown high in the air and sections of the crowd surge and jostle for position with bodies pressed against other bodies, arms raised and heads looking firmly upwards. After a brief scuffle the victor emerges from the scrum, gift in hand. The atmosphere is competitive but jovial and even those missing out have smiles on their faces. The act of throwing gifts adds to the spectacle but also allows opportunities for audience participation.

In addition to its marketing and spectacular uses, gift throwing also serves as a form of exchange, a way of the artist reciprocating the support of the public economically, in terms of the entrance fee, and affectively, in terms of their cheers and applause. A sense of intimacy accrues to the exchange, first, because of the uniqueness of the objects delivered directly from the artists and, second, as a result of the up-close-and-personal depictions of the singers' faces on the gifts. Borrowing from Carolyn Stevens, there is 'a circular movement of capital, objects, and affect between fans and stars', which amounts to 'more than mere economic exchange' and allows fans to accumulate objects 'as a kind of emotional capital' (Stevens 2004, 60). Thus, there are multiple layers of meaning attached to gift throwing associated with marketing, spectacle and intimacy, which simultaneously involve economic, social and affective exchange.

⁴⁴ Because of extremely high levels of piracy it is next to impossible to obtain original CD, DVD or VCD discs of huayno music. Collecting them directly from artists at live huayno shows is often the only way to acquire them.



Figure 9. Spectators at a commercial huayno performance in Chorrillos, Lima, June 2012. Photo: James Butterworth.



Figure 10. Alejandro Paucar (father of Dina Paucar) gets in on the action by throwing posters from the stage into the crowd in Chorrillos, Lima, June 2012. Photo: James Butterworth.

Dancing

Live huayno shows are synonymous with dancing. In fact, huayno is a form of dance as much as it is a musical genre. Dancing is a key aspect both of on-stage performance and audience participation though the styles and meanings vary between the two. All huayno stars have backing dancers (usually between two and four), which contribute to the visual spectacle of performance as well as serving as a source of interaction on stage. Backing dancers' movements, however, are typically distinct from the steps performed by audience members. While the basic steps are the same, the performance style of the dancers on stage is more flamboyant, spectacular, exaggerated and camp, with synchronised choreography, including specific arm, hand and head gestures as well as kicks, jumps and spins. Moreover, this staged style involves a presentational kind of performance, facing the crowd and adding to the spectacle. In contrast, audience members dance the more customary participatory form of huayno. This is a sort of two-step that is spontaneous rather than choreographed and much less flamboyant. Huayno is typically a couple's dance involving a fairly straightforward and at times coquettish interaction between a man and woman. However, huayno is flexible, so that dancing can also take place with a group of people in a circle. Huayno dancing is not formally taught and possesses little formalised theory. Instead it is a form of embodied knowledge that many have grown up with and that everybody can easily take part in, even if some look more rigid or shyer than others. Audience dancing certainly becomes more vigorous later in the night once the alcohol has got to work and those that have had one too many might begin some individual free-styling. Huayno dancing can be sexually suggestive but is rarely sexual in an explicit or overt manner. It is commonly considered playful, flirty and jovial (in sharp contrast to the melodramatic melancholy of the lyrics), affording opportunities for social interaction, romantic communication and intimacy. Thus, while on-stage dancing is primarily a synchronised and choreographed presentational style of performance, audience dancing is orientated more toward participation and intimate sociability, manifested through co-presence, interactive movements and shared bodily grooves.

Photograph Taking

Taking photos with fans is seen as a way of stars giving back, of reciprocating the investment the public has made in them. Sometimes, audience members will be allowed on-stage during the performance to have their photo taken with divas that expertly greet fans, smile at the camera and continue to sing effortlessly to the crowd. Usually, a manager or security guard at the edge of the stage pushes and pulls fans on and off the stage in regimented fashion and with industrial speed. On other occasions, audience members must wait until the end of a singer's set. As the last chord of the set is sounded a surge of people scurry over to the barriers that fence off the entry to the stage waiting to be let through to have their photo taken with the star. At very large events and especially when a diva is the only act of the night, I have seen her kept busy for a couple of hours after the show until the queue recedes. There is typically a mixture of men and women, young and old. As men, in particular, put their arm around the divas for photos there is usually an alert manager, protective partner or a combination of the two making sure that the men's hands do not slip lower than the artist's shoulder. Here, the intimacy between fan and star is manifested physically through bodily contact and the narrative work achieved by the photo. As Yano writes, describing similar fan-star photos in Japanese *enka* music: 'it is the very coupling, the fiction of the two-ness, that beautifully masks the lopsidedness of the relationship. Intimacy inheres within a dream of exclusivity performed by the photo' (Yano 2004, 46).

As Marisol Caveró explained, when I asked her about the importance of the relationship between the artist and the public, she responded:

Let's say in a venue they pass you a little glass [of beer], you don't accept it and they become resistant. [Instead] you have to pose for photos with them or give them your hand ... sometimes there are people that go as far as to fall in love with the artist, so they want to see you, they want to grab you and if you don't let yourself go, how can you leave those people? [*si tú no te dejas, ¿cómo lo dejas a esa gente?*] ... you have to put yourself in the position of the public because I think that's what we artists are for, to serve them, to attend to them (Marisol Caveró, interview, Lima, 3 March 2012).

As with drinking, then, photos are a key site for reciprocity, intimacy and that most important sentimental virtue, empathy. They also provide an opportunity for the artist to show their humbleness, which as every huayno star will tell you, you have to 'live' and

not just talk about. The key to this is to appear on the same level as the audience, to show that you understand their needs and desires. As Marisol explained:

It's not because people think I am a drunk or boozy [that I seem humble], it's simply because people come, they take their photos, they hug me, they want to dance and I enter the groove [*entro en onda*], I don't make a point that I'm an artist, that the public has to be below. For photos it's the same, they form a queue and with every last one I finish taking photos with them, I have a little drink with them, sometimes I joke, sometimes I'm a real joker on stage, a little crude, that's why sometimes they say to me, 'You're slanderous [*malatera*] about men' because I always say 'Where are the men? Those scoundrels [*simverguenizas*] that cheat us, that make us cry, cuckolded [*cachudo*], kept [*pisado*]' so, I'm closely connected with people, I don't tell people not to touch me, no, I believe that with humility you have to live it (Marisol Cavero, interview, Lima, 3 March 2012).

There is strongly gendered aspect to these acts of levelling with the audience, which I discuss in more detail in Chapter 5.

Social Media

As elsewhere in the world, Facebook is a very popular social networking website in Peru. While most artists have Facebook profiles, only the most famous have publicly accessible profiles and significant numbers of followers on the site. For these bigger stars, Facebook is a key tool for making public communications and maintaining relationships with fan bases and the media. During 2011 to 2013, the most frequent users of Facebook among huayno stars included Sonia Morales, Rosita de Espinar and, perhaps the most prolific, Dina Paucar. They regularly post photos and add status updates up to several times a day. Within seconds, followers 'like' their posts and add their own comments. Throughout the day, and often the night too, they respond to many of the comments, sometimes individually but more often collectively, thanking all for their words of kindness, encouragement and affection. In the case of Dina Paucar, her photos vary from shots taken of her on stage, photos of her pets, to self-portraits taken on her Blackberry mobile phone, perhaps in the car on the way to an event or having just finished applying her makeup before a show. These photos constantly play with and

reinforce public/private divisions, giving followers regular and intimate glimpses into Dina's personal and domestic life, but always on her own terms. Many people that comment on Dina's profile are known to her (family, friends, others in the industry and dedicated fans) but others have never met her but stop by virtually to send their greetings, praise and support. The comments are overwhelmingly complimentary and frequently affectionate. For example, following a large concert in November 2011, Dina posted a link on her Facebook page to an online article in the tabloid newspaper *El Ojo*, titled 'Dina Paucar Paralyzed Lima in her Big 21st Anniversary Party'. Alongside the link, Dina wrote:

Gracias Perú, hoy la prensa. los medios de comunicación. hablan de mi trabajo. porque me dedique a quererlos y a dar lo mejor de mi. una ves mas puedo decir "Reto cumplido" lo logre. pero Ustedes fueron mi apoyo. Gracias norte, centro, sur. oriente. todo mi hermosa patria. Dios les de su bendicion por siempre. Di

Thank you Peru, today the press. the media. speak about my work. because I dedicated myself to loving you and giving the best of myself. once again I can say "Mission accomplished" I achieved it. but You were my support. Thank you north, centre, south. east. all my beautiful homeland. God blesses you for eternity. Di

Comments on the post quickly started to pile up:

solo se q es lo maximo y un grande ejemplo [sic]
all I know is you're the best and a great role model

sigue con tu humildad y tu cariño a todo tu gente linda
continue with your humility and your affection for all your beautiful people

Dina soon responded:

HOLITAS AMORES, AQUI RECIBIENDO LAS MUESTRAS DE SU AMOR. QUE GRANDE ES SU SENTIMIENTO POR MI PERSONA.

ESO ME HACE MUY FELIZ!!!, Y SIENTO MUCHO CARIÑO POR UDS.

HEY HEY LOVES, JUST HERE RECIEVING THE DISPLAYS OF YOUR LOVE. HOW GREAT IS YOUR FEELING FOR ME. THAT MAKES ME VERY HAPPY!!!, AND I FEEL A LOT OF AFFECTION FOR YOU.

Two minutes later Dina added another comment:

LA HUMILDAD SE PRACTICA, VERDAD? Y SE HABRAN DADO CUENTA QUE SIEMPRE LOS LLEVARE EN MI CORAZON. SOY AGRADECIDA POR SU INFINITO AMOR... GRACIAS POR QUERERME. DI

HUMILITY IS TO BE PRACTICED, RIGHT? AND YOU WILL HAVE NOTICED THAT I ALWAYS CARRY YOU IN MY HEART. I AM GRATEFUL FOR YOUR INFINITE LOVE... THANK YOU FOR LOVING ME. DI

Another follower quickly posted a response:

gracias a ti mas bien,por dedicarnos tus exitos y tu sencillas de mujer,gracias a ti,por tus canciones dimita.exitos en todo y bendiciones y seguidor tuyo. [sic]

rather thank you,for dedicating your successes to us and your woman's simplicity.thank you,for your songs little dina.wishing you success in everything and blessings and follower of yours.

Facebook is thus a site where intimacy is generated and displayed publicly not only between Dina and people she knows but between star and (unknown) fans. Scholars have stressed that in the exchange between fan and star, the star receives financial support and fans receive what Yano describes as 'emotional sustenance' (2002, 133). Fans' attachments are typically considered in affective terms, whereas stars' interests are

seen primarily as instrumental. I want to suggest here, however, that the exchange is affective in both directions, that the audience's projection of support and affection has genuine and tangible effects on stars, which then feedback to crowds and publics. In conversation with Dina it was clear that she relied on the affectionate words of the public for 'emotional sustenance' too. She typically described to me the love that she felt from fans as a source of energy and inspiration. When I suggested there must be moments, having travelled for hours, or after consecutive performances, when she did not want to get up on stage or simply did not have the energy or the will, she replied:

The public give me energy, they transmit their feeling [*feeling*] to me, I'm infected with them psychologically, I fall in love with them and straightaway they fall in love with me and begin to sing along in chorus (Dina Paucar, interview with author, 26 June 2012).

It is easy to be cynical about such statements from stars; that is, to view them as contributing to a notion of fans as 'the most duped and ignorant of the already co-opted audiences of Culture Industry spectacles' (Kelly 2004, 1). In contrast, scholars have shown the agency that fans possess in shaping the meanings of star performers and their songs (Grossberg 1992; Kelly 2004; Yano 2004). Here, I am additionally interested in the affective agency of fans and how affect operates in a multidirectional manner, beyond a one-way affective transmission from star to fan. We might ask, for example, what affective and cultural work do thousands of screaming fans do, not just among themselves, but also for performers and stars on stage? How might we think about this as an affective exchange that overflows reductive readings, which cast audiences as dupes and stars as nothing more than a source of false idolatry or front for consumer capitalism?

Conclusion: 'Intimate Spectacle'

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how contemporary commercial huayno shows generate both intimacy and spectacle. I have argued that thinking about the concepts of intimacy and spectacle together provides a productive way of analysing the performance interactions, imagined connections and affective exchanges between and

among huayno stars and fans. As the theoretical discussions in Part I demonstrated, intimacy and spectacle carry divergent connotations. At their extremes, intimacy implies connection, closeness, sociality, (inter)subjectivity and agency, while spectacle implies separation, distance, alienation, objectification and passivity. At times, intimacy and spectacle are generated independently of each other and one appears much more prominently than the other. However, I have also highlighted a series of examples where intimacy and spectacle are generated simultaneously from within the same phenomenon. While my focus has been on huayno music, I suggest that the concept of 'intimate spectacle' developed here might usefully be applied in other musical contexts around the world.

Huayno shows are sites of spectacle, designed to magnetise, sustain and manipulate the audience's attention. These multisensory events employ vivid multi-coloured fabrics, flowers and confetti, extravagant and energetic dance movements, stunning light displays, fireworks, smoke machines and loud amplified sound, which together provide an array of visual, aural and haptic stimulation. Individual touches, like the lowering of the artist to the stage via a mechanised crane, add to the theatricality of the performance and make a spectacle of the individual diva. At times, members of the audience are transfixed, still and even passive. Yet, moments later they are re-socialised through acts of drinking, dancing, laughing, singing and talking.

A central agent in the shaping of meaning and affect in huayno shows is the *animador*, who frames the spectacle as intimate, through verbal and gestural performance. By invoking Andean place names, articulations of national belonging and tropes housed within 'zones of familiarity and comfort', the *animador* plays a key role in structuring public intimacy (Berlant 1998, 281). This public intimacy is founded upon a shared emotional and ethical field, populated by tropes of romance, family, work, drinking and other aspects of everyday life. These tropes index private, yet generic, lives and give birth to stories about persons, which suggest to listeners and watchers that they '*already* share a worldview and emotional knowledge' (Berlant 2008, viii). The audience responds to the calls from the stage by shouting, singing, gesturing and passing up written messages. The communicative and affective exchanges are multi-directional and agency and affect are constantly shifting.

Intimacy and spectacle are also inextricably entwined and can be generated simultaneously from within the same phenomenon. For example, while the act of throwing gifts from the stage into the crowd adds to the spectacle, it also enables a type

of intimate exchange and grassroots marketing. Furthermore, with her gestures the diva draws attention to her expressive individuality, yet, these same gestures invite empathetic and mimetic responses from the audience. The T-shaped stage similarly encourages a more intimate and proximate encounter between diva and fans but it also serves to emphasize the diva's individuality, creating a spectacle of her solitude. Given the narratives of love, pain and interiority that dominate huayno lyrics, the diva's physical solitude on-stage is all the more acute (see Chapter 3). Thus, I argue that such intimate spectacles trigger acts of both empathy and voyeurism.

I have also illustrated how technological mediation plays a fundamental role in the co-production of intimacy and spectacle. Technological mediation allows the spectator to become temporally and spatially divorced from the spectacle, raising suspicions about what is 'real' and what, in Debord's terms, is 'mere representation'. However, the same processes of technological mediation afford unparalleled opportunities for intimacy en masse. For example, close-up video shots of a singer's emoting face creates a kind of intimate knowledge, which occurs *because of* rather than *in spite of* televised spectacle. The microphone, too, captures the intimacies of the voice, which are then transduced into an aural spectacle that colonises the audience's ears, while bringing them affectively into aural communion. Photography, too, does intimate and spectacular work. Star-fan photos create the possibility of reciprocity, intimacy and a levelling out of the disparity and distance between stars and fans. Yet the fictive, 'unreal' quality of this 'dream of exclusivity' (Yano 2004, 46) returns us to Debordian suspicions about representations that conceal a degradation of social life. The kind of circumscribed and restricted intimacy attached to taking photos with fans is also present in social media use. In spite of the asymmetry of individual stars exchanging affectionate messages with multiple fans and publics, such affective exchanges allow stars and fans to connect in ways that they both may find extremely meaningful. Thus, it has been my intention to take these mass-mediated, virtual and imagined forms of intimacy seriously, treating them as more than false consciousness.

The intimacy and spectacle generated by huayno shows are also complexly commodified in ways that have the potential to disempower, alienate or co-opt but simultaneously create sites for meaningful forms of sociality, identification and belonging. Beer drinking, for example, crosses the aesthetic domain (songs and stage talk about drinking) and the ethical domain (the virtues, ambivalence and pleasure of drinking itself). This creates a spectacle where drinking is encouraged as an instrumental means of

increasing profitability. However, it also serves to generate and sustain bonds of intimacy between and among stars and fans, which are connected to a deep-seated Andean cultural practice and mode of sociality orientated around drinking.

More broadly, how might the concept of intimate spectacle affect our understanding of intimacy and spectacle as separate concepts? Like Bigenho (2012), I have been concerned in this chapter with analysing how intimacy accrues in spite of, and even because of, difference, distance and disconnection. This might lead us away from the notion that intimacy is necessarily motivated by a desire to dissolve difference. Similarly, I have explored scenarios where mass-mediated and commodified spectacles afford unparalleled opportunities for the communication and generation of intimacy and empathy. This might lead us to consider spectacle, commodity and mass mediation as potential sites of agency and new forms of sociality, rather than as technologies of pacification and alienation. In the case of huayno shows, then, it is difficult to discuss intimacy without discussing spectacle and vice versa. They are two sides of the same coin, which, together, help to articulate the paradoxical nature of stardom, mass-mediation and sentimental public culture.

THREE

Love Gone Sour: Huayno's Aesthetics of Emotion

Huayno is a genre imbued with emotion and sentiment. The emotionally charged narratives of love and suffering that attach to huayno songs and singers are central to the genre's appeal. In this chapter I examine the aesthetics of emotion in huayno; that is, how emotion is ordered, given meaning, performed and ascribed beauty and value. I begin by exploring histories of sentiment in Andean music and song. Despite significant historical continuity in the representations of emotionality associated with Andean songs and poetry going back centuries, I consider how huayno lyrics have developed in recent decades, especially in connection with rural-urban migration. I illustrate how tales of romantic pain have come to dominate huayno lyrics at the expense of other topics and how the complex metaphoric depictions of love and its connection with nature – a key characteristic of rural songs – have largely been replaced by simplified verses and a direct mode of expression. I then examine in detail the representations of emotionality in contemporary commercial huayno lyrics. After outlining the processes and structures of song composition I analyse some of the most common tropes in huayno lyrics, which exemplify the genre's tendency towards cynicism, anomie and excess.

I highlight how huayno narratives contain certain moral ambivalences and ambiguities that are designed to elicit empathy rather than renunciation from listeners. In the context of these intersubjective acts of evaluation, I suggest that perceptions about performers' sincerity are key. Thus, 'good' performance is contingent on singers being able to demonstrate that they have lived the emotion and suffering of which they sing. Fans, in turn, and to varying extents, see themselves and their lives reflected in singers' emotional performances. Indeed, one of the most common justifications for huayno's appeal is its fidelity to the real day-to-day experiences of its listeners. However, I argue

that the ways in which audiences engage with huayno's painful narratives are paradoxical, in that they represent both an escape from as well as a reflection of 'real' life.⁴⁵

Histories of Sentiment

Love, Music and Song in the Andes

References to the relationship between love and music appear from the earliest Spanish accounts of indigenous music making in the Andes. In Garcilaso's *Comentarios Reales*, for example, the author writes of the emotional and amorous connotations of the *flauta* (flute):

They played their songs [on *flautas* of four or five fingerholes] in measured verse, which for the most part were about the passions of love. ... the man who was in love, playing music at night on his flute, would speak through his melody to the lady and to all the world of his content or discontent of spirit, according to the favour or disregard she showed for him. ... In such a way it could be said that he spoke through the flute (Garcilaso 1959 [1609]: Bk. 2, Ch. 26).

Garcilaso continues by highlighting the seductive power of the music:

One night at a late hour, a Spanish man came across an Indian woman he knew ... who said to him, 'Sir, let me go where I go, know that this flute you hear from that hill calls me with passion and tenderness, in a way that that forces me to go there. Let me go, for your life, for I cannot but go there, love beckons me so that I should be his wife and he my husband' (ibid).

⁴⁵ My discussion in this chapter surrounding the emotional suffering of romance provides a link with Chapter 4, where I explore other discourses about suffering in relation to religious and neoliberal transformations in Peru in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

Similar notions about music's affective power can still be observed across the rural Andes where music continues to be a fundamental part of courting myths and rituals (Stobart 2006, 102-29; Turino 1983).

The French ethnologists Raoul and Marguerite d'Harcourt indicate that the majority of songs they collected on their journeys through Peru in the early twentieth century were about love (1990, 186). Intriguingly, they also suggest that '[i]n the eyes of the indians, every being "that does not know how to love" appears as inferior; and must be corrected' (ibid). This observation implies that the ability to love is something that must be learned, that it is socially valued, and potentially virtuous. Reading further into the d'Harcourt's comments, I would suggest that such a virtue is not contingent on one's love being reciprocated, as centuries of Andean songs attest.

Many accounts of Andean love songs have focussed on the *yaraví*, a genre born in the eighteenth century and contentiously considered to derive to a greater or lesser extent from the *harawi* (as I discuss below).⁴⁶ It is clear that the quechua word *harawi* was used in Incan times to refer to a variety of poetry and songs that could be sacred or profane in function, joyous or profoundly sad in tone and historical or personal in content. Jorge Basadre suggests that the name comes from the Quechua verb '*yarabuiy*' or '*harabuiy*' meaning 'to tell or invent fables' (1938, 403). Jesús Lara alternatively translates the verb '*arawiy*' as 'to versify' (Lara 1947, 76). The Spanish priest and lexicographer Diego González Holguín described the '*harawi*' as a song 'about the deeds of others or the memory of absent loved ones, and of love and affections' (González Holguín 1989 [1608], 152). However, whereas the *harawi* could refer to a wide range of sung verses, the *yaraví* was known almost exclusively for relating the sadness and pain of love gone sour. The stressed final syllable in the word *yaraví* clearly betrays its Spanish coinage and its poetic melancholy has more than a hint of early modern Iberian emotionality. The mark of the Spanish can be seen to an even greater extent in the *triste*, a genre that bears many similarities to the *yaraví*.⁴⁷ In his overview of folkloric art in Boliva, Rigoberto Paredes writes:

The tristes are derived from the indigenous jharahui or yaraví and Andalusian melodies. Its music composed in 3/4 is used to express the sorrow of the heart and

⁴⁶ Alternative spellings of *harawi* include *arawi*, *arawi*, *harawi*, *harabi*, *qarawi*, *jharahui*, *yarabue*, *arabi*. The Spanish word '*yaraví*', in contrast, does not have alternative spellings.

⁴⁷ In fact, in northern Peru *triste* and *yaraví* are often used interchangeably.

the bitterness in life caused by an adverse fate. The lyrics of these songs always contain a complaint, a painful cry of the soul or a romantic ballad [*trova amorosa*], expressed by the singer in a heartfelt manner and with a sad pose. It is a deeply sentimental song (1949, 92).

The logic underpinning Paredes' suggestion that the *triste* derives from an indigenous genre is not clear and the description of the *yaraví* as indigenous seems unconvincing, given that it was born during the colonial period and its emotional style and expression was primarily influenced by European melancholy.

A number of authors have considered the *yaraví* a mestizo form derived from the *haraví*, simply restricted to the themes of love and pain (Barrenechea 1946; d'Harcourt & d'Harcourt 1990, 169; Caballero Farfán 1988, 223). Antonio Cornejo Polar (1966), however, disputes this analysis and suggests that the *yaraví* was born, more specifically, out of the Incan *jaray arawí* defined by Jesús Lara as 'a song of pained love' (1947, 77). Lara indicates that the *jaray arawí* existed among a range of other song forms including the *sankkay arawí* (song of 'atonement') as well as the *kusi arawí*, *súmaj arawí* and *warijsa arawí* (songs of 'joy, beauty, grace etc.') (ibid, 77). Lara suggests, not without a heavy dose of romanticisation, that:

the circumscription of the *arawí* around the theme of pain was the work of the conquest alone. The extreme cruelty with which the Spanish treated the life and the spirit of the indian made him unable to express his love without associating it to his suffering [*padecimientos*]' (ibid).

For Lara, the Incan *arawí* contained 'a soft tinge of melancholy' which in the *yaraví* was transformed into 'pain as a leitmotif' (ibid; see also Lara 1958, vi; d'Harcourt 1990, 170). Influenced by European ideas about emotion, melancholy and the individual, the mestizo *yaraví* also entailed a greater emphasis on emotional introspection and self-interrogation than in the *haraví*; the emphasis on collectivism, nature and poetic playfulness in much Incan poetry – which can nonetheless still be found in rural indigenous songs today – was seemingly overtaken by the displays of an individual's anguish and despair. Similar transformations can be observed in regard to the parallel development of contemporary huayno and rural-urban migration, as we shall see below.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Countless tomes have been written about the cultural transformations born out of colonial encounters between Europeans and indigenous Americans. Much of this literature has focussed on religion, art,

It took more than a month to arrange an interview with Marsiol Caverio. After a couple of face-to-face meetings with her manager and partner Juan Carlos at his office in downtown Lima and over a dozen phone conversations with him, he finally agreed to an interview. The following Saturday I arrived at their apartment block in the sweltering heat in Lima's Santa Clara neighbourhood on the eastern outskirts of the city. The swanky condominium was separated from the sprawl of the surrounding shantytown by high walls and gates. At the gate a security guard asked for my ID and told me I would have to ring for someone to come down to collect me. After several minutes, a maid in her late teens appeared and after leaving my UK driving license with the guard at the gate I followed her up to the flat. Inside, Juan Carlos greeted me and we spoke for a while before Marisol appeared.

A huayno singer from the province of Paruro near Cusco, Marisol was relatively new to fame. Her songs, she explained, first became popular in 2007 but only in Arequipa, Juliaca and Cusco, all cities in the south of the country. At the time, she was living in Arequipa, selling second-hand American clothing for a couple of soles apiece (c. \$0.70). It was not until 2009 that she cemented her popularity in Lima at which point she and her partner moved to the capital. As we spoke, she explained how she had resisted pressure from her *paisanos* (roughly, 'fellow locals') to sing songs from her hometown because, instead, she had 'always looked to the future'. Marisol's comments are indicative of the temporal marking of Peruvian geography where moving from the Andes to Lima is also typically conceived of as a move toward the future and the 'modern'. She continued:

I always said, I can't sing now about my village because if I'm not famous and I sing about my village people aren't going to like it. Who's going to like a song from my village? And I always said, I want to sing songs that reach the public at a

cultural practices, social organisation, and epistemology but very little has been written specifically about the kind of affective exchanges that took place, where different emotional styles came into contact. Clearly, language plays a crucial role in mediating emotion and so the imposition of the Spanish language in and of itself implies a certain level of emotional acculturation on the part of the indigenous populations. Although beyond the remit of this present study, perhaps one might usefully employ theories about the transmission of affect (Brennan 2004) in order to talk about a sort of 'emotional colonialism'.

national level; then once I'm famous maybe I can sing, I can compose songs about how many kittens I have or what the crops in my fields are like (Marisol Cavero, interview, Lima, 3 March 2012).⁴⁹



Figure 11. A studio photograph of Marisol Cavero.

⁴⁹ Incidentally, even now she is famous Marisol does not sing songs about how many kittens she has or what her crops are like.

As I explained in Chapter 1, the discourse of national rather than regional or local publics is a relatively recent phenomenon in Andean music and distinguishes today's divas from those of the 1950s to 1980s. Singing songs that reach out to the public at the national level means singing about what Marisol, among many others, refers to as '*decepción amorosa*' (roughly, 'heartbreak'). 'That stuff sells like hot bread' my friend Maruja explained – 'because if they sang more traditional songs, with more composure [*más de cultura, más centrados*] nobody would buy them, there wouldn't be any sales' (Maruja Rosales Aparicio, interview, Lima, 8 March 2012).

As indicated in the previous section, romantic pain has long been a topic of Andean songs. However, directness of expression and the near exclusivity of heartbreak as a topic both represent new developments in huayno. The genre's 'universal' narratives of romantic suffering supposedly speak to migrant audiences' everyday urban realities, as well as to increasingly national or pan-Andean identifications. I am interested, then, in the process whereby love goes from being one of a number of topics in rural traditional songs to being *the* defining topic of huayno in contemporary urban popular culture. Similar moves from a diverse range of topics to a more circumscribed realm of romance can be observed in the development of urban popular music genres around the world throughout the twentieth century, such as *rai* (Schade-Poulsen 1999), *enka* (Yano 2002) and *rembetika* (Holst-Warhaft 2006 [1975]). I suggest, then, that rural-urban migration and a commercial scene organised at the national level have contributed to a restriction of huayno's lyrical content to topics of love and heartbreak, as similarly happened with the eighteenth-century *yaraví*.

The development of contemporary commercial huayno has involved other changes, too. For instance, whereas traditional rural Andean songs have tended to be connected to place, whether through reference to nature and ecology or to local customs, rituals and beliefs, contemporary commercial huayno is a genre largely devoid of reference to place, nature or the local. Instead, as we shall see, its lyrics tend to be abstract, general and direct in their mode of expression.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Rodrigo Montoya makes a similar point in relation to chicha music (discussed in Chapter 1): 'The urban character of chicha assumes the absence of nature. There are no rivers, skies, mountains, animals, flowers, plants, wind, rain, hail, storms, clouds'. This has to do, Montoya suggests, with 'the abandonment of a mode of affective communication that makes use of nature as a metaphor to express a sentiment or state of being [*estado de ánimo*]' (1996, 493).

To recognise that love and amorous deception are fundamental to contemporary commercial huayno is not to deny that love has been an important topic in traditional rural Andean songs – indeed it has. Traditional Andean songs, however, have tended to be connected to courting (Stobart 2006, 102-29; Turino 1983): they are songs that are more about the chase than the messy emotional aftermath of romantic failure depicted by contemporary commercial huayno.

Traditional Andean songs have also tended to depict love indirectly, often via metaphoric references to nature such as flowers, birds, animals, geological features or the weather. It is very common, for example, for a song, on the surface, to be about a beautiful flower, but the flower primarily serves as a metaphor for a lover, such as in the song ‘Partida Yerba’:

<i>¡Ay mi flor ñujcho, hermosa flor!</i>	Oh my ñujcho ⁵¹ flower, beautiful flower
<i>Cuando yo me vaya</i>	When I leave
<i>¡quién te amará, para quién serás!</i>	Who will love you? Whose will you be?
<i>¡Ay, para quién florecerás</i>	Oh, for who will you bloom
<i>cuando yo me vaya!</i>	When I leave?

(Arguedas 1949, 30).

Another common trope is the attempt by an abandoned lover to get his/her lover back by harnessing the power of a large bird, such as a condor or an eagle:

<i>Ankaj rijranti</i>	<i>Me prestaré el poder</i>	I will borrow the power
<i>Mañarikuspa</i>	<i>De las alas del águila</i>	Of the eagle’s wings
<i>Watumusqayki</i>	<i>Para irte a ver</i>	In order to take myself to see you
<i>Wayrawan khuska</i>	<i>Y junto con el viento</i>	And together with the wind
<i>Wayllukunaypaj</i>	<i>A regalarte entre mis brazos</i>	To hold you in my arms
<i>Phawamusqayki.</i>	<i>Acudiré.</i>	I will turn to you.

(Lara 1969, 234, cited in Saroli 2005, 50).⁵²

⁵¹ According to the website of the New York Botanical Garden the scientific term for the Quechua-named ñujcho flower is *Solanum Palitans* (I am unaware of any Spanish or English translations): <http://www.nybg.org/botany/nec/ambo/Checklist/ast1.html> (accessed 26 December 2013). Further information about the flower can be found here: <http://solanaceae.myspecies.info/solanaceae/solanum-palitans> (accessed 26 December 2013).

⁵² The Quechua verse and Spanish translation appear in the original. The English translation is my own and is translated from the Spanish.

Anna Saroli (2005) demonstrates that there is a remarkable continuity in the imagery of Andean songs from the early colonial period to the end of the twentieth century. However, her work focuses on traditional rural music making and makes no reference to contemporary urban popular genres, which undoubtedly find their way into rural areas.

Rural Andean songs – especially those sung in Quechua – tend to be metaphoric, indirect and linguistically playful in character. They employ a wide range of poetic devices, which often serve to distinguish songs from colloquial everyday speech. Central to Quechua poetics is the use of parallelism, where certain words and phrases are coupled with synonymous, oppositional or complementary words and phrases (Lienhard 1996). Spanish (and English) translations often fail to capture the subtlety and complexity of these pairings, which, Martín Lienhard suggests play a fundamental role in structuring Quechua cosmology (ibid). Henry Stobart also draws attention to the metaphoric and indirect nature of Quechua song poetry (2006). He analyses a *cruz* song (a genre that is strongly associated with courtship) in which we find the line ‘On top of my hat there is another hat’ (*‘Sumbriruy patapi sumbriritullataq’*) (112). This line refers to ‘a girl carrying off a boy’s hat and placing it on top her own; a clear expression of amorous interest’ (115). Similarly, the line ‘how’s the [*charango*] player?’ is brimming with ‘sexual innuendo’; prowess in sex and music go together’ (ibid).

In contemporary commercial huayno (which, in contrast, is urban and sung in Spanish), however, there is no skirting around the issue. It is much more direct and generally leaves any poetic ambitions aside in favour of plain speaking. In an interview I conducted with the huayno star Anita Santibañez, the singer explained to me the kind of lyrical transformations connected with rural-urban migration:

Sometimes I listen to my early recordings and those from now, there is a big difference because before you sang about a little tree, like a *mollecito* [little Peruvian pepper tree] that grows in the highlands, as you remember someone, perhaps where you played, you hid, where you laid down. You could have a song about nature, about the fields or the maize, I’ve sung about that, or a little highland bird too. Now it’s not like that, now things have changed, we’re no longer so poetic, but we were poetic. Now songs are much more, you could say, much more forceful [*fuertes*], you could even say much more aggressive (Anita Santibañez, interview, Lima, 28 February 2012).

Anita seemed ambivalent about such a move towards more ‘aggressive’ songs, suggesting that this was more a characteristic of other singers’ repertoires than her own. Although her songs contain narratives of emotional excess and moral susceptibility, her image of sweetness and femininity as well as her more controlled vocal technique distinguished her from other artists.

Having charted some of the histories of sentiment and expression in Andean songs, I turn in the next section to song composition and representations of emotionality in contemporary commercial huayno.

Representations of Emotionality in Contemporary Commercial Huayno

Song Composition

Words are very important in contemporary commercial huayno. They often come before music in the composition process and their simplicity and musical setting aid listeners to grasp the song’s message without having to work too hard. Generally speaking, there are two models of composition. In the first, a singer writes a set of lyrics, sometimes with a melody in mind, and then it is typically the responsibility of the harpist (or equivalent lead instrumentalist) to set the lyrics to music. In the second model, a single person writes both the lyrics and the music. Given that instrumentalists are almost exclusively male, this task usually falls to men. Overall, men have a greater input in the composition process than women, though most female singers have authored some of their own lyrics and melodies. This raises questions about the agency that men possess in defining the kinds of female subjectivities performed by huayno divas, which I discuss further in Chapter 5.

In general, huayno lyrics carry descriptions of people, places and situations that are simple, short and relatively abstract. This way, listeners can ‘fill in the details’ themselves according to their own experiences. The most detail one might expect is the odd reference to a ‘house’ or ‘bar’, places that remain so general that the listener can simply insert an image of their own house or local drinking joint.⁵³ In one sense, this simplicity liberates listeners by allowing them to take control of the song’s meaning, so

⁵³ Schade-Poulsen observes this same tendency in Algerian *rai* music (1999, 160).

that the song is ‘pressed into use’ in line with their own experiences (DeNora 2000, 31).⁵⁴ From an alternative perspective, such formulaic and simple labelling of emotions through language influences the cultural and cognitive organisation of affect, generating particular emotional and ethical expectations.

Huayno diva, Marisol Cavero, explained contemporary commercial huayno’s simple and direct mode of expression to me thus:

I think in other genres it’s something more romantic or more entangled [i.e. complex] but in huayno there are only a few lyrics and they go to you directly...in huayno it’s one or five words but you’ve already said it all...they’re keywords, and a single word gives a lot of meaning, no? (Marisol Cavero, interview, Lima, 3 March 2012).

Collected together, these ‘keywords’ paint a vivid picture of huayno’s topical focus, including acts and experiences of love, suffering, living, dying, affection, forgetting, abandonment, cheating, separation, resignation and blame as well as somatic and sensory references to caresses, eyes, lips, hearts, bosoms, drinking, tears and crying. Commercial huayno lyrics are primarily about feelings, emotions, sentiment, self-interrogation and introspection. Occasionally songs may be vulgar or explicit in their mode of address (such as in the song ‘¡Basta ya carajo!’ [That’s enough damn it!], sung by Marisol Cavero) but beyond the publicly decent kisses, embraces and caresses there is no mention of sex or overt sexuality (in contrast to the slightly more picaresque humour involved in stage-talk). This situation contrasts with many traditional rural Andean songs where erotic and picaresque humour is relatively common (see Stobart 2006, 114-6). Huayno’s middle- and upper-class detractors may attribute a sense of indecency to the genre, but this is not a result of overt sexuality; instead, this is typically connected to notions of emotional and bodily excess, the valorisation of moral ambivalence and the ‘poor taste’ of its musical aesthetics, which, though attempting to be ‘modern’, ultimately fail to comply with hegemonic aesthetic associations of modernity (see Tucker 2005, 127, 240, 263; 2013b, 59).

⁵⁴ Lawrence Grossberg makes a similar point about how audiences shape the meaning of texts: ‘For the most part, the relationship between the audience and popular texts is an active and productive one. ... People are constantly struggling, not merely to figure out what a text means, but to make it mean something that connects to their own lives, experiences, needs, and desires’ (Grossberg 1992, 52).

Songs employ a variety of tenses and it is reasonably common for a song to follow a chronology beginning in the past – where life might have been rosy and love blissful – before unfolding in the present when love has turned sour. Typically, the closing, upbeat *fuga* section turns attention to the future, wondering how things will turn out, making predictions or stating hopes. Such a temporal structure is exemplified in the song ‘No Llama’ (He doesn’t call) composed by Carlos Alvarez and sung by a range of artists including Marisol Caverro, Abencia Meza and Dina Paucar:

(Past...)

<i>Ayer se ha ido lejos de mi</i>	Yesterday he went far from me
<i>No ha valorado lo que le di</i>	He hasn’t valued what I gave him
<i>Tanto cariño, tanto amor</i>	So much affection, so much love
<i>Cual habrá sido mi gran error.</i>	What can have been my great error?

(Present...)

<i>No llama, él ya no llama</i>	He doesn’t call, he doesn’t call anymore
<i>No llama, lo sigo amando</i>	He doesn’t call, I carry on loving him
<i>No llama, él no me llama</i>	He doesn’t call, he doesn’t call me
<i>No llama, como lo extraño.</i>	He doesn’t call, oh how I miss him

<i>Cuando yo canto esta canción</i>	When I sing this song
<i>Más y más duele mi corazón</i>	My heart hurts more and more
<i>Por su partida no soy igual</i>	Because of his departure I’m not the same
<i>Porque la vida me paga mal</i>	Because life doesn’t treat me well

<i>No llama, él ya no llama</i>	He doesn’t call, he doesn’t call anymore
<i>No llama, como lo extraño</i>	He doesn’t call, oh how I miss him
<i>No llama, él no me llama</i>	He doesn’t call, he doesn’t call me
<i>No llama, lo sigo amando</i>	He doesn’t call, I carry on loving him

(Future...)

<i>Siento una pena muy grande</i>	I feel a great pain
<i>Esta pena me matará</i>	This pain will kill me
<i>Esos besos y caricias</i>	Those kisses and affections

Ya nunca más serán para mí

Will never again be for me

'No Llama' (He doesn't call)

Like many huaynos this song refers to the imbalance of unreciprocated love and is an example of all-consuming sorrow and desperation, leading to contemplation of death. The refrain 'he doesn't call' has a contemporary ring, resonating with the rapid expansion in the accessibility and affordability of mobile telephones and a mode of urban living where meetings are increasingly coordinated via mobile communications.

After the verse (A) and the chorus (B) huayno songs usually include what is referred to as a 'poem' (*poema*). These 'poems' are relatively short, spoken sections (rarely more than a few phrases), which are more improvisatory though still heavily reliant on formulae. These spoken sections may summarise, expand or frame the meaning of the sung lyrics and may be performed by the singer, the *animador* or a combination of the two. In the version of 'No llama' recorded by Marisol Cavero, for example, the poem summarises the meaning of the lyrics rather than adding significant new information:

Ayer, ayer se ha ido lejos de mí, sin ninguna razón, no llama, no sé cual fue la razón, ¡é! Él no me llama.

Yesterday, yesterday he went far from me, without any reason, he doesn't call, I don't know what the reason was. He! He doesn't call.

These spoken sections carry much more importance in live performance as the shift in register from song to speech invites the audiences into a more 'natural' and a less aestheticised mode of communication (Fox 1992). Moreover, singers may employ sighs, gasps and a lamenting tone that is much more easily achieved in speech than in song. Furthermore, this shift in verbal registers helps to reinforce the sense of performer 'sincerity', which I discuss later in this chapter.

Love Gone Sour: Cynicism, Anomie and Emotional Excess

The vast majority of huayno songs narrate the breakdown of romantic relationships and relate the emotional suffering, sorrow and bitterness that ensue. They often take the form of monologues by tortured souls who have been bruised by love.

Songs may address a lover directly, making use of ‘I’ and ‘you’, or may refer to a lover in the third person, using ‘I’ and ‘he’/‘she’. The protagonists of song lyrics may frankly declare their love for another, plead for their love to be reciprocated, lament love that has been lost or verbally attack a (ex-) lover because of his or her betrayal, disloyalty, mistreatment or abandonment. It is not hard to understand, then, why the word ‘*amor*’, or ‘love’, is one of the most common words in huayno songs. However, the dominant sentiment of huayno narratives tends to be one of ‘*desamor*’, which translates variously as ‘un-love’, bad love or love gone sour.⁵⁵ There is thus an overwhelming cynicism toward love and romance. This is epitomised by the song ‘Ya no quiero a nadie’ sung by Abencia Meza:

<i>Porque me he dado cuenta</i>	Because I have realised
<i>Que no existe hombre bueno</i>	That a good man doesn’t exist
<i>Esa es la causa</i>	That’s the cause
<i>Que ya no sé amar</i>	That I no longer know how to love

Abencia Meza, ‘Ya no quiero a nadie’ (I no longer love anybody)

The recording of this song features a ‘poem’ spoken by the *animador* Jaime Ponce, which reinforces the cynical message: ‘If you’re convinced, that you don’t want to love again, I agree with you, because in this life, no longer do you find sincere love’ (*‘Si convencida estás, de que no quiere amar jamás, te doy la razón, porque en esta vida, ya no se encuentra amor sincero’*).

If a huayno song reaches the heights of blissful love this is usually firmly located in the past. The underlying message of the genre tends to be that love does not last; it is unrequited, temporary, complicated or even unachievable, even though the act of loving may remain virtuous:

<i>Las ilusiones que ambos tuvimos</i>	The illusions/hopes we both had
<i>en poco tiempo se terminó</i>	were soon over

Sonia Morales, ‘Que nos pasó carajo’ (Damn, what happened to us?)

Thus, in huayno, as Yano similarly observes in *enka*, ‘a distinctive aspect of romance is its brevity’ (Yano 2002, 161). There are also parallels here with medieval European courtly

⁵⁵ My use of the phrase ‘love gone sour’ elsewhere in this thesis is intended as an invocation of the idea of ‘*desamor*’.

love songs. In contrast to huayno, however, men were the principal performers of such songs and women were the love objects about which they sang. Courtly love songs frequently depicted love as unattainable yet worth striving for. Such a viewpoint stemmed from a belief that even if love was the cause of pain and suffering, it could play a crucial role in male ethical development. As Suzanne Lord explains, ‘by learning to think beyond one’s basic needs and by learning to accept one’s fate (for good or ill) with a certain grace, man ceases to be a higher form of beast and becomes a cultured human being’ (2008, 49; see also O’Neill 2006, esp. 5-6).

Many huayno songs involve comparing one’s own love to that offered by an (imagined) other, as is in the song ‘Cuéntame’ (Tell me), sung by Anita Santibañez:

<i>Cuéntame</i>	Tell me
<i>Si has conocido</i>	If you have known
<i>A otro amor</i>	Another love
<i>Igual que yo</i>	Like me
<i>Cuéntame</i>	Tell me
<i>Si has encontrado</i>	If you have found
<i>A ese amor</i>	That love
<i>Mejor que yo</i>	That’s better than me
<i>Si has encontrado</i>	If you have found her
<i>Compárame</i>	Compare me
<i>Si te quiere y te besa</i>	If she wants you and kisses you
<i>Como yo</i>	Like me
<i>Si has encontrado</i>	If you have found her
<i>Compárame</i>	Compare me
<i>Si te quiere y te ama</i>	If she wants you and loves you
<i>Igual que yo</i>	Like me
<i>Si te quiere y te ama</i>	If she wants you and loves you
<i>Igual que yo</i>	Like me

Anita Santibañez, ‘Cuéntame’ (Tell me)

While one can perceive an element of anxiety and insecurity in this song, others adopt a more resolute and self-assured stance:

<i>Volverás, volverás</i>	You will return, you will return
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*A mis brazos otra vez
Porque como yo te amé
Nadie te amará*

To my arms once again
Because nobody will love you
Like I loved you

Sonia Morales, 'Dime Quien' (Tell me who)

*Puedes ir donde quieras
Caricias demás tendrás
Pero no como el mío
Eso ya no, ya no.*

You can go where you want
You will have the caresses of others
But not like mine
No longer, no longer

Dina Paucar, 'Para que me acostumbraste' (What did I get used to you for)

*Después de fingir en vano
Que con ella eres feliz
Ya no poder olvidarme
Y siempre piensas en mí
¿Que le dices a ella?*

After pretending in vain
That you are happy with her
No longer being able to forget me
And you think about me always
What do you say to her?

Dina Paucar, 'Que le dices a ella?' (What do you say to her?)

Although the protagonist of the song is adamant that they love better than any other we never find out whether their predictions come true. Furthermore, while these examples point to the virtue of loving well, their competitive streak further fuels the sense of cynicism and anomie that attach to the genre. On other occasions, the female singer may address the competition directly as in the case of Sonia Morales' hit song, 'Oye Tonta' (Hey Stupid):

*Ese hombre que estás abrazando
Era mío era mío
¡Oye tonta!*

That man that you are hugging
He was mine, he was mine
Hey, stupid!

Sonia Morales, 'Oye Tonta' (Hey Stupid)

Authors writing about music in other parts of the world have discussed how individual desire may threaten the moral code of family, community and nation (Pedelty 1999; Schade-Poulsen 1999, 166; Yano 2002, 167). This is not always explicit in huayno

but sometimes tensions do emerge around what is socially acceptable ‘before the eyes of the people’:

<i>Un pecado de amor</i>	A sin of love
<i>Ante los ojos de la gente</i>	Before the eyes of the people
<i>He cometido</i>	I have committed
<i>Un pecado de amor</i>	A sin of love
<i>Por amar locamente</i>	For loving crazily
<i>Al hombre prohibido</i>	A prohibited man

Anita Santibañez, ‘Pecado de Amor’ (Sin of Love)

Here, the protagonist sings as if at Confession and, although her moral susceptibility is clear, the lyrics are designed to illicit empathy and understanding, rather than renunciation. While we never hear exactly why the man is prohibited, the friction between the will of the individual and societal moral codes is clear.

In huayno narratives the family is one of the most common social units that the will of the individual comes up against. For example, tropes about the figure of the mother-in-law as arbiter, gatekeeper or control-freak are common:

<i>¿Por que no quieres señora</i>	Madam, why don’t you want me
<i>Que me case con su hijo?</i>	To marry your son?
...	...
<i>Tu hijo mismo me buscará</i>	Your son will search for me himself
<i>Y tu andarás llorando</i>	And you will go crying

Sonia Morales, ‘Mi Suegrita’ (My little mother-in-law)

<i>La culpa es mi suegra</i>	It’s the fault of my mother-in-law
<i>Para que yo no me case oiga</i>	That I won’t get married, you hear?
<i>Cholito escúchame</i>	Listen to me <i>cholito</i>
<i>Llévate lejos a tu madre</i>	Take yourself faraway from your mother

Fresia Linda, ‘No me caso’ (I won’t get married)

The realms of romance and family also come into contact through narratives of single motherhood. The fact that a number of huayno divas are, or have at some point been, single mothers, fuels the general image of female huayno singers as sufferers and

strugglers (see also Chapters 4 and 5). Real personal experiences act as authenticating devices so that the subjective experience of the singer maps onto the story about a person encapsulated in the song text. For example, the fact that Anita Santibañez was herself a single mother was no doubt an important factor in the success of her hit, ‘Madre Soltera’ (Single Mother):

<i>Como me duele saber</i>	How it pains me to know
<i>Por decirte la verdad</i>	That because I told you the truth
<i>Me dejas sin tu amor</i>	You leave me without your love
<i>Tú no quieres comprender</i>	You do not want to understand
<i>Madre soltera yo soy</i>	I’m a single mother
<i>No te lo voy a negar</i>	I’m not going to lie to you
<i>Cuando se ama de verdad</i>	When one truly loves
<i>Nada se puede ocultar</i>	You can’t hide anything
<i>Un hijo no es un error</i>	Having a child is not an error
<i>Me tienes que perdonar</i>	You have to forgive me
<i>Madre soltera yo soy</i>	I’m a single mother
<i>No te lo voy a negar</i>	I’m not going to lie to you
<i>No lloraré, no lloraré</i>	I will not cry, I will not cry
<i>Si no me quieres no lloraré</i>	If you do not love me I will not cry
<i>Esperaré, esperaré</i>	I will wait, I will wait
<i>Al quien me quiera sin condición</i>	For someone that loves me unconditionally

Anita Santibañez, ‘Madre Soltera’ (Single Mother)

Romantic failure and family breakdown thus emerge as intricately related. As with many huayno songs, however, there is no clear-cut moral lesson to be learned. On the one hand, the song indicates the stigma and sense of moral susceptibility attached to being a single mother (‘You have to forgive me for being a single mother’). On the other hand, the song legitimises the feelings associated with single motherhood by recognising the protagonist’s moral dignity in telling the truth and holding out for unconditional love. As is often the case in huayno narratives, moral ambivalences and ambiguities are designed to elicit empathy rather than renunciation, serving to valorise particular feelings, thoughts and actions that elsewhere might be considered ethically dubious.

Similar forms of ambivalence, cynicism and anomie can be found in relation to the topic of infidelity. An analysis of huayno songs reveals a normalisation of infidelity, casting it as painful and morally questionable yet an almost inescapable fact of life:

<i>Miénteme engáñame</i>	Lie to me, cheat me
<i>Pero no me lastimes</i>	But don't pity me
...	...
<i>Sácame la vuelta</i>	Cheat on me
<i>Pero no me dejes</i>	But don't leave me
<i>Si te vas</i>	If you go away
<i>Lévame contigo</i>	Take me with you

Sonia Morales, 'Sacame la vuelta' (Cheat on me)

<i>Cuando yo te conocí</i>	When I met you
<i>Solo te pedí que me quisieras</i>	I only asked for you to love me
<i>Sin embargo no fue así</i>	However it wasn't like that
<i>Con otro querer tu me engañabas</i>	You cheated on me with another love

Dina Paucar, 'Falso Juramento' (False Oath)

Such sentiments surrounding infidelity often feed into acts of 'rueful self-recognition' in relation to national and continental stereotypes (Herzfeld 2005 [1997]) (see also Chapter 2 and Chapter 4). In an interview with Dina Paucar, for example, she told me:

Look, in terms of Latin America, I think people here – because of a lack of knowledge, a lack of values and principles – they cheat once, twice, three, four times, both men and women, and that's where love starts to turn sour [*abí empieza el desamor*]. Because I think, and I'm sure, that in other countries, for example in Europe or the U.S. you get married, and you stay married for life ... but here nobody cares about that. It doesn't matter if they have five children and then say, 'see you later'. I mean, simply if you don't get on with someone you breakup and that's where love turns sour, the sorrow, the sadness (Dina Paucar, interview, Chupaca, 26 June 2012).

Dina's comments raise the idea that multiple partners and a lack of commitment is far from unusual but rather than indicating a sense of 'free love' or sexual liberation this

behaviour is embedded in a form of sentimentalism where the emotional consequences of infidelity – jealousy, pain, sorrow, sadness and suffering – take centre stage. Her comments also point to the imagining and positioning of a national or continental romantic character in relation to that of Europe and the USA where enduring love and romantic commitment are perceived to hold greater social capital. This was a perception I often encountered during fieldwork.

A more stoic struggle against the desire to be unfaithful can be observed in the song ‘Soy Casada’ (I’m married), sung by Gaby Turin:

<i>Quiero decirte que te amo vida mia</i>	I want to tell you I love you, love of my life
<i>Que sin ti ya no puedo mas vivir</i>	That without you I can no longer live
<i>Sin tus besos</i>	Without your kisses
<i>Pero el destino es injusto conmigo</i>	But fate is unfair to me
<i>Porque soy yo prohibida para ti</i>	Because I’m prohibited for you
<i>Yo soy casada</i>	I’m married

Gaby Turin, ‘Soy Casada’ (I’m married)

If one analyses this song alone it appears that the protagonist successfully resolves not to capitulate to the urges of her heart, battling to deal with the cards that fate has dealt her and to maintain a sense of moral dignity in the process (I explore the religious aspect of this sentiment of resignation in Chapter 4). Yet, if one analyses the song in its music-video manifestation, the onscreen narrative provides us with an alternative interpretation. In the music video, after the closing lyrics, the singer discovers her husband cheating on her with another woman (coincidentally, I play the role of the husband in the video). This, in turn, gives her license to get together with the man for whom she is forbidden. We see her pick up her phone and then the video ends with the embrace of the previously prohibited lovers. However, in spite of the sugary ending, one interpretation is that the music video reinforces the cynicism toward enduring love and serves to valorise moral susceptibility. Alternatively, as Stokes notes in relation to 1950s and 1960s Egyptian films, one might view the resolution of the emotional crisis represented here as ‘irrelevant’ (2007, 202). Instead ‘what we respond to, as spectators, is not the misfortune, but the stoical efforts of those involved to bear it and survive it decently’ (ibid, 210). Framed slightly differently, we might say that huayno listeners and spectators engage with the singer not only in emotional terms, but also in terms of the ethical work enacted in dealing with emotion.

In huayno, two of the most common proposals for overcoming emotional and moral crises are death and drinking alcohol. In the first scenario, the melancholy and despair of abandonment are all-consuming and leave the protagonist unable to live, on the cusp of death:

<i>Sin tu amor</i>	Without your love
<i>No sé vivir</i>	I don't know how to live
<i>No sé soñar</i>	I don't know how to dream
<i>No sé que hacer</i>	I don't know what to do
<i>Quiero morir</i>	I want to die

Sonia Morales, 'Por tu amor' (Because of your love)

<i>Yo sin ti, ya no quiero vivir</i>	I, without you, no longer want to live
<i>Yo sin ti, prefiero morir</i>	I, without you, prefer to die

Dina Paucar, 'Quedate' (Stay)

<i>Es tan difícil mi amor estar lejos de ti</i>	It's so difficult my love to be far from you
<i>Ya no puedo más</i>	I can't do it anymore, I can't do it any more
<i>Siento que estoy muriendo</i>	I feel like I'm dying

Gaby Turin, 'Te necesito' (I need you)

<i>Sin ti</i>	Without you
<i>Ya no puedo vivir</i>	I can no longer live
<i>Por ti</i>	Because of you
<i>Me estoy muriendo de pena</i>	I am dying of sorrow

Sonia Morales, 'Sin ti', (Without you)

Although it is difficult to conclude with absolute certainty, it appears that such mortal responses to emotional crises stem from the aesthetics and ethics of European colonial cultural forms rather than from any pre-Hispanic ones. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the symbolic pairing of love and death is something that occurs in popular music genres throughout much of Latin America.

Another common trope of huayno songs (and stage-talk, as we saw in Chapter 2) is drinking alcohol, which is often depicted, like death, as a form of escape. Sometimes the tropes of drinking, death and the intolerability of life are combined, such as in the song 'Tomaré para no llorar' (I will drink so as not to cry):

<i>Quiero tomar, hasta morir</i>	I want to drink, until I die
<i>Quiero tomar por no llorar</i>	I want to drink so as not to cry
<i>Quiero tomar hasta morir</i>	I want to drink, until I die
<i>Quiero matar mis penas de amor</i>	I want to kill my sorrows of love

Dina Paucar, 'Tomaré para no llorar' (I will drink so as not to cry)

The act of drinking is also commonly connected in song as a means of memory erasure⁵⁶:

<i>Hoy tomo para olvidarlo</i>	Today I drink to forget him
<i>Aquel ingrato amor</i>	That ungrateful love
	Sonia Morales 'Dos Más' (Two more)

<i>Me emborracho por tu amor</i>	I get drunk because of your love
<i>Me emborracho</i>	I get drunk
<i>Olvidar ese amor que me engaño</i>	To forget that love that cheated me

Dina Paucar, 'Me emborracho por tu amor' (I get drunk because of your love)

Contemporary commercial huayno lyrics tend to emphasise alcohol consumption as an individualistic activity based on self-interest and the overcoming of personal sorrows. As we saw in Chapter 2, however, drinking practices at huayno shows are also a central means of establishing and sustaining modes of intimacy, reciprocity and sociality, though this is rarely a topic of huayno lyrics. Ultimately, drinking practices connected with huayno lyrics and performance have different yet concurrent meanings and uses, spanning individualistic escapism, tropes of excess and reciprocal sociality. However, the notion of drinking as 'escape' contrasts with the social and sacred uses of alcohol commonly associated with a range of cultural, agricultural and religious practices in the (rural) Andes. In such practices, drunkenness is often a positive and achieved state of being. As Penny Harvey writes in relation to her research in Ocongote, intoxication ensures 'social reproduction through the integration of human beings both among themselves and with supernatural powers' (Harvey 1994b, 228). Harvey explains that drunkenness has, since colonial times, been frowned upon as a form of 'excess', from an elite and mestizo perspective (ibid, 213). From an indigenous viewpoint, however,

⁵⁶ Harvey also notes the common linkage of drinking practices and notions of forgetting (1994b, 229).

drunkenness has often been motivated by the desire for transcendence and sacrificial offerings to the land and the supernatural spirits. Thus, Harvey argues, the ‘adverse judgments about Andean drinking practices ... failed to appreciate the total meaninglessness of drinking in moderation’ (ibid, 216).

In the case of contemporary commercial huayno one is unlikely to encounter discourses about the sacred uses of alcohol. In the lyrics, stage-talk and drinking practices at huayno shows one finds ambivalent responses to alcohol consumption, where tropes and practices of emotional and sensorial excess are fused, generating both pride and embarrassment (Dueck 2013a; Herzfeld 2005 [1997]). Perhaps, getting drunk might be seen as providing a kind of emotional license, which creates a context for the heart to get the better of the head. However, it is also important to recognise that such ambivalences surrounding emotional and sensorial excess are sustained by ethnic and class hierarchies in which working-class Andean migrants are more likely to be stereotyped as affectively unhinged and indulgent.

Emotion in Performance

Living the Song: Emotion, ‘Sincerity’ and Performativity

One morning, on a visit to the central Andean city of Huancayo in May 2012, I was sat chatting to the producer, Lenin Ramos, in the first-floor studio of the music video production label Ramos Producciones. Outside, the sun shone brightly and warmly across the Plaza Inmaculada, where folkloric music boomed out from stalls and shops selling cheap discs to passers-by. The tinny sounds barely reached up into the dimly lit studio where a rare moment of tranquillity had broken out and the hum of a computer could be heard. Sat at the computer, Lenin was ‘rushing’ to finish editing a music video that was already late – though he showed no obvious signs of urgency. The video was of a live concert that he and his father Antonio had filmed in Lima a few weeks previously and featured a female huayno singer on the lower rungs of the folklore scene. In the next-door room, Nelly, Lenin’s partner, was burning copies of a newly finished production and intermittently came through to collect more disks. When she did, Lenin sang to her the track he was currently editing. ‘Tell me, tell me who? Who made you

change? You're no longer the same, you're no longer the same', he cried in a rather exaggerated and melodramatic manner before pretending to sob over the computer keyboard. Ignoring Lenin's performance, Nelly returned to the other room without comment. 'Do you think she sings well?' I asked him, gesturing to the computer screen. 'Yes, she sings well' he replied, nodding his head and shrugging his shoulders. 'But why? She can't sing in tune' I said provocatively. At which point Lenin's dad Antonio poked his head around the corner to agree that she did not have it quite right. 'No, but, it's not', Lenin stumbled, working out how best to put it: 'Look, what people look for is that the singer lives the song'.

The idea of living the song is a commonly cited aspect of good huayno performance. Given that huayno songs are often designed to elicit empathy for the protagonist, a performer's ability to convey that s/he has lived the experiences, emotions and moral struggles of which they sing is crucial, often trumping vocal control or virtuosity as a criterion of talent and aesthetic beauty. The communication of such sincerity may be largely unconscious and 'natural' for some but something that needs to be actively rehearsed and practised for others.⁵⁷ However, it is audiences that ultimately decide whether or not a performer is successful in this regard and thus the sincerity of performers is measured through a process of intersubjective evaluation.

The topic of sincerity arose in an interview with huayno star, Dina Paucar. Having asked Dina what she thinks about when she is singing on-stage, she went on to explain:

In the lyrics of each of the 285 songs that I sing, I would say that about 70% aren't my compositions, they are composed by others but it is as if they had been made for me, because I study the song and it has similarities with what I'm living in that moment. So I've been a suffered girl, knocked about by love, and because each song is as if...it makes you recreate it again in your mind. And in that moment you sing it, you close your eyes and you say, for example, 'Go away from me, I don't want to see

⁵⁷ However, assuming all cultural practices are performative and all emotions are culturally patterned it seems futile to uphold a substantive distinction between 'real' and rehearsed emotion (see Zelizer 2005). Instead, the role of the analyst should be to examine how notions of sincerity inform attempts by artists, mediators and audiences to ascribe meaning and value to performance. That said, contemporary commercial huayno is often haunted by the same kind of disbelieving questioning identified by Fox in relation to country music in the U.S.A.: 'Is country music for real?' (1992, 53).

you ever again, you lie, you always lie to me' (Dina Paucar, interview with author, Chupaca, 26 June 2012).

When Dina sings, she inhabits a story about a person that is carried in the song. At the same time, however, she draws on personal experience. For Dina, there was no question in her mind that the emotionality of and with which she sings is her own and that listeners empathise and identify with her because they too have lived the same scenarios, emotions and struggle.

While emotional sincerity is a key part of huayno performances this does not mean that such performances are overly sober or serious. Moments of apparent emotional sincerity are commonly framed by reflexive humour – typically via the interjections of the *animador* – that diffuses or even pokes fun at sincerity itself. While the words sung by the star performer are treated as a serious expression of heartbreak and emotional pain, humour tends to be external to the song or at least the singer. Here, as Yano also observes in enka, 'shared tears' in song become 'shared laughter' in stage talk (Yano 2002, 80). The kind of interjection provided by the *animador* is typified in Dina Paucar's recording of 'Adios Adios' (Goodbye Goodbye), where she sings 'I have nothing left of you, only your laughter and your voice'. In response the *animador* asks in a spoken voice, 'And what about my car?!' The shift in registers breaks the sense of sincere introspection in the singers' monologue, providing a humorous allusion to materialistic divorce settlements and a specificity that is absent from the song's otherwise timeless, placeless and abstract tales of romance and resentment. Crucially, it is the *animador's* spoken voice that disrupts the seriousness and sincerity of the diva's sung monologue. However, as I mentioned earlier in this chapter, when the singer herself shifts from song to speech this switching of registers may actually enhance the perception of sincerity.

Escaping to and from 'Real Life'

The notion of 'living the song' can equally be applied to how audiences relate to huayno narratives. A large part of the appeal of huayno derives from the fact that the narratives sung by the divas are perceived to express the realities of everyday life. I regularly heard statements that linked huayno narratives with audiences' everyday experiences, such as 'it's the life that you live', 'it's about the experiences of people',

‘they’re the experiences of each one of us’ and ‘they sing about the realities that we live day-to-day’.⁵⁸

Such ‘realist’ discourses have also been central to the appreciation and criticism of soap operas (see Allen 1995), which, through melodramatic means, seek ‘to make the “real” and the “ordinary” and the “private life” interesting through heightened dramatic utterance and gesture’ (Brooks 1976, 14). While huayno shares certain characteristics of melodrama, namely ‘the indulgence of strong emotionalism’ (ibid, 11), its moral ambiguities and ambivalences are a far cry from melodrama’s Macnichean world made up of clear-cut moral duals between good and evil.

In spite of expansive claims about huayno’s realism, its lyrics rarely stray from romantic matters. Moreover, while there are, of course, many huayno listeners in happy, stable and enduring relationships this kind of love is rarely mentioned in huayno lyrics unless referring to some sort of blissful love in the past that has since gone awry. As with most realist art forms, then, that which is framed as ‘reality’ or ‘the everyday’ is itself an aesthetic construction. There is, however, a dialectical relationship between subjective experience and the (generic) stories about persons that circulate in the public sphere, which claim to faithfully depict such experience. So it is, for example, at contemporary commercial huayno shows when a singer or *animador* shouts to the crowd, ‘Where are all the sufferers?’ Those who raise their arms and shout in affirmation come to inhabit the subject position of sufferer, a generic story about a person. From an Althusserian perspective, this is an act of interpellation but from a Foucauldian viewpoint, this is a form of ethical subject formation; individuals fashion their own sense of self in relation to discourses, moral codes and other individuals through a process of subjectification.

Given that the appeal of huayno songs is their perceived realism and the appeal of huayno stars is contingent on demonstrating that they have lived the experiences about which they sing, it seems pertinent to question why this realism is constrained to the realm of the intimate. What about social, economic and political suffering? While I explore these other forms of suffering in Chapter 4, it is worth considering this question briefly by returning to Laruen Berlant’s arguments about intimate publics (discussed in Chapter 2). Although Berlant is writing about life in North America, I believe many of her observations have resonance in the Peruvian context. In an article co-authored by Berlant and Michael Warner, they write:

⁵⁸ Fox identifies similar discourses in relation to country music, explaining that songs are ‘explicitly claimed to be about “the real lives of real people”’ (1992, 56).

Intimate life is the endlessly cited elsewhere of political public discourse, a promised haven that distracts citizens from the unequal conditions of their political and economic lives, consoles them for the damaged humanity of mass society, and shames them for any divergence between their lives and the intimate sphere that is alleged to be simple personhood (Berlant and Warner 1998, 553).

Berlant and Warner's observation chimes particularly with the comments of one Andean migrant from Ancash who, perhaps invoking a generic story about being a migrant rather than her own subjective experience, suggested:

You come to the capital and it's not how you thought it would be. It's unpleasant, at times you earn very little, at times there's not even any work for you. All these things can make you sad, they contribute, and [you think] 'a matter of the heart, yes that's where they sing it to me, I'll take myself there and find refuge, with a couple of beers' (Juana Cortés Canchis, interview, Lima, 8 March 2012).

If huayno supposedly offers an escape, we might ask: would listeners not prefer to take refuge in tales of true or ideal love? In huayno, however, one rarely finds such sugary fantasies. Instead, huayno's lovelorn narratives of romantic deception and suffering seem to offer a masochistic pleasure often experienced via the pain of remembrance.⁵⁹ But it is a selective remembrance, constrained to the realm of the intimate: as the producer Lenin Ramos (mentioned above) put it, 'sometimes you only remember what you find convenient' (*a veces uno recuerda solo lo que le conviene*). It is interesting to compare the kind of remembrance and forgetting I mention here with the 'memory work' that Jonathan Ritter has explored in relation to *Canción Social Ayacuchana*, or 'Ayacuchano Social Song' (Ritter 2006). Ritter examines musical activities designed to provide spaces for particular kinds of active, politicised and frequently counter-cultural

⁵⁹ This contrasts with the fact that huayno lyrics commonly refer to getting drunk in order to forget. Yet as my friend Fanny Corrales Quispe (a huayno fan) explained when we were discussing this tendency, 'in actual fact, the more you drink, the more you remember'. Drinking can thus be a tool for summoning up memories of pain via the idiom of romance.

remembrance in the wake of Peru's violent internal war during the 1980s and early 1990s. It is undoubtedly the case that many of those who listen to contemporary commercial huayno have had first-hand experience of the violence and trauma associated with this bloody period in Peru's recent history. However, representations of these experiences and their legacies are almost entirely absent from contemporary commercial huayno, which gives added poignancy to Lenin's phrase 'sometimes you only remember what you find convenient'. Perhaps the paradox here is that the appeal of narratives of love and suffering is found in their perceived realism yet, simultaneously, such narratives offer an escape, a place of refuge, from the social difficulties, insecurities and suffering of 'real' life.

Conclusion

This chapter has been concerned with the aesthetics of emotion in huayno; that is, how emotion is ordered, given meaning, performed and ascribed beauty and value. Although certain representations of emotionality and modes of expression have deep historical roots, others appear to have developed more recently. In line with processes of migration and urbanisation, contemporary commercial huayno has largely left behind the references to place, nature, the local and the collective that typically animated emotional narratives in (rural) Andean songs. Furthermore, it has mostly abandoned the metaphors and playfulness of Quechua poetics, instead adopting a more concise, literal and direct mode of expression, which rarely skirts around the issue at hand. The heightened forms of sentimental introspection, self-interrogation and aggressive accusation one finds in contemporary commercial huayno contrast with many rural indigenous songs about love, which are more likely to be connected to courtship and eroticism rather than the fallout from romantic and family breakdown. However, in many respects, as we saw with the *yaraví*, this transformation began centuries earlier with the development of a kind of melancholic individualism that appears to bear the stamp of European ethics and aesthetics over and above pre-Columbian ones. It is unclear whether such associations still linger in the popular imagination today and, if anything, stereotypes of emotional and bodily excess are more likely to stick to working-class Andean migrants than to mestizos, criollos or elites.

I have argued that the way in which emotions become value-laden is intricately related to questions about morality and ethics. Following Stokes (2007), I have suggested that listeners and spectators evaluate performers and protagonists not simply in terms of their feelings and misfortune but also in terms of the ethical work they enact in dealing with the pain and suffering of miserable situations. However, I have also suggested that in contrast to melodrama proper, huayno is full of moral ambiguities and ambivalences that often fail to establish clear moral guidance. The moral susceptibility of huayno subjects tends to elicit empathy rather than renunciation and often serves to legitimise particular feelings, thoughts and actions that elsewhere might be considered ethically dubious.

In the context of audiences' empathetic responses, the way in which performers bring representations of emotionality and moral struggle to life become key. I have demonstrated that performers are evaluated according to their 'sincerity'; that is, the extent to which they can demonstrate that they have lived the suffering of which they sing. In this chapter I have principally been concerned with analysing narratives of romantic suffering, the appeal of which audiences regularly attribute to their fidelity to the real lives of real people. However, I have argued that this 'reality', as depicted in huayno lyrics, is an aesthetic construction constrained to the realm of the intimate, which simultaneously provides a potential escape from certain social, economic and political realities, to which my attention turns in the next chapter.

FOUR

Neoliberalism, Suffering and Ethics: The Paradoxical Self-fashioning of Huayno Divas

Since the late 1980s, neoliberal reforms and discourses have played a central role in the development of social, cultural, political and economic life in Peru. In this chapter, I am specifically concerned with analysing how the ethical logics and debates that circulate in and around these neoliberal transformations play out in the self-fashioning and public images of huayno divas. My discussion is framed by two key questions. First, how do neoliberal ethics and subjectivity operate in the testimonies, practices and public images of huayno divas? Second, how are neoliberal ethical logics reinforced or obstructed by other ‘ethical subject formations’ that we might also find at work in huayno (Ong 2006, following Foucault)? When explanations of contemporary notions of personhood rely entirely on neoliberalism we discount a range of other influences that might amplify, legitimate or normalise particular neoliberal logics or, alternatively, mute, contradict or compromise them. Thus, in addition to the ‘neoliberal subject’, I also consider the impact of, what I term here, the ‘suffering subject’. This suffering subject, which betrays the hallmark of Catholic moral philosophy, also plays an important role in huayno, as we saw in Chapter 3 in relation to narratives of love gone sour. In this chapter, however, I also highlight discourses about other types of suffering. With reference to the discourses and practices of huayno divas, my aim is to examine how these two ethical subject formations variously overlap and diverge, in some cases producing mutual endorsement and, in others, contradiction.

More broadly, my juxtaposition of the neoliberal subject and the suffering subject reflects an attempt to write against neoliberalism. However, this writing against does not take the form of an ideological critique, which is all too often an a priori positioning of scholarship on neoliberalism. Debates about neoliberalism are frequently ideologically charged and polarised in ways that often predetermine the path of inquiry and may actually hinder the process of critically evaluating its effects as well as the nature in which

is it experienced. Nor is my writing against an attempt to ‘say with a relativist’s conviction that the world could be otherwise’ (Gershon 2011, 537), though this undoubtedly remains an important task for anthropological inquiry. Instead, here, my writing against neoliberalism is an argument that the world is already ‘otherwise’ as well. Neoliberalism does not operate in a vacuum: it intersects with other phenomena, processes and ethics, generating both correlations and contradictions. As Aihwa Ong writes, neoliberalism ‘encounters and articulates other ethical regimes’ and ‘catalyzes’ other debates (2006, 9). I argue that by paying greater attention to these correlations and contradictions, we may ascertain a fuller understanding of the social realities and subjectivities that operate in and around huayno divas. Moreover, as music makers who straddle economic, social, aesthetic and ethical dimensions, huayno divas provide unique opportunities to examine these correlations and contradictions.

As Alex Perullo claims, the economic value of music in contemporary societies is hard to ignore (2011, xi-xii). Perullo along with a range of scholars have sought to develop more sophisticated economically informed understandings of music and music-making that variously seek to unite economic, social, cultural and aesthetic understandings of contemporary music-making (Dent 2009, on Brazil; Guilbault 2007, on Trinidad; Perullo 2011, on Tanzania; Shipley 2009, on Ghana). Jessie Weaver Shipley points to the fact that *hiplife* artists in Ghana, for example, are not only valued for their aesthetic creations but as celebrity icons of business acumen and economic success. Hip-hop scholarship, too, has broken important ground in analysing the economic behaviour, image and discourse associated with the figure of the ‘hip-hop mogul’ (Neal, 2004). This, as we shall see in relation to huayno singers, presents a scenario where musical performance becomes a tool orientated towards broader economic goals, alongside expressive, social and aesthetic motivations. However, as we develop more sophisticated economically informed understandings of music and music-making these must be integrated with readings of music’s social, cultural and aesthetic significance, avoiding (Marxian) economic determinism or (Adornian) pessimism about mass mediation and commodity fetishism. The challenge, in part, is to find ways of articulating how culture is something more than ‘a pleasurable by-product’ of capital (Stokes 2004, following Tsing).

My focus on the correlations and contradictions between different ethical logics echoes the approach to studying the interrelation of economy and society laid out by Max Weber in his 1930 book, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Here, Weber made the case for the power of ideas within historical development and, ever since, these

claims have been interpreted as a repost to Marxian determinism, which viewed material conditions as the single force impacting on the social world. For Marx, individualism was the *product* of alienation under capitalism. Weber, in contrast, sought to balance materialist and idealist understandings of historical development by showing that the notion of the individual associated with capitalism was contingent on concurrent and preceding factors and trends, most notably the Protestant ethic. Weber posited an ‘elective affinity’ between ascetic Protestantism’s ‘systematic rational ordering of the moral life as a whole’ and the expansion of modern rational capitalism in the West (Weber 2001, 79). My invocation of Weber, here, is less to do with the specifics of his argument about the Protestant ethic and more to do with his approach to studying historical development. Rather than searching for simple chains of cause and effect, Weber’s approach to history was more nuanced and open-ended; he looked for sets of conditions and processes that afforded certain possibilities and encouraged particular trajectories. Thus, although Weber posited a critical relationship between the development of capitalism and the Protestant ethic, he was careful not to suggest a causal relationship. He argued that capitalism had existed in other times and places around the world but that the particular nature (its tendency toward rationalisation) and speed of its development in the West were contingent on a particular set of conditions, derived from Protestant moral philosophy. However, to describe the Reformation as the cause of capitalism, Weber wrote, would be a ‘foolish and doctrinaire thesis’. Instead, Weber was concerned with analysing the ‘tremendous confusion of interdependent influences’ and looked for ‘correlations’ between ‘religious beliefs and practical ethics’ (ibid, 49).

Today, Weber’s approach is one that could usefully be applied to the study of neoliberalism. In fact, it may be crucial if we are to avoid inadvertently wandering toward deterministic and essentialist accounts of the contemporary world, which rely on a fallacy that I argue attributes too much to neoliberalism. Scholars have been quick to point to the fallacy of ‘freedom’ under neoliberalism, the illusion that persons are individuated and autonomous agents whose rational calculations determine their path in life, unfettered by the strictures of government or social organisation. Others have also highlighted the fallacy of ‘neutrality’ under neoliberalism, where neoliberal policies and actions masquerade as non-ideological technical solutions (Ong 2006) or pragmatism (Gershon 2011, 552). While I do not disagree with these observations I suggest it is important to address another common fallacy: the omnipresence and omnipotence of neoliberalism itself. Neoliberalism is supposedly everywhere and responsible for

everything. It has become an inescapable filter, through which anthropologists, among others, view the world. Such positions risk essentialising the ordering principles of the social world and being lured toward a deterministic structuralism. The prevalence and effects of neoliberalism, though real and important, I suggest, have been exaggerated. Neoliberalism is only one logic among many. Neoliberalisation is only one process among many. Thus, I argue, we should aim to analyse that ‘tremendous confusion of interdependent influences’ of which Weber speaks, to describe complexity as complexity and to keep theory close to the ground. What I am not advocating is less engagement with neoliberalism or its effects; rather, I am making a case for greater contextualisation and attention to the limits of neoliberal logics out there in the world.

In the first section of this chapter I examine the effects of neoliberal logics on the contemporary commercial huayno music industry in Peru. I outline transformations in the industry during Peru’s neoliberal period before focusing in on the agency that the notion of a neoliberal subject and attendant ideas about ‘success’ have on the discourse and practice of huayno divas. However, I seek to contextualise and complicate understandings of these neoliberal logics and identify their limits by highlighting alternative sources of ‘ethical subject formation’, which have the potential to endorse, contradict and mediate the ideal type of the neoliberal subject in practice. Thus, in the latter part of the chapter I consider how the discourse of suffering associated with huayno music and huayno stars – itself connected to Catholic moral philosophy – complicates any straightforward mapping of a neoliberal subjectivity on to huayno performers.

Neoliberal Logics

Economic Reform and the Huayno Music Industry

Much recent scholarship on music industries in the Global South has indicated roughly homologous relationships between the rise of particular popular genres and local industries on the one hand, and the implementation of neoliberal economic reforms, on the other (Dent 2009, Perullo 2011, Shipley 2009). Alongside processes of privatization, deregulation and marketization, these examples point to a decentring and

democratisation of cultural production and consumption. The case of contemporary commercial huayno music presents us with a similar scenario. Although huayno was commercialised in various ways during the twentieth century, the explosion of the contemporary commercial huayno industry over the last couple of decades roughly coincides with the roll out of neoliberalism in Peru, especially during the presidency of Alberto Fujimori (1990-2000). However, it is important not to attribute transformations in the music industry to neoliberalism alone. Neoliberalisation is only one process among many and its effects must be considered in conjunction with coterminous processes of globalisation, rural-urban migration, shifts toward more democratic polities and, perhaps most importantly, increasing access to the technological means of production (Dent 2009, 170, Shipley 2009, 651-2, Stobart 2010). In Peru, these processes, combined with the increasing economic power of Andean migrants, have enabled the development of a plethora of small and medium-sized enterprises involved in the production and dissemination of folkloric and popular musics that have brought increasing visibility to subaltern musical expressions. These decentring and democratising trends, along with the almost total spread of music piracy (98%, IIPA 2010) has all but destroyed the potential for multinational recording company investment. Thus, in Peru, as Perullo notes for Tanzania, it is ironic that a music economy that supposedly represents a neoliberal success story relies on illicit activities such as piracy that '[undermine] legitimate forms of trade and exchange' (Perullo 2011, 259).

In Lima, there are a handful of commercial huayno music video production labels (such as Rosita, Danny and Propasa), which make money primarily, if not entirely, by charging artists a flat fee for producing music video albums. As a result of piracy there is little money to be made from labels selling their own products to consumers. Some labels have even been known to pirate their own material in a bid to increase visibility in the market place, thus gaining more clients. These labels, however, usually only record the video and rarely record the audio. Audio tracks are produced at one of dozens of recording studios that hire out their space, staff and services to artists. These recording studios typically abandon any rights to the recording or appearance in the credits and – bar the occasional shout-outs on the songs themselves – there is often no way of knowing where the audio was recorded. Thus, music video labels and recording studios often operate as services for artists rather than as accessories to larger industries concerned with selling products to consumers at large. This is similar to radio stations, which often charge artists much more for airtime than they pay in royalties, if they even

pay royalties at all. In this (post-Fordist) context, the cost of production lies almost entirely at the feet of artists. The production of new songs and videos, however, is central to artists' promotional activities and music media serves the function of a 'calling card' (see also Stobart 2010, 49), a means to the end of attracting consumers to live performances, which provide the principal source of income for artists.

The fact that musicians perform music as a means of making a living is hardly a new idea (Stokes 2003). Beyond the exchange of money for musical performance or labour, however, many huayno divas employ a range of entrepreneurial strategies to advance their musical careers. This environment typically encourages a range of virtues and behaviours (such as proactivity, flexibility, hard work, innovation, branding, marketing, investment, risk-management) that tend to be associated with neoliberal logics to varying degrees. These virtues and behaviours, in turn, point to a form of reflexive self-management, which strikes me as a feature that distinguishes neoliberalism from capitalism more generally. Furthermore, arguably the prominence of this reflexive management of the self is something that separates contemporary commercial huayno artists from the huayno stars of the 1950s and 1960s. During this time, performers were largely reliant on the entrepreneurial activities of event promoters and recording company executives. Today, although producers, presenters, dressmakers, technicians and event promoters are part of an entrepreneurial culture too, it is huayno singers who are the icons of this particular ethic. They are typically described in their own marketing, as well as in the media and everyday conversations, as *luchadores* (striving, struggling, fighting-spirited), *emprendedores* (enterprising) and *trabajadores* (hard-working). This leads us from the strictly *economic* aspect of neoliberalism towards neoliberalism's *ethical* dimension and specifically the kind of subject that it presupposes. Thus, my attention now turns to considering how a neoliberal subject – as a heuristic model – relates to the ways in which huayno singers imagine themselves and are discussed in the public sphere.

Ethics, Labour and the Neoliberal Subject

In the first half of the twentieth century, industrialisation and labour programmes sponsored by the state were seen to offer a route towards Peru's progress and civilization. However, the 'allure of labour' diminished over the twentieth century and, in the 1990s, a new 'alluring' solution to Peru's perceived backwardness emerged in the

form of '[President] Fujimori's entrepreneurial cholos' (Drinot 2011, 14). This was a discourse about an emerging migrant class of neoliberal citizens willing and able to take personal responsibility for their own fate and economic success and, in turn, power the country toward progress. However, while Fujimori championed these ideas, they were already in common circulation. During the 1980s, for example, the Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto had already identified the prevalence of an entrepreneurial ethic within Peru's informal economy, which could be harnessed to ignite economic growth and spur on development (1989). Such ideas resonate with contemporary discussions about the kind of subject that neoliberalism encourages and presupposes (autonomous, rational, self-managing and personally responsible). In Peru, the policies attached to these neoliberal discourses have presented Peruvian elites with a paradox born, on the one hand, out of an ideological affinity with economic liberalism and its attendant discourses of growth and progress, and, on the other, out of an unease and sense of threat deriving from the resulting 'aberrant modernity', characterised by an increasingly visible *cholo* class with 'bad taste', alien cultural habits and hybrid forms, which fail to conform to stereotypes of 'authentic' traditions or 'international' aesthetics.⁶⁰ It is in this context that contemporary commercial huayno music has emerged.

Commercial huayno is lauded and criticised in equal measure. Regardless of which side of the divide people fall, however, most point to Dina Paucar as a figurehead of commercial huayno's 'modernisation' of folkloric music. Dina is a national icon whose narrative of traveling from humble beginnings in the Andes to stardom, wealth and success in Lima and beyond is repeated wherever she appears. This journey, which began with her running away from home at the age of twelve and finding work selling *emoliente* (an Andean drink) on the streets and working as a maid, became dramatized as a soap opera in 2003 and cemented her narrative in the popular imagination. On becoming UNICEF ambassador in Peru in 2008 her reputation was summed up by her being introduced as 'an example of an enterprising woman who managed to get ahead by fighting against adversity'.

Those who criticise modernisers like Dina variously refer to the privileging of commerce over culture or art, the lack of regional specificity in terms of dress and

⁶⁰ I borrow the phrase 'aberrant modernity' from Anna Morcom's paper delivered at the 2013 Society for Ethnomusicology Conference in Indianapolis, USA. The term *cholo* is used to refer – often disparagingly – to indigenous Peruvians who have moved to urban areas. For further discussion of this term, see de la Cadena (2000); Seligman (1989); Weismantel (2001).

musical styles, crude and/or oversimplified lyrics and the abandonment of instruments, sounds and performance contexts traditionally associated with Peruvian folklore. In an interview with Dina I put these criticisms to her and, speaking in the third person as she often does (and in true diva fashion), she launched into a staunch defence:

So it's been twenty-two years that we've been touring Peru and twelve years that we've been doing it tirelessly. Now, Coca-Cola, being Coca-Cola, a big industry, every year it has to make new commercials, with new things in order to be up to date. So the only thing that Dina did with folklore was to bring it up to date, for the good of folklore, not for the good of Dina, but for the good of folklore in general, so I don't know how people can criticise Dina, if Dina, on the contrary, pushed the car when it wouldn't start (Dina Paucar, interview, Chupaca 26 June 2010).



Figure 12. Dina Paucar addressing a press conference in her role as UNICEF ambassador in Peru, June 2012. Photo: James Butterworth

Several things emerge from Dina's comments here. Most striking is how she compares her contribution to folkloric music to the practices of Coca Cola by pointing to the need to generate new ways of marketing and to be constantly up to date. 'You have to invest, promote yourself' she explained. 'Otherwise, it's simply a failure, you've failed, and everything's gone to the dogs' (ibid). It was clear from further conversations with Dina that while she felt a deep sense of Andean heritage she didn't want to be restricted to perpetuating practices of the past. Instead, she saw her role as a moderniser, taking the present in to the future rather than the past into the present and business was central to this vision. Her final comment ('Dina, on the contrary, pushed the car when it wouldn't start'), perhaps inadvertently, adds a labour intensive dimension to her modernising and is indicative of her self-identity and public image as a gritty and determined woman willing to work hard in order to progress.

Scholars have pointed to the need to study music as 'work' and as 'labour' (Bigenho 2012; Qureshi 2000) and these arguments are especially relevant here. Commercial huayno performers' schedules can often be extremely arduous and tiring. For the bigger artists a Saturday night in Lima with only a single performance would be seen as a wasted opportunity. Instead, artists and groups typically perform two, three or sometimes as many as four times during a Saturday night. These performances take place at different locales and often require journeys through Lima's busy roads that can take anything from fifteen minutes to a couple of hours. A star with three performances may typically set out in the early evening and not return for twelve hours. Although the singers are stars they cannot all afford to travel in luxury and mini-vans are often jam packed with people, instruments and technical gear, which can make journeys uncomfortable and tiresome.

For many artists, their weekend performances in Lima are only a part of their schedule. During the week – though not necessarily every week – performers typically travel to perform in the provinces. These journeys can take anything from five hours to twenty hours along snaking Andean roads. Dina, for example, regularly travels several hours to the provinces, gets up on stage and, then, once finished, immediately makes her way back to Lima. This saves on hotel bills for the entourage of musicians, dancers and family but means performers regularly spend nights driving in vans and buses. It can be a

gruelling lifestyle, which can lead to ill health and even force performers to take time out.⁶¹

Commercial huayno, then, has developed within a labour-intensive industry where live performance is the only way for most performers to bring in a significant and stable income from their music. It is also clear from the discourse of many performers that contemporary music making has become dominated by 'business' rather than 'art'. This attitude emerged, for example, in an interview I conducted with the veteran huayno singer Robert Pacheco, a nephew of the brothers and famous folklore performers Lucio and Tomás Pacheco. In the 1980s, Robert Pacheco explained, 'for me it was like a hobby, not like a business, not like it is now. Now, for me it is a business' (Robert Pacheco, interview, Lima, 16 December 2011). The term business not only implies money but professionalism. Indeed 'professionalisation' is a term many industry figures used to describe the transformations of the 1990s. In addition to making music one's livelihood, 'business' and 'professionalism' also imply rationalisation of musical production and specialised division of labour. Up until the 1980s the tasks of sound technician, bouncer, dogs-body, dancer, singer, musician and compere could all be performed by a single person, but since the 1990s these roles have become increasingly specialised as the industry has grown. This situation was explained to be by the renowned *animador* Jaime Ponce (discussed in Chapter 2). 'Before', Jaime told me, 'everything was informal, I mean I was a musician, I had to carry the sound gear [...] there were no sound technicians, security, coordinators, there was nothing, just the performer' (interview with author, 18 November 2011). According to Dina Paucar, what was needed was 'discipline', a virtue that was lacking in a musical culture she characterised as 'bohemian' in its thinking. 'I didn't mind getting up early, as long as I worked and strived and brought home the bacon, I mean, I wanted to work with dignity, with honesty' (interview with author, 26 June 2012).

In addition to the narrative of hard work, Dina and her manager and partner, Ruben Sanchez, also had a DIY approach to enterprise:

⁶¹ On 21 October 2009, for example, *El Comercio* reported that huayno star Sonia Morales had had to take time out from performing due to health reasons. Available from: <http://elcomercio.pe/espectaculos/357876/noticia-sonia-morales-se-retira-escenarios-problemas-operaciones> (accessed 11 November 2013).

We had a bit more money, and we invested it in making records, caps, scarves, T-shirts, with the name Dina, to promote things. And in this way, bit by bit, we made history' (quoted in Tucker 2013a, 55).

She saw herself as part of an entrepreneurial urbanising class, likening herself to the Andean migrants who founded TopiTop, a large Peruvian clothes chain with 'over 8,000 workers'. They, like her, had been *luchadores* (striving, struggling, fighting-spirited) and were now role models for 'the new generation'. In the minds of this new generation, according to Dina, lay the thought that:

If Dina was able to get ahead [*salir adelante*] coming from where she did, from a humble home, from parents who were so humble, then why can't I? If I have the energy [*fuerzas*], the desire [*ganas*], dreams, I will do it too' (Dina Paucar, interview, Chupaca 26 June 2012).

Similar narratives about Dina have been documented and analysed by other scholars (Tucker 2013a; Vich 2009). As a celebrity and symbol of wealth and success, Dina represents 'the fantasy of what is possible' (Perullo 2011, 122, following Weiss). However, in neoliberal contexts, as Alexander Dent argues, the route to realising this fantasy is distinct: the romantic idea of 'being discovered' as a performer is replaced by 'market-driven notions of hard work, localized entrepreneurship, and individual creativity' (Dent 2009, 170). This discourse stems from neoliberalism's formulation of the individual as an autonomous, choosing agent who can achieve 'success' if only he or she has the will and the appropriate work ethic. It might be said, then, that neoliberal ethics leave little room for serendipity.

However, the discourse of creativity that Dent associates with neoliberal logics takes a back seat in huayno to ideas of innovation and branding. These virtues are linked to filling gaps and carving out niches in the market in a very deliberate way. Making subtle changes to the musical-aesthetic status quo is seen as a way of creating an identifiable brand that can stand out in a saturated market. The well-known huayno diva Anita Santibañez, for example, uses an electric guitar, which immediately indexes her 'sound'. In a similar bid to create distinguishable songs, the up-and-coming artists Belinda Torres has overlaid her huaynos with bass lines transplanted from Argentinian *cumbia villera*. A further example comes from singers such as Fresia Linda and Yobana

Hanco, who use a distinctive keyboard sound, though this is increasingly becoming a wider trend.

As performers constantly try to carve out a niche they are constantly in competition with each other. Sometimes this is simply a case of the clashing of stars' egos but it is often explicitly about competing for market share. One up-and-coming artist I spoke with told me about threats she had received from an established artist associated with the same region of Peru and performing in a similar style. In this competitive context, popularity, image and market-share must be constantly managed and protected. The phrase 'it's easy to get there but hard to stay on top' was one I regularly heard from singers and music industry figures. In another discussion with Dina (in which she repeated her Coca-Cola analogy) she described her image as very fragile: 'you have to take care of it as if it were a crystal'. She consistently affirmed to me, however, that her public image and private self were one and the same: she was 'transparent'. In the case of huayno singers, it is often difficult to ascertain the boundaries between managing the brand and managing the self. To a certain extent the public/private element here is as old as celebrity itself, but it also resonates with Ilana Gershon's articulation of a neoliberal notion of the self, imagined as if it were a business (2011). Although Gershon's heuristic model appears to fit well with this example, it is unclear to what extent this model of the self extends beyond famous solo performers to the broader huayno public. Many huayno listeners and fans, for example, work as domestic maids, manual labourers, factory workers and miners who take part in classical forms of wage labour, often as part of industries that, in some respects, still operate according to Fordist logics.

'Success'

One afternoon I had arranged to meet Marisol Cavero – a well-known huayno singer from the province of Paruro in Southern Peru – outside Metro supermarket on Avenue Cuzco in downtown Lima. I had interviewed her once before (see Chapter 3), seen her perform live and watched many of her videos but I was still anxious about whether I would recognise her in the sea of people walking by. Luckily, she spotted me first. She arrived wearing blue jeans, a black top and dark-tinted sunglasses that seemed to cover most of her face, even though the weather was overcast. Over an orange juice in

a café on Avenue Unión we spoke about a number of things, mainly her desire for me to have a cameo role in her latest music video. In the course of our discussion I asked her what her plans were for her future career. I was quite taken aback when she suggested she might only perform for another few years and then move over to focus on her construction business that she had recently set up with her manager and partner. The idea that a famous performing artist would simply stop performing and focus her efforts on growing a construction company seemed rather foreign to me. It made me question my assumptions about aspiration and reflect on the notion that becoming a huayno star was not necessarily an ultimate goal, as I had previously thought about it.

Being a huayno diva had no doubt been a dream of Marisol's as a teenager. In her late teens she had met Juan Carlos, who soon became her manager and partner. Marisol recounted the encounter:

'I'm going to get you to record,' he said, 'we are going to Lima'. And I couldn't believe it. Just imagine it! To have my own album (interview with author, 3 March 2012).

However, her perspective had broadened on arriving to the capital and being a huayno celebrity did not appear to fulfil all her current aspirations. While huayno performance and stardom was, to an extent, an end in itself for Marisol, it was also a stepping-stone, a means to the end of entrepreneurial success. Marisol's aspirations blur the boundaries between culture and work, art and business in a way that seems typical of capitalist and neoliberal contexts (see Wade 1999). The fact that these were aspirations and not yet realised is potentially more telling than Marisol's eventual life trajectory. Aspirations tell us about ideals and commonplace conceptions of 'success' that circulate in the public sphere and, which, even if not realised in practice, become key in the moulding of subjectivities. Wary of the fickleness of fame but also conceiving of themselves as entrepreneurs, numerous huayno singers have 'extra-musical' business interests, though these often feed back into their celebrity images. The huayno star Sonia Morales, for example, owns a restaurant in Lima and runs a mine in her home region of Ancash. Another famous huayno diva, Abencia Meza, has launched her own brand of beer and *panetón* (a sweet bread loaf), owned a hotel and invested in potato crops, selling the yields to transnational potato chip company Lay's.

The case of Marisol, along with those of many other huayno singers, also sheds light on issues of gender, though I save a more in-depth analysis of this topic for Chapter

5. It is common, for example, for business partnerships to overlap with romantic relationships, as was the case with Dina, Marisol and many other singers. Female singers tend to be represented, and their careers managed, by male partners. In contrast, most male singers (who are fewer in number and generally less famous) co-ordinate their performances, recordings and interviews themselves and in the rare exceptions where they are assisted by women, these women are referred to as ‘secretaries’ and never as representatives or managers. Although I cannot quantify such a trend, I also came across a significant number of young female singers that had entered into romantic relationships with older men who would help finance the investment needed to record songs and videos, to buy costumes, to pay for radio and TV airtime and so on and so forth. Sometimes this financial support would be given on an informal and ad-hoc basis but sometimes the man would take up the formal role of manager, even putting his name to the production, as in the case of Marisol Caverro and Juan Carlos. Thus, business practices, the division of labour and romantic relationships – as well as the associated power dynamics – are gendered in particular ways. The correlations between business and romance lead us to another important element in the huayno world: the discourses of love and suffering to which my attention now turns.

The Suffering Subject

While much of the material I have thus far presented may seem to fit rather well with neoliberal logics and the notion of a neoliberal subject, the understandings this generates are partial and, taken on their own, unsatisfactory depictions of huayno divas and their music. In this section, I attempt to present an alternative frame for understanding huayno divas, their self-fashioning and public images, through the discourse of suffering. Huayno song lyrics, stage-talk and media discourse are dominated by themes of suffering in both love and life. These themes provide a common source for fans’ emotional identification with the huayno world. As we shall see, this generates an ethics of suffering that variously coincides with and contradicts neoliberal ethics.

Suffering is regularly described as a source of inspiration and motivation for singers. As Dina Paucar explained to me (and note the gendering of the comment): ‘there are girls [who] if they can’t speak it they sing it. So they learn to be singers, because of

this suffering that they have'. According to this view, huayno songs present an opportunity to express what you think but might not usually be able to say directly, giving voice to suffering:

Quedate, no te vayas mi amor	Stay, don't go my love
Quedate, no te alejes de mi	Stay, don't take yourself away from me
No ves que estoy llorando	Don't you see that I'm crying?
No ves que estoy sufriendo	Don't you see that I'm suffering
Al saber que me dejas	Knowing that you are leaving?

Dina Paucar, 'Quedate' (Stay)

No, no puede ser	No, it can't be,
Sin darme cuenta	Without noticing
Me enamoré	I fell in love
Vivo penando	I live thinking
Vivo sufriendo	I live suffering

Sonia Morales, 'Me enamoré' (I fell in love)

Through huayno lyrics, suffering often becomes naturalised as an inescapable part of life. Instead of being an obstacle to overcome it is simply something that must be tolerated: to borrow Yano's words, it is 'a state of being' rather than a 'passing condition' (Yano, 102). Yano describes how, in Japanese *enka*, sadness 'becomes valued as a thing of beauty' (ibid, 99) and one could say the same about suffering in huayno. In other words, suffering becomes aestheticized; it is rendered beautiful and its expression is integral to the song's value. There is too much suffering; it is all consuming:

Sé que no soportaré	I know I will not be able to bear
Tanto sufrimiento	So much suffering
Pero si quieres marcharte	But if you want to leave
Yo no te detenré	I will not stop you

Gaby Turin, 'Tu me dices que te vas' (You tell me you are leaving)

In instances where a song speculates that suffering will pass or be overcome it is always expressed as a yearning towards the future and it is never achieved in the time

frame of the song itself. The promise of overcoming suffering is perpetually postponed and manifested as yearning or desire:

Si tú te vas ya no lloraré	If you go I will no longer cry
Si tu te vas ya no sufriré	If you go I will no longer suffer
Con tu adiós no se acaba todo	Everything does not end with your goodbye
Mañana será un nuevo amanecer	Tomorrow will be a new dawn.

Sonia Morales, 'Quiero decirte adios' (I want to say goodbye to you)

As we saw in Chapter 3, emotional suffering in contemporary commercial huayno songs is primarily connected to the heartbreak of romance. However, the public images of huayno divas as well as their own marketing often foreground the wider suffering that they have endured in relation to progressing in a society where the odds are stacked against them. This may involve suffering as a result of discrimination on the grounds of race and gender, of poverty, of being dislocated through migration or of the social consequences of the violence associated with Peru's internal conflict. For example, all these forms of suffering feature in the soap opera *La lucha por un sueño*, which dramatised the life of Dina Paucar and they are present in much public discourse about huayno singers in general. While suffering in love and suffering in life may appear to be separate domains of suffering, I suggest that they possess iconic resemblances so that romantic suffering and other forms of suffering each stand in for an overarching ethic. This ethic feeds into singers' life-stories, which often take the form of a rags-to-riches narrative, characterised by struggle and hardship. Of course, public desire for pop stars to demonstrate that they have suffered to get where they are is not unique to huayno, or even Peru. What is noteworthy here, however, is the special value attributed to suffering in the lyrics, discourse and vocal performance in comparison with other attributes. Displays of suffering are arguably as important as vocal talent, dancing ability and physical appearance and become legitimising and authenticating devices that demonstrate that there is more than an automaton performer.

Huayno singers' displays of suffering also afford opportunities for what Herzfeld terms 'cultural intimacy' (Herzfeld 1997; see also Dent 2009 and Stokes 2010), aspects of which I examined in Chapters 2 and 3. I gained a glimpse of this type of cultural intimacy in an interview with the huayno singer Anita Santibañez, in which she explained:

People say that I sing for the sufferers ... the ones that cry, that suffer, who are down-in the-dumps. Well, that's what they *say* [note the intonation which suggests it might not be true] (Anita Santibañez, interview, Lima, 28 February 2012).

It was clear that Anita was not entirely comfortable with this description but nonetheless wanted to articulate that this was a common conception. She attributed this idea to the public at large only then to backtrack from it in apparent embarrassment. To my knowledge, however, this was not a common conception and nobody I have spoken to since has been willing to single her out in this way. It appeared Anita was keen for me to know about her associations with suffering yet I detected a wry reflexivity in her unease. The encounter appeared to chime with Herzfeld's characterisation of cultural intimacy as that sense of 'rueful self-recognition' where identification, belonging and embarrassment are experienced simultaneously (1997, 6).

In most contexts, any suggestion that huayno singers have had a life that is anything other than arduous won't be taken lightly. As Marisol Caverro told me:

Lots of people tell me, 'You're young, you haven't suffered at all, you're famous' they say. But it's not like that, in a short time, it's been three or four years that I've suffered a lot, there have been moments when I've had to eat my own nails [i.e. been too poor to eat] but get over it (Marisol Caverro, interview, Lima, 3 March 2012).

Here, suffering is analogous with economic hardship but clearly carries value or virtue of some kind. A tension thus emerges between being famous (effectively synonymous with being rich) and suffering. This complicates our understanding of huayno divas being valued as icons of economic success, highlighting the fact that singers' must perform a careful balancing act between images of success and claims of suffering. I in no way want to belittle the obvious struggles and hardships many huayno singers have endured in their lives. But whether singers are being honest about their pasts or whether they take to fabricating stories of suffering as authenticating devices or marketing strategies is almost beside the point. What is important is that knowledge of suffering – itself imbued with value – is communicated through performance and through the narratives that are told about singers and that singers tell about themselves. Suffering, then, leads to a story about a person, who carries a virtuous badge of honour.

In the final section, my attention turns to considering the religious connotations of, and context for, the discourse of suffering in huayno. In turn, I consider the correlations and contradictions between suffering, neoliberalism and Catholic moral philosophy as well as the ethical consequences for our understanding of huayno singers as assemblages of multiple subjectivities.

Correlations and Contradictions: Religious Ideas and the Limits of Neoliberal Logics

In Peru, discourses of suffering are not restricted to huayno music and similar discourses have been analysed in other cultural expressions such as the poetry of Peruvian poet Cesar Vallejo (Galvis, 2011) and contemporary popular culture. Victor Vich, for example, discusses the theme of suffering in relation to Peru's neoliberal moment, focussing in on the song 'Suffer, Peruvian, Suffer', sung by Tongo, a famous *cumbia* artist (2003). Vich surmises that the song 'values personal effort and puts emphasis on the capacity to resist when faced with difficulties', linking this to ideas of 'industriousness', 'individualism' and 'progress' that have long been associated with capitalism. He goes on to argue that the song equates 'suffering' with 'work' and casts suffering 'as a basic and founding dimension of social life'.⁶² This, in turn, creates a subject that is trapped by 'the pitfalls of the morbid masochist morality that perceives suffering as inherently redeeming' (Zizek 2000, 146).

Here, the discourse of suffering appears to correlate with neoliberalism rather well. However, there are tensions that need to be highlighted such as that between suffering's narrative of resignation and neoliberalism's narrative of an emancipated and empowered subject. A religious dimension is also left tantalisingly implicit in Vich's analysis. The redeeming nature of suffering, to which Vich and Zizek both refer, is one intricately related to Christian, and specifically Catholic, moral philosophy. According to this philosophy, suffering is a consequence of Original Sin and thus an inevitable part of life, a signifier of the mundane. One should not complain about one's suffering; one should be resigned to it. Moreover, through suffering one bears the sins of others and the offering up of one's suffering for the reparation of these sins can be a source of

⁶² The semiotic association between work and suffering is one I have often encountered too.

redemption. Suffering, too, becomes a way of re-enacting the life of Jesus Christ who suffered on Earth. This aspect of Catholic ethics, then, casts suffering as potentially virtuous. Resignation is rewarded whereas refusal to accept one's lot is seen as a rejection of the order of the world as created by God. In the case of Peru, this ethic of suffering is variously manifested as active religious belief as well as through 'cultural' Catholicism, by which I mean the penetration of catholic ethics into everyday discourses and practices beyond organised religion, such as in the world of huayno.

In Peru, however, the relationships between economics, religion and the discourse of suffering have not been straightforward. In the 1970s and 1980s this version of Catholic ethics was challenged by Liberation Theology, a movement that swept through much of Latin America in the wake of the 1968 Episcopal Conference of Latin America (CELAM) meeting in Medellín, which gave birth to the 'preferential option for the poor'. With a mix of religious and revolutionary rhetoric liberationists gave Catholicism a Marxist slant.⁶³ Members of the movement had an uneasy relationship with the discourse of suffering because they were fearful that it could be used to legitimise and rationalise capitalism's oppression of the poor.⁶⁴ In contrast, liberationists sought a 'transformation of the reality' of the poor and called for action on the poor's behalf (Freire 1970, 120). Religious belief and organisation were imbued with a discourse of class struggle and, instead of accepting the status quo of God's ordering of the world, justice was sought in this life (Bell 2001; Peña 1995). The Peruvian priest Gustavo Gutiérrez, dubbed the 'father' of liberation theology and author of the movement's seminal text *A Theology of Liberation*, described it as 'a theology which does not stop with reflecting on the world, but rather tries to be part of the process through which the world is transformed' (Gutiérrez 2001 [1971], 59). However, there was a contradiction for liberationists; even though they sought to change the reality of the world, their collective mobilisation relied on the fact that the suffering poor were worthier than the

⁶³ Jeffrey Klaiber indicates that although key texts associated with liberation theology drew on Marxist ideas the majority of liberation theologians and followers did not consider themselves to be Marxists. He further suggests that in this context, being on the 'left' often meant little more than favouring social reform (1992, 308-9).

⁶⁴ Gutiérrez concluded that 'autonomous Latin America development is not viable within the framework of the international capitalist system' (2001 [1971], 110). More generally, David Batstone argues that the notion of suffering as a redeeming exercise also helped to legitimise and rationalise the conquest of Latin America via Christian moral teaching (1991, 29).

rich. In other words, poverty and suffering became sources both of worthiness and injustice.

Initially, during the early years of the Velasco government (1968-75), the ideas of Gutiérrez and other liberation theologians held great sway in Peru. However, beginning in the late 1970s and intensifying in the 1980s, progressive elements were challenged and attacked by an increasingly conservative group of Catholic bishops, leading to ideological fragmentation in the Church. During this time, conservative elements, including Opus Dei and Sodalitium Christianae Vitae, launched campaigns against liberation theology, decrying the politicisation of the Church and its infiltration by Marxists (see Fleet 1997, 206; Peña 1992). The Catholic right feared liberationists would trigger a turn to socialism (Peña 1995, 19) and in relation to suffering voiced views that it was a fact of life to be endured, that the poor were in a privileged position to re-enact the suffering of Jesus Christ and, in turn, seek redemption in the next world (ibid, 25, 28). In 1984, in response to Gustavo Gutiérrez' writings, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, headed by Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, issued an *Instruction on Certain Aspects of the Theology of Liberation*. The instruction accused liberationists of 'immanentism'; that is, mistakenly conflating 'the history of salvation and profane history', thus making 'history itself the subject of its own development, as a process of the self-redemption of man by means of the class struggle'.

The increasingly conservative headwinds in Peru during the 1980s meant that liberation theology became diluted and fragmented. While entities such as the Southern Andean Church remained vocal in their support for the poor and disadvantaged, their social and political activism was largely limited to local and regional levels.⁶⁵ While conservative elements in the Church tried to combat the perceived threat posed by liberation theology they were also fighting on another front against the rapid spread of Evangelical Protestantism in the country. Tensions rose to the surface during the 1990 elections and continued throughout the presidency of Alberto Fujimori. Ironically, in the elections, the more conservative bishops gave their backing to the novelist and self-declared agnostic, Mario Vargas Llosa, rather than Fujimori, who, in spite of being a

⁶⁵ Since the 1990s, however, the Southern Andean Church has taken a much more pragmatic approach, in some circumstances even embracing neoliberal policies (see Olson 2008).

Catholic, granted an unprecedented platform for Protestant ministers within his Cambio 90 party.⁶⁶

Various scholars have documented the contrasting characterisations of Catholics and Protestants in Peru. Elizabeth Olson, for example, notes the common perception among Catholics that Evangelicals are ‘materialistic’ (Olson 2006, 897). She also notes the tendency for development discourses to perpetuate the narrative of ‘successful Evangelicals’ and ‘unsuccessful Catholics’, though she suggests there is little empirical evidence to back up such discourses (ibid, 885). Based on research in the village of Tapay in Southern Peru, Karsten Pærregaard has also observed the characterisation of Protestants as ascetic and hard working, in contrast to idolatrous and alcohol-drinking Catholics (Pærregaard 1994, 177).

These tensions remind us that economic and religious histories are intricately interwoven. More nuanced understandings of neoliberalism, I argue, must address these interwoven histories and look for correlations and contradictions in those spaces and instances where neoliberalism interacts with other phenomena, processes and ethics. The cases of Dina Paucar, Marisol Cavero and other singers, highlight a series of discourses and behaviours, which seemingly coincide with neoliberal ethics and the kind of subject position it presupposes. These discourses and behaviours are connected both to an appropriate work ethic, characterised by industriousness, aspiration and personal responsibility, as well as business-like traits such as marketing, promotion, investment, innovation, branding and competition. In the case of Marisol we are also presented with a scenario where being a famous and successful huayno performer may become a means to an end of more generalised entrepreneurship.

However, this economy-centric depiction of huayno divas and their music is partial and, in my view, unsatisfactory. My description of a suffering subject provides an alternative frame for understanding practices and discourses of commercial huayno, which variously contradicts and converges with a neoliberal view of the subject. As Henrietta Moore writes:

a single subject cannot be equated with a single individual. Individuals are multiply constituted subjects, and they take up multiple subject positions within a range of discourses and social practices. Some of these subject positions will be

⁶⁶ Fujimori caused further friction with the Catholic Church when embarking on sterilization and other birth control programmes.

contradictory and conflicting. Individuals thus constitute their sense of self through several, often mutually contradictory, subject positions rather than through one singular subject position' (Moore 2007, 41, following Katherine Pratt Ewing).

The neoliberal subject and the suffering subject that I have outlined in this chapter at times are mutually endorsing and at other times contradictory. On the one hand, as we saw with the work of Victor Vich, the glorification of suffering can be seen as a veiled glorification of work and, in turn, a means of legitimising neoliberal logics. On the other hand, while suffering may encourage submission to the economic order and a particular work ethic there are contradictions that remain unresolved. There is a tension between an ethics of suffering, which implies a submissive, resigned and vulnerable subject, and a neoliberal subject position, which carries an empowering and emancipatory narrative that cast citizens as 'autonomous rational calculators' whose destiny is in their own hands (Gershon 2011, 541). It is easy to associate singers like Dina and Marisol with the latter neoliberal dimension but we must not lose sight of coexisting ethical regimes. Commercial huayno singers also relate to an ethics of suffering, which possesses value and virtue beyond economics, even generating cultural intimacy. Thus, by employing alternative analytical frames we can shed light on the limits of neoliberal logics as well as highlighting 'the tremendous confusion of interdependent influences' (Weber 2001, 49) where different kinds of ethics and subject positions collide, creating both congruence and contradiction.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how the self-fashioning and public images of huayno divas variously coincide with the notion a neoliberal subject, which is typically constructed as autonomous, rational and personally responsible for its own self-development. In this context, achieving success requires, on the one hand, hard work and graft, and, on the other, strategic self-management, involving business-like traits, such as marketing, investment, branding and competition. However, I have also sought to contextualise such neoliberal logics by invoking the suffering subject, which provides an alternative frame for analysing ethical subject formation within the huayno world. In some instances, this ethics of suffering is derived from Catholicism and helps to

legitimise and reinforce certain neoliberal ideas, such as when suffering and work become semantically fused so that they represent simultaneously sources of pain, sacrifice and redemption. This reading offers a way of interpreting the correlations between religious ethics and economic activity that contrasts with Weber's proposal of an elective affinity between the Protestant ethic and capitalism. However, an alternative reading may highlight the contradiction between a submissive, resigned and vulnerable suffering subject and neoliberal subject understood as emancipated and empowered. For huayno singers there is often a tension, too, between inhabiting images of 'success' and communicating experiences of suffering through song lyrics, performance and personal narratives.

The ethics of suffering outlined above is a deep-seated part of the cultural values and practices surrounding huayno music and musicians and serves as a reminder of the limits of neoliberal logics. While there is still much work to be done on examining the effects and experiences of neoliberalisation in relation to musical and cultural practices, I have argued in this chapter that we should not fall in to the trap of assuming the omnipresence and omnipotence of neoliberalism. Similar critiques have been made about the grand narrative of modernity, seeking to deconstruct the centre-periphery dichotomy upon which this narrative relies. As Mary L. Pratt writes, for example, 'When uncontested, the center's diffusionist accounts of culture assume a transparent and an inconsequential process of assimilation on the reception end' (2002, 34). Similarly, we must be careful not depict neoliberalism as a reflexive technology that is always in control of its own metamorphosing through the co-optation of local difference. To borrow Pratt's words, 'even that which is imposed must enter *through* that which is already there' (ibid). Thus, there are both correlations and contradictions between coterminous phenomena, processes and ethics, which, in turn, lead to assemblages with multiple and often paradoxical meanings. I have argued that by paying attention to these correlations and contradictions we may ascertain a fuller understanding of the social realities and subjectivities that operate in and around huayno divas and their music.

FIVE

Chola Divas? Gender, Power and Propriety

Contemporary commercial huayno singers are predominantly female and these female performers are among the most visible Andean women in Peruvian public culture. In contrast, the musicians behind and alongside them on stage are invariably men. This gendered division of musical labour – where women are the vocalists and men the instrumentalists – has been central to rural Andean music-making for generations (Stobart 2008). However, the dominance of contemporary commercial huayno by female singers distinguishes the genre from a range of other urban mass-mediated Andean music styles in the twentieth century, where men have had the lion's share of both instrumental and vocal roles. For example, pan-Andean neo-folklore and Ayacuchano huayno, both of which carry associations of cosmopolitan refinement, have been the almost exclusive domains of 'gentlemen troubadours' (Tucker 2013b). While chicha music of the 1980s was, like commercial huayno, associated with the Andean-migrant working class, this was a world dominated by male performers and a subjectivity founded on the experiences of the male urban proletariat. Pastorita Huaracina and Flor Pucarina, the two divas of the 'urban-country' style discussed in Chapter 1, were notable exceptions to this male dominance.

In the late 1990s, however, female techno-cumbia stars, including Rosy War and Ruth Karina, helped to forge a space within the public sphere where women became protagonists of popular music production (Romero 2002). It is tempting to hypothesise that the success, popularity and prevalence of contemporary huayno divas, which peaked during the 2000s, may not have been possible without the emergence of these female techno-cumbia stars several years earlier. Today, huayno divas possess some of the most prominent Andean bodies and voices of Peru's radio and television programmes, websites, tabloid newspapers and performance venues.

In this chapter I examine how huayno divas reflect and shape public ideas about Andean (migrant) women and female subjectivity in contemporary Peru. I am concerned with analysing both how these divas perform gendered roles and how gendered meanings are read on to their public images, which circulate in the mass-mediated public sphere. As I have shown in previous chapters, huayno divas inhabit and perform a range of subject positions, or stories about a person, such as lover, mother, migrant, sufferer, hard-worker, entrepreneur, sinner and saint. In this chapter I continue to invoke a range of these stories but focus specifically on the ways in which they are gendered. Moreover, I illustrate how gender is intricately interwoven with the uneven landscapes of class, ethnicity and race. Here, I introduce the heavily gendered and racialised figure of the 'chola' who forms another story about a person, which variously coincides with and contradicts characterisations of huayno divas.

As I discussed in the Introduction, ideas about divas tend to emphasise their disruptive, transgressive and/or subversive qualities (Burns and Lafrance 2002; Doty 2007; Koestenbaum 1993; Monson 2012; Vargas 2012). However, I contend here that the star divas of contemporary commercial huayno may be better understood in terms of their normativity. Although there are variations and exceptions, huayno divas, on the whole, tend to conform with notions of propriety. This may lead us to consider from whose perspective normativity and notions of propriety are constructed? In addressing this question I locate huayno singers and their images in relation to other representations of women in the mass-mediated public sphere, namely *vedettes*, or showgirls, who are the protagonists of Peru's commodified, sexualised and scandal-filled celebrity world. I suggest that the gendered meanings attached to huayno singers are contingent on how they position themselves in relation to such figures and media spaces, along with their aesthetic and ethical associations. In particular I consider issues of dress and the body.

In the latter part of this chapter my attention turns to questions of power and agency. As I highlighted in Chapter 4, stories about huayno divas involve tensions between suffering and success, struggle and empowerment. Here, I consider how gender inflects these tensions. Specifically, I examine how notions of suffering and struggle are feminised, holding much greater power in defining female, as opposed to male subjectivities. However, I also explore how narratives of female empowerment – attached to singers, stage talk, song lyrics and public discourse – co-exist with such valorisations of female suffering and struggle. Are such narratives of empowerment

reflections of shifting realities or little more than commodified fantasies? What kind of agency do huayno divas have and how do they achieve it?

Intersecting Differences: An Overview of Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Andes

Gender discourses in the Andes are manifested and interpreted in complex, diverse and paradoxical ways. Various ethnographic studies in the Andes support the idea that gender constructions and sexual inequalities are mutually mediating (Babb 1989, Bourque and Warren 1981, de la Cadena 1995, Seligmann 2004). In other words, sexual inequalities have been justified by ‘naturalised’ conceptions of gender differences, which, in turn, are reinforced by the apparent existence of sexual inequality in the first instance (Butler 1990). Hegemonic gender constructions rely on the idea that men naturally dominate the domains of work, verbal discourse and public space, whereas women are innately suited to the realms of domesticity, family and privacy.⁶⁷ However, there are numerous exceptions to such trends, such as the figure of the chola (which I discuss below) and, to a certain extent, huayno divas, too.

Social science research in Latin America prior to the 1970s rarely focused on women (Melhuus and Stølen 1996, 9). Influenced by the rise in feminist thought in the latter third of the twentieth century, however, women and issues of gender have received much greater attention. Initially, women’s lives in Latin America were often explored through Marxist formulations of class which, as Melhuus and Stølen indicate, was, at that time, the dominant conceptual model for dealing with socio-economically disadvantaged groups (ibid, 9-10). Some have argued that working-class women in the Andes face a

⁶⁷ According to Babb dominant ideology in Peruvian society also ‘maintains that women’s contribution to family income is supplementary and not a major source of livelihood’ (1989, 203). Crain also notes that certain activities conducted by women are not considered to be ‘work’ (1996, 141). Understanding of dominant female gender ideals is also enhanced by considering the notion of *machismo*. ‘In essence, *machismo* is an ideology of masculinity which emphasizes male dominance and virility. It defines relations between men (aggression, honour, pride) as well as men’s behaviour towards women (sexual conquest, jealousy, possessiveness). *Machismo* relies on a dual sexual morality which expects promiscuity of men and chastity of women, and this necessarily involves a dual categorization of women consisting of “good” and “bad” women’ (Scott 1994, 79).

‘double exploitation,’ marginalised both as workers and as women (see Babb 1989, 56; cf. Van Vleet 2008, 18). Viewing gender and class in Peru as ‘linked systems of inequality’, sociologist Alison MacEwan Scott suggests that such an intersectional approach requires a shift from class-theory’s over-dependence on modes of production and the *individual* positions of *men* to a recognition of the role that *family* networks and *consumption* activities play in class (consciousness) formation (1994, 5-6).⁶⁸

Some of the first anthropological studies of gender relations in the Andes also invoked notions of gender ‘complementarity’ (Harris 1978; Isbell 1974). Seen as remnants of a pre-Columbian and even pre-Incan ideology, notions of gender complementarity were founded on a mutually dependent gender dualism which, in relation to the Chuschi community in Peru, Isbell described thus:

One is necessarily female and the other male. They are complements or ‘the essential other halves’ of one another; the combination of the two is necessary for life to continue, for time to move and for the Andean world to be understood (Isbell 1974, 13).

Some observers argue that that such notions of complementarity were challenged, eroded and in some contexts even destroyed by the imposition of colonial Spanish patriarchal ideology and its historical development in the Andes (see Babb 1989, 61). However, the idea of complementarity has since been critiqued for its universalisation of particular local forms of gender relations and Isbell herself has distanced her work from these ideas (1997).

What is clear is that women’s lives and constructions of gender cannot be entirely separated out from other domains of difference in the Andean social world. In fact, as has been noted above in relation to class, gender must be considered as inextricably linked to a range of other forms of differentiation. In the Latin American context more generally ‘the differences that obtain between men and women can be made to stand for other forms of differences, or ... “differences invoked in one context can be used to

⁶⁸ Scott suggests that men and women share in a common class identity ‘based on the common experiences of poverty, hard work and economic uncertainty. A common identity was also promoted by shared deprivation in terms of housing ... and by cultural and ethnic differences (ibid, 72, see also 200-1). However, Scott only gives passing mention to issues of cultural and ethnic differences as foundations for collective consciousness and issues relating to racial inequality and ideology are strikingly absent in her research.

reformulate differences relevant to an other” [Moore 1991: 64]’ (Melhuus and Stølen 1996, 2). Relationships have been charted between gender differences and other domains of difference, including class (Babb 1989, Scott 1994), ethnicity (Crain 1996; de la Cadena 1995) and race (de la Cadena 2000, Weismantel 2001). Furthermore, gender relations have also provided a platform on and through which political discourses and ideas of nation are constructed and contested (Canessa 2005; Melhuus and Stølen 1996, 23; Seligman 2004, 119). In the remainder of this section I focus on the intersections of gender, race and ethnicity.

Various scholars have discussed the tendency for women to be more ethnically marked than men. Marisol de la Cadena, for example, refers to an ‘engendering of ethnic hierarchies’ where women are considered more Indian than men (1995, 341). In her research in the Department of Cuzco, de la Cadena suggests that the differential effects of modernisation on men and women have led to greater sexual inequality by reinforcing ‘the Indianization of women, while opening the option of cultural mestizaje to most men’ (ibid, 343). She argues that Indian men can undergo cultural mestizaje regardless of whether or not they are married whereas Indian women, remaining in the community, must be formally engaged to begin any process of ethnic and social mobility (ibid, 333). However, some scholars have noted that because of the demand for domestic servants, women may actually find it easier to gain employment when they move to urban areas and thus might be considered more socially mobile (Stephenson 1999, 29; Van Vleet 2008, 18). In colonial times, de la Cadena argues, local patriarchal relations were once constructed through land ownership and the inheritance of property but in the context of modernisation ‘access to urban institutions, patrons, and employment’ has become the ‘social basis of local patriarchy’ (de la Cadena 1995, 335-8).

In neighbouring Ecuador, Mary Crain similarly notes how Andean women tend to be more ethnically marked than men. For example, she highlights how urban hotel owners may employ rural indigenous women over men because they are perceived to be ‘more “native”, and therefore more “authentic”, than their male counterparts’ (Crain 1996, 140). Crain also notes that this perceived nativeness was especially linked to the fact that the women wore traditional dress. As has been noted elsewhere, women are much less likely to abandon traditional Andean dress than men, a situation that serves to emphasise their indigeneity (Femenías 2005; Radcliffe 1997). Crain suggests that this engendering of ethnicity may be ‘a partial consequence of the “forced acculturation”

imposed under colonialism, an experience which affected native men more directly than native women' (1996, 140).

In her discussion of racial discourses in Cusco, Linda Seligmann writes:

one critical concept that has come to dominate views of race is a scale of inferiority and superiority that depends heavily on an assessment of whether one is 'cultured.' One can become more cultured by becoming 'educated.' As one probes more deeply into this notion, however, one discovers that being 'cultured' and being 'educated' depend on with whom one socializes, how one behaves, the clothes one wears, the food one eats, where one lives, and one's occupation (2004, 148).

What Seligmann does not mention here, however, is how gender relations are implicated in the criteria for becoming cultured and educated. If one takes the word 'educated' literally, this relation is apparent in men and women's differential access to education. However, to understand 'educated' and 'cultured' in the more euphemistic sense in which it functions in racial discourse women may also be seen as disadvantaged. If dominant gender ideals posit that a woman's place is in the home, that she should reside in a private domain of domesticity, that she should avoid going out to 'work' and that she should wear traditional dress, then a woman's potential for engaging in a process of becoming 'educated,' 'cultured' or 'less Indian' is doubly limited (cf. Van Vleet 2008, 18).⁶⁹

One of the most striking points of intersection between gender, ethnic and racial discourses occurs in the figure of the chola, who, as Mary Weismantel indicates, resides somewhere between myth and reality (2001). The moniker chola typically refers to an indigenous woman who moves to the city and adopts certain urban values and behaviours. Often a chola's integration into national urban life may be deemed incomplete or limited from a mestizo or elite point of view. It is important to distinguish, however, between the use of 'chola' as an ethnic label that is simply the female equivalent

⁶⁹ Susan Lobo, however, provides a contrasting view in her book titled *A House of My Own: Social Organization in the Squatter Settlements of Lima, Peru*. Lobo writes of the 'strikingly egalitarian' nature of the relationship between male and female migrants in Lima's *barriadas* (shantytowns) compared with that of the middle and upper classes. She also notes that 'most household units consist of men and women, both of whom are diligent and industrious workers and neither of whom is considered socially or economically inferior to the other, in contrast to the Latin American stereotype of male dominance and female seclusion and passivity' (1995 [1982], 107).

of cholo and 'chola' as it refers to particular construct that additionally implies a specific complex of gendered behaviours and characteristics. In the case of this latter usage, then, how has the image of the chola been constructed and how has this changed over time? In what ways do notions of gender and ethnicity intersect in the chola image? How do huayno divas relate to the image of the chola?

Cholas are simultaneously characters in stories, jokes and forms of folklore, the butt of linguistic insults, the 'authentic' images on picture postcards, the objects of desire in rural men's songs and the racialised and sexualised exotic 'other' against which mestizo and white male subjectivities are constructed. The task of defining who is and who isn't a chola is made all the more difficult because, generally speaking, the chola identity has been one ascribed to others rather than one with which women have self-identified. However, as we shall see later in this chapter, there is evidence to suggest this is changing. Yet, to highlight the relational, constructed and ascribed nature of the chola identity is not to take away from the immediacy and realness with which cholas and the attached narratives impact on social interactions. It is also important to note that 'chola', like most gender, ethnic and racial labels, is an historically defined term.⁷⁰

The gendered meanings attached to cholas have been constructed and interpreted in diverse ways. For some, the chola embodies female strength, boldness and earthiness but for others such qualities are construed as dirtiness and vulgarity. While some have celebrated stereotypes of the chola's desiring and desire-inducing nature, others have interpreted such traits as evidence of her moral inferiority and polluting threat. Writing in 1962, the *neoindianista* intellectual José Varallanos conceived of the chola as exercising 'a kind of matriarchy':

⁷⁰ Linda Seligmann draws attention to the colonial roots of the word chola (1989). She explains how cholo (referring to both men and women) became a racial category that indicated a mix of Spanish and Indian blood. The process of ascription was complicated by the fact that any individual whose blood was more than half-Indian was considered to be an Indian and forced to pay tribute to the Crown. Seligman quotes Gregorio de Cangas (via Varallanos 1962, 29), who explains the general criteria upon which these caste categories were based: 'From the male Spaniard and female Indian results a royal mestizo; from the royal mestizo and female Indian, a cholo is born; from a cholo and female indian, a common mestizo' (Seligmann 1989, 696).⁷⁰ Seligmann explains, however, that from the outset cholo was a disputed category and continued miscegenation, in particular, made the task of maintaining racial categories fraught with difficulties.

Different from the Spanish woman [who acts as] a decorative figure [and from] the Indian woman who is the submissive servant of the husband . . . the chola is the boss of the house whose moral and economic responsibility she assumes. . . . She is involved in all the business of the village and of the city, and in the small industry, woman of energy and masculine will, she is the social revolutionary of her environment and of her time (cited in de la Cadena 2000, 200).

De la Cadena adds that ‘in the eyes of these cuzqueño men, what distinguished cholos was their unfettered sexuality and its external physical manifestations; big breasts, ample thighs, and prominent lips’ (de la Cadena 2000: 202). The image of the chola as championed by cuzqueño *neoindianistas*, however, was largely overridden by claims about her vulgarity from ‘the sexually conservative elite’ (de la Cadena 2000: 203).

For many anthropologists, the chola is most fully embodied by market women, who are typically described as tough, resilient and stalwart characters whose behaviour frequently disrupts dominant notions of domesticity, femininity and sexuality (Babb 1989; Seligmann 1989, 2004; Stephenson 1999; Weismantel 2001). Reflecting on her first field research in Peru in 1974, Linda Seligmann, wrote:

I was struck by the forceful, energetic, and at times bawdy market women known as cholos. They stood out because they appeared fearless, astute, different, and unpredictable. I could not find a counterpart among Peruvian males (1989, 694).

The chola market woman, then, is someone who can pose a threat to dominant gender ideologies. Weismantel suggests that this unease relates, in part, to the male gendering of public urban space where women normally ‘feel out of place and ill at ease’:

They travel across public spaces like moving targets, sometimes hopeful of earning men’s admiration, always fearful of attracting their ridicule or abuse. Unlike men, women rarely loiter in public . . . I’m only here temporarily their body language says; I have a gender-appropriate destination (Weismantel 2001, 48).

Although market life can be interpreted as an extension or large-scale version of the domestic activities of women in the home there remains something taboo about market women’s activities. They contest the stereotyped caricature of ‘the chola as a colored woman routinely taken advantage of by men’ not by asserting themselves as ‘asexual

virgins' but by marshalling 'other, more aggressive stereotypes in their own defense; the gender-neutral ideal of the good worker, and that most potent symbol of Latin womanhood, the all-powerful mother' (ibid, xli).

Weistmantel also suggests a reading of the market chola as a woman who adopts, or performs, a certain kind of masculinity. She suggests that '[t]he "manliness" of the market woman lies in her reputed strength of will and large sexual appetites; or it may be found in the resoluteness with which she rejects heterosexual marriage' (ibid, 63). However, defining cholas as masculine might be over simplistic and, as Weismantel previously posits:

As an Indian who is part white, she [a chola] also becomes a woman who is part man ... But their claim to masculinity and to whiteness does not imply that to be an Indian woman is inadequate. Rather, it asserts a state of non-white femininity so powerful it can eclipse and even incorporate its alter (ibid, xli).⁷¹

As we shall see, huayno divas variously coincide with and contradict the characterisations of the chola outlined above. Their chola-like qualities are most visible in their reputations as gritty women who possess a work ethic that rivals and even surpasses that of any man (as we saw in Chapter 4). Furthermore, as I discuss towards the end of this chapter, the way in which they dominate the 'symbolic discourse' (Stobart 2008) through song and take command of public space challenges certain normative understandings of gender in a similar way to the chola. However, in doing so, huayno divas typically conform to other normative frameworks and gendered notions of propriety that are not in keeping with the chola image. For example, by presenting themselves as long-suffering and relatively sexually reserved women they conform to particular gendered (Catholic) stereotypes, by showing themselves to be socially mobile hard-working entrepreneurs they coincide with neoliberal discourses and by inhabiting sentimental subjectivities they show themselves to be 'feminine' women, defined by their emotional struggles.

⁷¹ Stephenson refers to cholas as 'nonwomen' (1999, 11).

Lover, Mother, Migrant and Worker: Dina Paucar and Urban Andean Womanhood

As we saw in Chapter 4, the popularity and public image of huayno diva, Dina Paucar, depends not simply on her music but on her life story and what she represents. On one level, she is perceived to be the typical Andean migrant. Her previous life as a street vendor and domestic maid (two of the most common migrant jobs) is well known in Peru and is a fact propagated on her personal website, her Facebook page, media interviews and in much public discourse. This history, which is crucial to her image, places her in a wider narrative of migrant struggle and aspiration within the big city and against a backdrop of ethnic, class and gender inequality. Thus, while her previous occupations help to paint her as the *typical* migrant, Dina can simultaneously be seen to represent the *ideal* migrant; her life story is one of the successful and stoic female Andean migrant to which many aspire. In this sense, she is exceptional in her success and coincides with Pramod Nayar's depiction of 'the celebrity as somebody who has transcended the usual problems of everyday life and other humans to become successful' (Nayar 2009, 126). Dina, like many stars, has achieved a balance between uniqueness and ordinariness. But how does Dina Páucar relate to narratives about female migration and urban Andean womanhood? How does she relate to discourses about cholas? How does her image articulate gendered notions of propriety and ethical subject formations?

Different levels of social mobility among men and women in Andean Peru have been closely related to varying levels of geographical mobility. Historically speaking, it was usually men that moved far and wide from their homes to take up work on haciendas, in mines or as other forms of manual labourers (Seligman 2004: 32). However, the mass migration of Andean peoples to towns and cities since the mid-twentieth century has signalled increasing movement among women in both absolute and relative terms. By the 1990s, for example, half of all migrants to Lima were women (Alcalde 2006, 150). Yet migration has had complex and contradictory effects on Andean women's lives. The migration narrative is one, on the one hand, of suffering and struggle and, on the other, of empowerment and success. Arriving in the city Andean women have acquired new forms of agency through increased access to private and public services, resources and institutions. Notwithstanding the significant differences that remain between men and women, increasing access to education, in particular, has helped to narrow the equality gap between the sexes. But, in some cases, women's

arrivals in the city have also meant the loss of power associated with traditional female roles as well as encountering new forms of hardship, discrimination and inequality in the city (Bourque and Warren 1981, 201).⁷² Scholars have variously examined issues of violence, servitude and dependency among such women, including prostitutes, domestic maids and housewives (Bunster and Chaney 1985; Nencel 2001; Alcalde 2006).

In the 1970s, the contradictory effects of migration on women's lives were well illustrated by Bourque and Warren who detailed the perceptions and experiences of Concepción, a young woman who had moved to Lima at the age of fourteen (1981, 33-35). Concepción recounts her initial confusion and fear when encountering men in the city who approached women with bold sexual compliments. She also relates her sense of isolation, alienation, the reserved nature of urban Lima life and the difficulty of making friends. However, Concepción recognises a series of benefits too. She explains that while men were still dominant on the coast, they were much less authoritarian and women had greater power to put forward their own views. This perception seems contrary to any simple linkage between rurality and gender equality, on the one hand, and urbanity and patriarchy, on the other.⁷³ Concepción also indicated that the coast offered more opportunities for women to better themselves through education and that women's work on the coast was much less physically demanding and time consuming than was the case in the highlands. Bourque and Warren concluded that, in many ways, education provided women with greater job prospects, independence and access to the social, economic and political institutions at the local and the national level but that education and employment opportunities remained limited when compared with the situation for men (*ibid*, 179-210). The migration discourses articulated by Bourque and Warren still remain prevalent today.

⁷² Bourque and Warren note that migration also reflects a significant process of adaption for agricultural women as they take on urban economic roles of consumers and workers. In Andean rural life women continue to perform the roles of protector and distributor of food and resources (see also Stobart 2008, 73). However, the authors suggest that faced with higher costs and a much greater reliance on a cash economy women may struggle to fulfil these responsibilities (cf. Van Vleet 2008, 123-6). Furthermore, women who moved from the highlands to the city were often forced to abandon their ownership of, and responsibility for, animals which, given women's lack of land rights, offered a source of authority and control for rural women (Bourque and Warren 1981, 201).

⁷³ Babb indicates that 'some writers view rural Peru as nearly egalitarian in gender relations and see inequalities as intruding from the "modern" cities'.

Scott, in her 1994 study on gender and class in Lima comes to similar conclusions and indicates that the mass rural-urban migration since the 1940s has meant that women's access to education and employment has improved in absolute terms while relative inequality of opportunity between men and women has persisted (Scott 1994, 52). Scott goes on to note that the investment and opportunities in education in Lima, however, were much greater when compared with the national situation and, as a result, gender inequalities were less in the capital than elsewhere.

It is also worth returning here to the indigenous Ecuadorian women, discussed by Crain (1996), who migrated from the rural areas to take up work in hotels in the capital. In spite of being viewed in a paternalistic and exoticised manner by their Quito-based employer, the women nevertheless developed a sense of empowerment and self-determination. However, Crain notes that when the women returned home to their home town of Quimsa tensions developed between them and male Quimseños who perceived that the women had broken local social codes regarding gender roles and the gendered division of labour. Furthermore, and to add a further paradoxical twist, Crain observes that, in spite of their perceived abandonment of traditional values and behaviour according to male discourses, they were also 'admirably labelled "mujeres vivas", women who are aggressive, streetwise, and therefore not taken advantage of by anyone' (ibid, 147).

The idea of the 'mujer viva' is one that seems to fit particularly well with the image of Dina Páucar. Nowhere has this been more obvious than in the melodramatic depiction of Dina Páucar's life story in the 2004 soap opera 'La Lucha Por Un Sueño' ('The Fight for a Dream') which charted the singer's journey to stardom. The narrative of a gritty and determined migrant girl and, later, woman who suffers but ultimately succeeds in the face of economic and social adversity is epitomised by Dina's portrayal. In the soap opera the audience is transported to the singer's past through a series of flashbacks that unfold as she recounts her life story to a journalist. In contrast to the moral ambiguity and ambivalence of huayno lyrics, the soap opera depicts Dina's life through pure Manichean melodrama. Scenes of family arguments, run-ins with Shining Path Guerrillas and maltreatment by her employers all serve to dramatise the narrative of suffering and struggle and symbolise 'the bad'. Juxtaposed shots of camera flashes, blacked-out car windows and screaming fans provide the indexes of success and representations of Dina's hard work, moral dignity and kindness firmly align her with 'the good'. As the narrative unfolds, Dina's on-screen character feeds back into her

celebrity image and it becomes difficult to separate fact from fiction and myth from reality. It is in these moments where life stories derive much of their power.

Gisela Cánepa also suggests that Dina's portrayal imbues her with a 'moral status ... based on the fact that she did not allow her lover to cheat on her and beat her, although she had to face the social price of being a single mother' (Cánepa 2008, 39-40). Cánepa continues by reflecting more generally that Dina Páucar 'can prove that the representation of her music as the legitimate artistic expression and sentiment of an Andean and provincial identity is not just based on authenticity – an argument evoked by folklorists – but on three decades of endurance in the music industry; the latter being an argument that defines wayno [huayno] music as a modern cultural product and a means for economic development (ibid, 39-40).

The themes of success, aspiration and struggle continue to be propagated by Dina on her own website:

Her life is steeped in fight, fighting spirit that she inherited from her father and mother who made her understand, since her childhood, that nothing would be easy. To achieve her dreams she had to face up to everything and everyone. She loved and was loved and cried as her music began to tell of her sorrows and her early achievements. But fate was to reserve great surprises, true love, children that brightened her existence, and the affection of the public that idolizes her. A happy ending, but also a story with many chapters. And it is Dina's dream to take her music to all the corners of the world, that her huayno will be danced in large dance halls and unimaginable places. She is fighting for that dream, for some unattainable, but for her, close at hand.⁷⁴

The underlying themes of female migrant suffering and struggle, empowerment and success that attached to Dina's image appear to chime with Lobo's assessment that in the squatter settlements of Lima, 'a mature woman is admired for being a *buena trabajadora* (good worker) more often than for being attractive, and all members of the household are expected to contribute as much as possible to the economic well-being of the family unit' (Lobo 1995, 47). Lobo also indicates that women 'in the squatter settlements often point out that it is the woman of the family who must be strong both physically and morally because it is she who must bear the children and work for these children in the day-to-day struggle' (ibid, 107). Although I query Lobo's understanding of 'attractiveness'

⁷⁴ www.dinapaucar.com.pe (accessed 26 March 2011).

her observations fit neatly with much public discourse surrounding Dina. Her image of strength, hard work and fighting spirit certainly coincides with characterisations of the chola but her oft-perceived qualities of morality, innocence and feminine decency are a far cry from pejorative notions of the chola's vulgarity, aggressive sexuality and manliness.⁷⁵

Celebrity, Scandal and Mass Culture: The Transgressive Pull of Chollywood

Huayno divas are not the only female celebrities in the public eye in Peru. Among the most visible women in the mass-mediated public sphere are *vedettes*, or showgirls. These ever-present figures dominate popular TV programmes and the tabloid press. They are known for dressing scantily, dancing and posing provocatively, employing lowbrow humour and engaging in behaviour perceived as vulgar and morally dubious. Vedettes are the central characters of the celebrity world known as 'Chollywood', so named by combining the concept of Hollywood with the word 'cholo', indexing, somewhat pejoratively, its orientation toward working-class Andean migrant audiences. Chollywood is a world of scandal, rumour, semi-nudity, entertainment and self-promotion, loved and loathed in equal measure.

Over the years the number and visibility of vedettes in Chollywood has fluctuated. During Alberto Fujimori's third term as president in 2000, for example, coverage of vedettes and stories about their intimate lives reached fever pitch as the government offered payments to tabloid newspapers to fabricate and cover celebrity scandals. These were explicit attempts to distract the public from the intense political scandals engulfing the government in relation to its human-rights violations. Tabloids accepting payments, however, also ran stories fiercely attacking political opposition to the government. The notion of vedettes and Chollywood more generally as distractive

⁷⁵ Yet, having come from an Andean background Dina, like many huayno divas, may colloquially be called a chola, particularly by middle-class mestizos or the elites. These apparent contradictions highlight the contested and relational meaning of the term 'chola' and the importance of the context in which the word is used.

spectacles is one that lingers firmly in the public imagination, relying both on elements of truth and conspiratorial myth.

Public opinion about vedettes typically revolves around two opposing discourses: the vedette as victim and the vedette as empowered agent. In the former, they are cast as sexual objects, complicit in satisfying the male gaze and surrendering to the dominant terms of patriarchal machista society. In the latter, they are icons of female empowerment, combining the performance of an aggressive sexuality with business savvy to carve out commercially successful careers and self-dependent lifestyles. In both scenarios, however, vedettes are figures that continually operate at the limits between normative and transgressive behaviour, constantly causing friction as they rub up against the conservatism of Catholic morality. Contemporary commercial huayno divas, however, are generally on the margins of this world. While many of them try to distinguish themselves as stars of substance in contrast to Chollywood's veneer of superficiality, a minority find themselves at the heart of this world of celebrity scandal, whether purposefully or not (as I discuss in the next section). The propriety of huayno divas' images, I argue, is often judged in relation to their perceived closeness to or distance from the vedettes and the scandals of Chollywood.

Victor Alexander Huerta Mercado's 2010 doctoral thesis provides a comprehensive ethnographic study of vedettes in Peru (Huerta-Mercado 2010). Though sensitive to imbalances in gender power relations he offers a broadly positive reading of vedettes and the agency they have in shaping their own images and lives in a precarious economic environment. His thesis is one of the only in-depth studies to examine representations of women in the mass-mediated public sphere in Peru. Huerta-Mercado argues that media representations of women in Peru must be interpreted in light of two archetypal female figures deriving from Mexican popular culture, which also hold a powerful symbolic position in the Peruvian imagination: the Virgin of Gaudalupe and the Indian Princess Malinche who sided with Hernán Cortés during the Spanish conquest. While the former female figure is a virginal, long-suffering and maternal figure, the latter is typically cast as a whore. He argues that vedettes are commonly understood as examples of this latter story about a person and represent the antithesis of virginity and motherhood.

Although Huerta-Mercado does not reference huayno singers in his study, we can be sure that, on the whole, they would coincide much more closely with the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe. That said, huayno divas' images are far from uniform and while

notions of virginity, self-sacrifice and motherhood apply to many they do not apply to all. In fact, it might be useful to think of the variety of gendered meanings that attach to different huayno singers as connected to how they position themselves in relation to vedettes and other women in the mass-mediated public sphere. This might lead us to consider gendered meanings as relational; that is, performed and interpreted in relation to alternative gendered characterisations ascribed to others.

Huerta Mercado also discusses vedettes in relation to tropes of the chola (as discussed above). The semantic content of the chola image has typically been dominated by 'traditional' Andean women such as those dressed in full Andean garb of polleras, shawls and traditional hats and those working as market women, street vendors or servers in *chicharías* (bars or stalls selling *chicha*, an Andean beer drink). However, the chola image appears to have migrated beyond this quite narrow semantic space towards broader notions of Andean female empowerment and pride. Huerta-Mercado documents how vedettes increasingly self-identify and actively perform as cholas. In the process, they challenge the characterisations of cholas as traditional women who are at odds with modernity and, instead, have helped to put forward a different image of the chola:

[they] publicly recognize their Andean ancestry and associate these characteristics not only with a darker skin or hair color than those belonging to those who are considered 'white' in Peru. They are also identifying with the fact that they are viewed as sexier and more desirable in general than 'gringas' or white women (Huerta-Mercado 2010, 307).

This appears to present an antidote to Roberto Albro's assertion that the 'sum total of this cultural production [surrounding the chola] represents a corpus of male writing and thinking about the chola, linking the past and the present, but at the expense of cholas' own voices in their political self-definition' (1999, 45). Huerta-Mercado documents attempts by women to reformulate and give worth to the idea of being chola. He quotes the vedette Monique Pardo: 'I am a chola, it's true that I am white, from Lima, mazamorrera [a slang that associates people from Lima with the preparation of a traditional desert called "mazamorra"], but I am a chola and I started a new era, I dressed myself as a chola, I showed my nice legs, Peruvian legs, strong like tree trunks, these legs [showing them to me] are the ones that had allowed me to be still standing.' According to Huerta-Mercado, 'Monique presents herself in a wide conception of chola (she admits

she is white) that melds with a Peruvianness centred in strength and sensuality' (Huerta-Mercado 2010, 270).

Huayno Divas and Propriety: Dress, Ethics and the Body

A fundamental component in a huayno diva's image and identity is her costume, often referred to as a *pollera*. Polleras are embroidered Andean skirts and are a distinctive feature of 'traditional' female dress across the Andes, though they vary in size, design and pattern according to place and occasion.⁷⁶ As I discuss below, the particular kind of polleras worn by huayno divas are distinct in design; they are only ever worn by those singers who perform contemporary commercial huayno on stage and are never worn in community or festival music making (see photos in Chapters 2 and 3). Some might even dispute the use of the term *pollera* in referring to huayno divas' costumes because they tend to be dresses rather than skirts, though the term is still widely used. Other common terms include *vestuario* (clothes) and *traje* (suit, or outfit).

Polleras are powerful gendered indexes of indigeneity. The fact that men are much less likely to wear equivalent forms of 'traditional' Andean dress 'means that women's bodies are the focus of ethnic differentiation through dress, while men's bodies rarely are' (Femenías 2005, 21; see also Radcliffe 1997). However, the association of *polleras* with notions of tradition and indigeneity should not be interpreted as a sign of atavism or cultural stasis. Indeed, *polleras* are intricately bound up with fashion, fads and market trends as well as varying degrees of access to materials and technologies (Femenías 2005; Weistmantel 2001, 106). In her study on gender and dress in the department of Arequipa, for example, Blenda Femenías indicates that floral embroidery dates back only a few decades (2005, 155), while the introduction of the sewing machine in the 1930s afforded opportunities for new patterns and ways of working (ibid, 164).

Polleras are often imbued with power in various ways. For example, Weistmantel suggests:

⁷⁶ On occasions, particularly during Carnival, polleras are also worn by men who dress up as women (Femenías 2005, 185-214; Van Vleet 2008, 99-128).

At a minimum, the pollera announces the rejection of certain aspects of femininity, in which dress and body language express an implicit promise to be nice, to be agreeable, to be passive. These conventions, so pleasing to men's eyes, have a frightening corollary for women: the vulnerability that marks them as ready-made victims. The wearer of the pollera offers a very different guarantee: she promises to put up a good fight (2001, 130).

In neighbouring Bolivia and in a slightly different vein, Krista Van Vleet sees *polleras* as a source of capital and prestige, which, through music and dance performances, enables young women to exhibit their 'success' and 'ritual prowess'. When returning from urban areas (where they have access to the cash economy through their work as domestic servants) for Carnival celebrations in their rural hometowns, *cholitas* (young single women) often bring back several newly purchased *polleras*. Van Vleet writes:

By wearing their new cloths the cholitas are displaying their success, their ability to consume commodities, to attain a higher standard of living, to speak Spanish and become more educated (2008, 125).

A large of part of the capital that *polleras* bring has to do with their notoriously high expense. In the context discussed by Van Vleet, *polleras* typically cost between US\$60 and US\$80 and the expectation is that young women should return for Carnival with several different ones. This is relatively cheap compared to some parts of the Andes and especially in comparison with huayno divas' outfits in Peru, which typically cost up to US\$1,000 each. Thus, by accumulating a large collection of *polleras*, which are displayed in performance, cholitas show themselves to be hard workers (ibid, 126). Crucially, however, the *pollera's* indexing of 'success', 'modern' urban living and work in the cash economy should not be interpreted as a disavowal of indigeneity. On the contrary, by wearing *polleras*, young women 'actively identify themselves as native Andeans' (ibid, 125).

In contemporary commercial huayno shows and music videos, female singers clad in luminescent and elaborately embroidered *polleras* are typically the only performers wearing folkloric dress; male musicians and backing dancers often wear monotone suites or other clothes, which rarely carry obvious Andean associations. This striking difference in the gendered use of folkloric dress on stage reinforces the widespread engendering of ethnicity discussed earlier in this chapter. However, in contrast to the *polleras* worn in community, festival and ritual music making and everyday life, the outfits of huayno

divas tend to be dresses rather than skirts. Furthermore, they usually only just cover the knee and are worn with high heels whereas most other *polleras* tend to reach a woman's ankles or even to the ground. A huayno diva's costume may cover her shoulders or it may be strapless, in which case she may wear a shawl (to keep warm as much as to maintain their modesty). Divas normally commission their own *polleras*, which may be embroidered with a range of abstract 'folkloric' patterns and/or images of flowers, landscapes, landmarks (such as Machu Picchu) and animals. Most importantly, the diva's name and/or stage name is usually embroidered on the front of the *pollera*.

As we saw in Chapter 1, some performers, especially from older generations, complain that contemporary commercial huayno singers have abandoned regional dress and musical style in favour of 'confused' and place-less hybrid forms. Moreover, the shorter length and tighter fit of the younger divas dresses can generate claims about their indecency and impropriety. However, I suggest that this is a relative rather than an absolute judgement because these outfits are much more modest and decent than those of many other women in the mass-mediated public sphere.

Debates about the propriety of huayno divas also extends to their body images. For example, in an interview with Amanda Portales (a veteran folkloric performer associated with more 'authentic' and 'traditional' renditions of Andean music) I asked if she thought fame had changed her in any respect, to which she responded:

I carry on being the same person, but look, [in one regard] I'm not the same person as before because now I've got a little fat ... before they called me stick thin [*palito de chifá*] ... but obviously I've gained weight. But all the same, as I say, I'm no more than an artist [*soy la artista, no soy mejor*]. I'm a performer, I'm a singer, I'm not a vedette, no? Nor a model ... these days everybody gets liposuction, they have surgery ... they make things bigger, they get rid of things, God knows what ... They are in tremendous competition with female models on television. Because, generally, that's their zone [*su paso*]. So that's why I say they don't sell their art, they sell their figure ... they go to the operating theatre, take out all the fat, no? My god, [adopting the voice of such singers] 'I'll take this out here, I'll make myself bigger here, bigger over here and I'll get things done, that's what I'm most concerned about ... but I'm not concerned about singing well, I'm not concerned about introducing the song' (Amanda Portales, interview, Lima, 22 November 2011).

While there is always speculation about huayno divas' (and other celebrities') use of cosmetic surgery, few artists are prepared to discuss this openly in public and it was something I struggled to get anybody to talk about during fieldwork. Furthermore, many of the younger huayno divas that Amanda Portales refers to would strongly dispute that they occupy the same 'zone' as models or vedettes.

Although I failed to obtain any significant data about cosmetic surgery what was clear was the widespread use of 'Photoshop'-style software, which was employed unashamedly to doctor images of singers' faces and bodies on album covers and event posters. In my experience, such graphics were created and edited by event promoters, music-video producers or, most commonly, by the printers themselves. These mediators sometimes whiten singers' skin, stretch their bodies and faces and airbrush any unwanted fatty flesh that does not line up with the contours suggested by the singers' tight dresses. The resulting representations are often quite far from reality and it can often be difficult to recognise artists in the flesh. I recall a few occasions at huayno concerts when I, or others I was with, commented that a singer looked very different from their photos. These editing practices reveal the kind of pressures deriving from hegemonic notions of racial and feminine beauty. However, there are alternative models of beauty at work here, too. Huayno singers can also be admired for being *gordita*, or plump. As Susan Lobo indicates:

For individuals who spent their youth in the highlands heftiness is generally equated with strength. A woman is considered not only physically attractive if she is *bien gordito* (nicely plump) but also - even more importantly - physically strong' (1995, 108).

Huayno divas, more so than other Peruvian celebrities, tend to be caught between these different notions of beauty and constantly negotiate their own position in relation to such aesthetic codes.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ In general I found it very difficult to engage people, and performers especially, in discussions about race, beauty and the female body. I suspect, in part, this had to do with my being male. Extending the tentative arguments developed here would require further field research and, perhaps, some innovative ways of approaching the topic.

Stage Presence

In addition to issues of dress and the body, gendered meanings also emerge on stage in live huayno performances in relation to the way singers dance, behave and interact with the audience. Some singers, such as Dina Paucar and Anita Santibañez, dance in a relatively controlled and modest manner, typically dancing on the spot and performing understated foot and leg movements. Such modest gestures contribute to the air of femininity and decency that is commonly associated with these more ‘feminine’ singers. However, this understated style is not shared by all and other performers are known for their more extrovert dancing style. Among this latter group is Marisol Cavero, who told me:

I’m a girl who likes to dance a lot on stage, there are many singers that don’t dance but I like to dance just like my backing dancers, imagine it, all the steps we do just the same, they jump, I jump, they get down, I get down, we do all the moves, practically I seem like a man on stage and I dance, even with my big dress! [*yo y así con pollera normal bailo*] (Marisol Cavero, interview, Lima, 3 March 2012).

Marisol clearly takes pride in her extrovert dancing style, which she indicates might normally only be associated with her male backing dancers. For her, it was a way of not taking herself too seriously and making spectacular and coquettish dance movements central to her role as an entertainer. However, while Marisol’s dancing style is distinct from the more ‘feminine’ style of other singers it is a far cry from the raunchy moves performed by vedettes, female Peruvian cumbia stars and the female singers and dancers associated with Latin pop and reggaetón, who regularly appear on Peruvian television. Her big *pollera* not only covers her skin but also effectively conceals any sensual hip movements. Nevertheless, in relative terms, such extrovert dancing may be interpreted as displaying a tendency toward the complex of behaviours associated with the *chola*, whose more aggressive sexuality and manly behaviour presents a kind of non-feminine womanhood.

Marisol is also one of the main protagonists of what huayno audiences often refer to as *la onda chelera* (roughly, ‘the boozy wave’), which emerged toward the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century. *La onda chelera* carries a series of aesthetic and ethical connotations, which distinguish it from the femininity and modesty of artists such as Dina Paucar, Anita Santibañez and Sonia Morales. The very name indicates a

privileging of alcohol in the discourse and practice around huayno performance and implies a greater sense of foot-loose partying, commodified fun and even vulgarity. Musically speaking, *la onda chelera* is generally livelier too. Marisol places herself firmly within *la onda chelera* as is most evident from her stage name: '*La Reina Chelera*' (roughly, 'The Boozy Queen'). For her, this name was a key part of her image and her popularity. When I asked Marisol if she had always carried the same stage name she explained:

No, it used to be different, I didn't dance much, I didn't joke around, my voice was different, it was more sentimental, more classical, at that time my stage name was *Voz Angelical* [Angelic Voice]. So because I had that style of voice and because I didn't dance, I didn't have command of the public [*no tenía mucho dominio con el público*]. I wasn't vulgar [*grosera*] on stage like I am now and I didn't get a good reception with that style, so I had to change to a different rhythm that was more lively [*movido*], a little more *chelero* (Marisol Cavero, interview, Lima, 3 March 2012).

Performing in a 'chelero' style involved a greater emphasis on entertainment, even if at the expense of 'propriety'. In contrast to the greater sweetness and emotional and bodily control commonly associated with more 'feminine' artists, chelero singers tend to adopt a bawdier persona, often employing more slang and a more aggressive and melodramatic vocal style. 'Chelero' style is also a symbolic step toward emotional and bodily excess, not least because of the expectations it creates around alcohol consumption.

Abencia Meza: A Foil for Propriety?

The sense of propriety attached to the images of many huayno divas is plunged into even sharper focus when compared to that of one of huayno's most infamous figures, Abencia Meza. Throughout the 1990s Abencia Meza gained popularity as one of commercial huayno's most popular singers and at the height of the huayno 'boom' in the early 2000s she was among the four female artists referred to as '*Las Reinas del Arpa*', or 'The Harp Queens' (along with Dina Paucar, Sonia Morales and Anita Santibañez). In contrast to the more feminine, angelic and motherly images of these other singers, Abencia had a reputation for being boisterous, butch and for dressing and acting in a more masculine fashion. This characterisation was reinforced in the public imagination when she revealed she was a lesbian.

The contrast between Abencia and other singers emerged in an interview I conducted with radio announcer Aníbal Alanya (interview, Lima, 23 December 2011), in which I asked him how the image of Abencia Meza compared with that of singers like Dina Paucar:

[A.A.] To begin with, artistically speaking, [they are different] in terms of their songs.

[J.B.] How are they different?

[A.A.] Abencia sings that style of *parranditas*, it's catchy, punchy, up-beat. On the other hand, with Dina, her songs are more romantic, more tender, more sentimental and as people, uh! They are diametrically opposed!

[J.B.] How?

[A.A.] Dina is more feminine, more womanly, and Abencia for what we know publically she has an affinity for other women. That much I can respect, no? What I don't like is the scandal, that no.

...

[J.B.] I've heard some people say that Abencia is more, more rough [*tosca*].

[A.A.] Ah, well, of course, yes, she is like a man. Of course, with her man's belt, to start with, with her pointy man's boots.

In addition to her 'manly' image, Abencia developed a reputation for being even more 'ordinary' than other huayno singers. She was '*campechana*' (roughly, 'down-to-earth' or 'sociable'). This 'ordinariness', at least during her early career, allowed her to present herself as a star 'of the people'. However, Abencia increasingly became implicated in a series of scandals that were seized upon by the media.

During the 2000s, Meza became embroiled in a long drawn-out and ultimately fatal saga surrounding a lesbian love affair with another huayno singer, Alica Delgado. Fuelled by TV and press coverage, debates about the perceived impropriety of their homosexual relationship caught the public's attention, generating fascination with the celebrities' 'transgressions'. Speculation around the couple's on-off relationship was

already animating the public imagination when, in July 2009, Delgado was found murdered at her home in Lima's Surco neighbourhood. Speculation soon turned to who had done it and whether Abencia might be the culprit.

Abencia was soon charged with being the 'intellectual author' of the murder and was remanded in custody for a period of time before being granted bail. During her release on bail, Abencia continued to record and perform and changed her stage name from 'La Reina de Las Parranditas' (roughly, The Queen of Party Music) to 'La Mujer Coraje' (Brave Woman) in a bid to capitalise on what she claimed was her rough justice.

In October 2011, Abencia Meza was caught drink-driving and, as a result, was returned to prison for breaking the terms of her bail agreement ahead of the pending trial. In February 2012, following a long court trial and wall-to-wall media coverage, Alicia Delgado's driver, Pedro Mamanchurra was found guilty of being her murderer, while Abencia Meza was found guilty of being the 'intellectual author' of the crime. They were sentenced to 35 years and 30 years respectively. In her address to the court a few days before the verdict, Abencia claimed:

I'm not scared of justice because I had nothing to do with the case. My only sin, for which I believe God has the power to sentence me, is my sexual preference for being a lesbian.

Throughout the last couple of decades, Abencia's public image has become a foil for the propriety of other folkloric singers in a variety of ways. While the sense of impropriety that attaches to her image is undoubtedly connected to homophobic attitudes in a sexually conservative country, it is also bound up with a range of moral anxieties. Whereas the media tend to paint a picture of singers like Dina Paucar as stars that can do no wrong, Abencia Meza has, for many commentators, become a figurehead for all that is wrong with the world of commercial huayno.

On the eve of the court judgement, an anonymous editorial on the back page of the tabloid newspaper *trome* was scathing about the perceived damage that Abencia Meza, and the whole saga, had done to the world of folkloric music. The editorial, which was titled 'Polleras de Sangre' (Polleras of Blood), stated:

Beatings, abuse, cheating, orgies in saunas ... assassins, lovers, mechanics in polleras⁷⁸, “whores” [“*rucas*”] in polleras, a sordid world that could well provide a plot line for a director working in the style of David Lynch ... Abencia was an accident in the world of folklore and we hope that never again will people with a criminal personality be permitted in the world of Andean music, which, as José María Arguedas defined it, is so beautiful, tender and sad ... The writer [Arguedas] would kill himself again if he were able to see the level that a certain type of folklore had reached (*trome*, 7 February 2012).⁷⁹

The editorial also suggested that Abencia’s transgressions might have led to the decreasing popularity of singers like Dina Paucar and Sonia Morales, who, the article implies, have been unfairly tarnished by association. However, I suggest that the continuing images of success and propriety attached to these singers is actually emphasised by the image of Abencia, which acts as foil.

Engendering Suffering, Empowerment and Agency: Realities, Desires and Commodities

Engendering Suffering

In huayno, women tend to be cast as the most common and greatest sufferers in love and life. This gendering is achieved, in part, by the fact that the majority of singers are female and thus are more commonly seen inhabiting the role of suffering protagonist in huayno’s lovelorn scenarios. Beyond this numerical marker, however, the gendering of suffering is well established in popular discourse and epitomised in the trope of ‘*la mujer sufrida*’ or ‘suffered woman’. This engendering of suffering emerged in an interview with

⁷⁸ ‘Mechanics in polleras’ is a reference to a performer known as ‘La Mecánica del Folclore’ (The Mechanic of Folklore) who, according to media reports, was close to Abencia Meza and had a reputation for being a superficial ‘celebrity’ who was famous for being famous and had little artistic merit.

⁷⁹ José María Arguedas (the writer, folklorist and state functionary discussed in Chapter 1) famously committed suicide, hence the prediction that he ‘would kill himself again if he were able to see the level that a certain type of folklore had reached’. The editorial is available from <http://trome.pe/actualidad/1371072/noticia-polleras-sangre> (accessed 30 December 2013).

Dina Páucar (interview, Chupaca, 26 June 2012), when I asked her ‘what is huayno about?’:

[D.P.] [huayno is] about love and love gone sour’

[J.B.] And more about love gone sour, no?

[D.P.] Yes, it’s because there are more women, it’s because, look, thinking about it, there are more female singers than male ones. There aren’t many men.

For Dina, huayno’s focus on love gone sour was clearly connected to the fact that there were more women that sang than men. The conversation continued:

[J.B.] Why’s that?

[D.P.] I don’t know, maybe because we women suffer more, we suffer more knocks, I don’t know ... there are girls who if they can’t speak it they sing it. So they learn to be singers, because of this suffering that they have’

While personal suffering may motivate some girls and women to sing, the majority of women’s relationship with huayno – as fans – comes through listening to songs.

One Friday evening in early March 2012 I met up with one such fan, Fanny Corrales Quispe. She had come straight from her office job in the middle-class neighbourhood of San Borja where she worked for a company selling fish. We met near the northern end of Lima’s Avenue Arequipa on her route home to San Juan de Lurigancho, a migrant district where we first met at a New Year’s Eve huayno show in the locale *El Huarcocondo*. After meeting her on several occasions since I suggested we record a formal interview about her thoughts on huayno and its star performers. Fanny was a 30-year-old first-generation migrant from Abancay who had lived in Lima for several years. In the interview we began discussing the themes and appeal of huayno songs in general terms. I suggested to Fanny that in huayno, love always seemed to be ‘something bad’ and she responded:

Of course, because normally [huayno] makes you live, I mean, it’s the life that you live, I mean, there *is* a lot of cheating, a lot of suffering, most of all for women –

how many single mothers are there and, well, they just keep at it [*salen adelante*]
(Fanny Corrales Quispe, interview, Lima, 9 March 2012).

Here, Fanny's comments echo the 'realist' claims attached to huayno (discussed in Chapter 3). It was clear from talking to Fanny that she believed women suffered more than men and that romantic suffering could not be neatly separated from wider gender relations, especially the issue of being a single mother. This engendering of suffering discourses was something I encountered on countless occasions.

Narratives of Empowerment

In contrast to dominant discourses about suffering woman, female protagonists in huayno's lovelorn narratives are not always presented as the hapless victims of men's actions or their own foolish hearts. Occasionally – and perhaps increasingly – some huayno divas sing songs that assume a female subjectivity based on empowerment and independence rather than vulnerability and victimhood. I raised this issue in the interview with Fanny in relation to a recent song by Fresia Linda called 'No me caso' ('I'm not getting married'):

Es un fastidio estar casada

It's an annoyance being married

Que desilusión

What a delusion

Hasta la suegra se molesta

Even the mother-in-law is annoying

Que querrá de mí

What will she want from me?

Estar solterita es mas hermoso

Being single is beautiful

Vuelve por favor

Please come back

Es una carga a mis espaldas

It's a burden on my back

Por desbacerme

In order to get rid of me

No me caso no me caso

I won't get married, I won't get married

Así se meta tu mama

Otherwise your mum will get involved

No me caso no me caso

I won't get married, I won't get married

Si sigue esto yo me voy

If this continues I'm leaving

La culpa es mi suegra

It's the fault of my mother-in-law

<i>Para que yo no me case oiga</i>	That I won't get married, you hear?
<i>Cholito escúchame</i>	Listen to me <i>cholito</i>
<i>Llévate lejos a tu madre</i>	Take yourself faraway from your mother
<i>Solita siempre estaré</i>	Alone I will always be
<i>Cantando bailando estaré</i>	Singing and dancing I will be
<i>Por donde vaya libre soy</i>	Wherever I go I'm free
<i>Nadie ni nadie me detendrá</i>	Nobody will tie me down

Fresia Linda, 'No me caso' (I won't get married)

In our discussion of this song, Fanny told me that she identified with much of the song's message:

You have your husband, a lot of responsibility, you have to dedicate yourself to your family and, for me, the way it goes is that I'm not getting married, because I love my freedom, I can do what I want, I'm free, I mean, I can travel, I can go to a party without asking anyone's permission (Fanny Corales Quispe, interview, Lima, 9 March 2012).

While many female huayno fans similarly identified with the song's desire for liberty and independence, few I met expressed the same kind of fierce and determined individualism articulated by Fanny. Moreover, it is difficult to judge to what extent resolute statements, such as 'I won't get married', relate to actual behaviour. This leaves us with the question: do such songs reflect changing gender relations and sexual politics or are they commercial exploitations of women's escapist fantasies?

When I raised this issue of female empowerment in conversations with huayno fans many referred to the fact that women's lives had clearly changed over the last few decades. Central to this have been the new kinds of power afforded to women through migration. This idea emerged in an interview with a friend, Raúl Rojas Matos, while we were discussing huayno's treatment of the topic of infidelity:

Cheating was always something that was naturally masculine. Of course, the man is the one who supposedly left for the fields, left for the city, so he met other people, another woman, another culture and they got together [*se empataba*]. He was never lacking a woman there, and he slipped up, and that's how it was. These days it's not like that. The woman also leaves for work, leaves for the fields and finds herself in the same situations (Raúl Rojas Matos, interview, Lima, 8 March 2012).

Here, increasing geographical mobility among women is viewed as contributing to female liberation in the realm of interpersonal relationships. Although Peruvian women supposedly may now be more likely to wear the trousers in interpersonal relationships there remains a profound cynicism and anomie surrounding romance. According to this view, female empowerment is founded on engaging in the same kind of morally questionable practices as men. What is important here is that women have the initiative, rather than being at the mercy of fickle, ungrateful and untrustworthy male lovers. As my friend Maruja Rosales indicated:

Now the woman sings to the man. For example, that song, ‘Choque y fuga’, she tells him, ‘just a one-night stand’ (Maruja Rosales Aparicio, interview, Lima, 8 March 2012).

The phrase ‘choque y fuga’ literally translates as ‘hit and run’ but is widely used in Peru as slang to refer to a one-night stand. The song ‘Choque y Fuga’ is most famously sung by Anita Santibañez:

<i>No, no quiero ya mirarte</i>	I don't, I don't want to look at you anymore
<i>Que mi corazón podría enamorarse</i>	For my heart could fall in love
<i>Si, si fuera yo soltera</i>	If, if I were single
<i>Libre como el viento, no sería un pecado</i>	Free as the wind it would not be a sin
<i>Yo no soy de piedra, tengo sentimientos</i>	I'm not made of stone, I have feelings
<i>Siento en mi cuerpo ardientes deseos</i>	I feel in my body ardent desires
<i>Un choque y fuga nomas</i>	Just a one night stand
<i>Porque problemas serás</i>	Otherwise there will be problems
<i>Un choque y fuga tal vez</i>	Perhaps a one night stand
<i>No quiero verte jamás</i>	I never want to see you again
	Anita Santibañez, ‘Choque y fuga’ (One Night Stand)

On one level, here, it is the woman that is directing the relationship. For the moment her head is winning out over her heart and, in a certain way, she is liberated in her power to choose her romantic partners. But the narrative is not so straightforward; we are also alerted to the dangers of a heart and a body with minds of their own (‘my heart could fall

in love' and 'I'm not made of stone, I have feelings, I feel ardent desires in my body'), thus highlighting the feminised affective threat to 'rational' thought.

Narratives of female empowerment make up only a small proportion of huayno songs and remain the exception rather than the rule. Furthermore, assertions that the gender tables have turned and that women now give as good as they get are regularly prefixed by equally forceful claims that women are the primary sufferers. These apparent contradictions, I suggest, are part and parcel of the dialectical historical development of gender relations and sexual politics. Is this commodified 'girl power' (a reflection of desires and fantasies) or an indication of material shifts in gender relations? The answer must surely be both.

Performance, Agency and Public Space

In previous sections I have discussed the kinds of power and empowerment connected with different subjects positions encapsulated in huayno lyrics. Here, however, I am primarily concerned with the particular kind of agency that huayno divas themselves possess through song performance and their occupation of public space. As I discussed in the Introduction and Chapter 1, like the images of divas elsewhere, those of huayno divas tend to suggest that their artistic, performative and communicative abilities, as well as their huge popularity, afford them certain kinds of power in spite of their humble beginnings and/or personality flaws. This power is typically contingent on divas' voices and bodies, which means their agency is, to a certain extent, circumscribed spatially by their charismatic appearance on stage and screen and temporally as long as the performance lasts. However, reception of such performances is strongly shaped by expectations developed in relation to the singer's image and life story beyond the performance.

The idea that huayno divas possess a kind of circumscribed agency in performance is further supported by accounts of female singing in the Andes. Scholars have argued that song is a domain that grants women (especially young unmarried women) a temporally circumscribed space in which they dominate 'verbal' and 'symbolic discourse', which is usually dominated by men (Stobart 2008; see also Harris 2000, 182; Isbell 1997, 280; Van Vleet 2008, 123). For example, in the courtship songs studied by Stobart, in which male *charango* players accompany female vocalists, 'there is a strong

sense that [the *charango*] ultimately serves, accompanies and creates a public performance context for young women's voices' (2008, 74). Stobart adds, 'it is precisely the man's musical stimulation and support that enables women to dominate the symbolic discourse of such songs' (ibid, 88).

Through performance, huayno divas are similarly granted a space in which they take control of the 'symbolic discourse'. Men may compose their songs and manage their careers but it is huayno divas that take centre stage. It is they who demand the audience's attention, elicit their empathy and toy with their emotions, through the deployment of their voices, bodies and dress. Furthermore, there is a sense that female singers are afforded greater license in performance than men. For example, in an interview with huayno diva, Marisol Caveró, I asked the singer why women tend to have the most success as huayno singers. She conceded that she had never asked herself the question and could not be sure of the answer but she told me: 'if [men] make a joke, a girl or a woman might not like it, whereas women are a bit more sensual, sexy, when we get dressed-up in our costumes or polleras' (Marisol Caveró, interview, Lima, 3 March 2012). The implication, here, is that women can get away with more than men because of their sensual image and ability to command attention in performance. On the whole, however, huayno singers tend not to be sex symbols. While they may be considered pretty, beautiful or neither of these things, their primary appeal, I suggest, is their ability to articulate emotional and ethical struggles. Moreover, while women may 'feel out of place and ill at ease' in urban public space (Weistmantel 2001, 48), huayno divas from the 1950s to the present day have often dominated public space both symbolically and affectively through musical performance. Yet, while this may seem contrary to the patterns of dominant gender relations, in the grand scheme of the mass-mediated public sphere, huayno divas tend more towards notions of propriety than transgression.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the interlinked notions of gender, ethnicity, power and propriety in relation to the self-fashioning and public images of huayno divas. While men have dominated most other forms of urban mass-mediated Andean music, the protagonists of contemporary commercial huayno are predominantly female. Given that

huayno divas are some of the most prominent Andean women in the public eye, I have been concerned with analysing how these star performers reflect and shape ideas about Andean (migrant) women and female subjectivity in contemporary Peru.

I have highlighted how the gendered roles performed by huayno divas and the gendered meanings read on to their public images vary between artists. Whereas some divas' images index ideas of femininity and moral and bodily decency, others deploy more aggressive, excessive and manly stereotypes in performance. Such gendered meanings, I have suggested, are contingent upon how huayno divas position themselves in relation to stereotypes of the chola as well as representations of other women in the mass-mediated public sphere.

From certain perspectives, huayno divas contest dominant gender discourses through their images of hard work and their symbolic and affective dominance of public space. In this regard, they appear to coincide with aspects of chola stereotypes and attain a particular kind of agency that is achieved, in large part, through musical performance. Moreover, the ways in which vocal and bodily performance afford women agency reflects long-standing indigenous understandings of music and gender.

However, I have suggested that gendered readings and performances cannot be understood as purely self-referential or ontologically fixed; rather, they rely on a comparative dynamic where notions such as womanhood, femininity and propriety emerge through comparison, opposition and difference. Thus, in comparison with vedettes, models and other Latin pop stars, huayno divas present us with a range of more normative gendered meanings. In this context, huayno divas emerge as figures who largely coincide with Catholic morality, privileging sentiment over sexuality and inhabiting images of long-suffering women. Furthermore, these female stars manage to inhabit images of 'modernity' and 'success', while continuing to affirm their status as native Andeans, especially by wearing glamorous *polleras*. Thus, in contrast to the common characterisations of divas as disruptive, transgressive and/or subversive figures, I have argued that in spite of certain exceptions and variations, huayno divas might be better understood in terms of their normativity and embodiment of 'propriety'.

Conclusion

In this thesis I have investigated how the sounds, words, bodies and behaviours of huayno divas shape and reflect the social, cultural and economic contexts in which they circulate. I have argued that huayno divas – and stars in general – are at once multi-authored stories about a person as well as irreducible selves who experience themselves as such. In these spaces between myth and reality, huayno divas are engaged in processes of self-fashioning but they also give voice to generic stories about a person, such as lover, sufferer, migrant and worker. Fans and detractors, in turn, fashion their own selves in relation to these categories of experience embodied in the diva. They choose, try on, perform, reject and submit to different subject positions, which carry uneven valences and residues of power. Performers and audiences, I have suggested, are involved in practices of ‘the ethical imagination’ (Moore 2011); they experience, evaluate and modify their own thoughts, feelings and actions in relation to those of others and moral codes.

The ethical work enacted by huayno divas ranges from the kind of ‘rational’ self-management and labouring associated with neoliberal logics to displays of emotion, suffering and moral struggle. This ethical work is, in turn, inflected by discourses of gender and ethnicity, narratives of rural-urban migration and Catholic moral philosophy. ‘The tremendous confusion of interdependent influences’ makes it impossible to reduce huayno divas or their images to a singularity (Weber 2001, 49).

In Chapter 1, I examined the historical continuities and transformations in certain mass-mediated Andean musical responses to rural-urban migration from the mid-twentieth century to the present. Together, mass mediation and migration enabled the formation of new publics and social imaginaries orientated around musical styles, songs and stars. The application of new recording, reproduction and broadcast technologies offered new modes of music production, circulation and consumption, which created novel relations of intimacy between performers and audiences and among publics of strangers. In this chapter, I introduced Pastorita Huaracina and Flor Pucarina, two divas of the ‘urban-country’ style who rose to fame between the 1950s and 1980s. Adopting a primarily presentational rather than participatory mode of performance these stars sang to relatively static, seated and silent audiences in *coliseos* across Lima. Although they became known at a national level these stars’ stage names, musical styles and dress

indexed their specific regions of origin. However, contemporary commercial huayno divas of the 1990s and 2000s largely abandoned regional aesthetics in favour of a more inclusive pan-Peruvian Andean mode of identification; they adopted stage names that indexed non-place specific ethical traits as well as a more homogenous musical and sartorial style. These transformations, I suggested, were connected not only to demographic shifts but also shifting cultural politics. Today, while many older musicians are nostalgic for a time when the state took a more active role in recognising and safeguarding musical ‘authenticity’ (by maintaining boundaries between discrete regional cultures), younger generations have become used to a private-sector model of cultural production (as I also explored in Chapter 4).

Chapter 2 provided an ethnographic account of contemporary commercial huayno shows, which, I suggested, generate both intimacy and spectacle. I argued that thinking about intimacy and spectacle together provides a productive way of analysing the performance interactions, imagined connections and affective exchanges between, and among, stars and fans, performers and audiences. Contemporary commercial huayno shows are high-energy and multi-sensory spectacles, which colonise audience’s eyes, ears and minds. However, in contrast to the static, seated and generally silent audiences in the *coliseos*, these shows encourage a more charged series of communicative and affective exchanges. Audiences come to drink, dance, socialise and immerse themselves affectively in narratives of complicated romance and Andean roots. These performance events are richly commodified, with the potential to disempower, alienate and co-opt but they are also embedded in deep-seated Andean cultural practices, relations of intimacy and modes of sociality.

I highlighted that the songs and stage-talk at huayno shows articulate recognisable tropes about romance, work, money, family and drinking, which index private, yet generic, emotional and ethical struggles and help to structure public intimacy (Berlant 1998; 2008). These tropes and struggles are channelled most vividly through the voices and bodies of huayno divas. The diva’s exceptional folkloric dress, introspective songs and solitary command of the T-shaped stage all serve to emphasise her individuality and create a spectacle of her solitude. While fans maintain their distance, voyeuristically apprehending the diva as an object, they are also drawn into a more proximate, intimate and empathetic encounter with the diva – or a story about her – as a subject. Thus, intimacy and spectacle are generated from within the same phenomenon. The throwing of gifts from the stage to the crowd, the inciting of alcoholic intoxication,

the use of the microphone, the diva's gestures, dancing, star-fan photographs and social media interactions also contribute to the co-production of intimacy and spectacle. Moreover, technological mediation plays a key role in this co-production, creating unparalleled opportunities for intimacy en masse while objectifying voices, bodies and social relations in process and potentially divorcing spectators temporarily and spatially from the 'live' event.

In Chapter 3, I examined huayno's aesthetics of emotion; that is, how emotion is ordered, given meaning, performed and ascribed beauty and value. I highlighted how certain representations of emotionality and modes of expression are part of long-reaching emotional and musical genealogies dating back at least to colonial times. However, I also charted how huayno's aesthetics of emotion have developed over recent decades in relation to rural-urban migration and urbanisation. The references to place, nature and the collective as well as the metaphoric and playful poetics associated with rural indigenous songs of love are no longer audible in most contemporary commercial huayno. Instead, one is more likely to encounter sentimental introspections, self-interrogations and aggressive accusations as well as a general sense of cynicism, anomie and excess. Furthermore, whereas rural indigenous songs of love have tended to be connected to courtship and eroticism, contemporary commercial huayno is more likely to narrate the messy emotional aftermath of romantic failure.

I also contended that the way in which emotion becomes value-laden is closely bound up with issues of morality and ethics. Audiences evaluate huayno divas – and the stories about a person that they inhabit in performance – not only in terms of the subject's feelings and misfortune but on the basis of the ethical work they enact in dealing with pain, suffering and moral conundrums (Stokes 2007). I also suggested that in order to achieve this kind of intersubjective engagement performers must demonstrate their sincerity; in other words, they must show that their emotionality draws on a wealth of personal experience rather than being 'just an act'. From the perspective of most fans, huayno songs and performers hold up a mirror to the 'real' lives of 'real' people. However, I argued that huayno creates an aesthetic construction of 'reality' that is constrained to the intimate realm of romantic suffering and paradoxically offers a potential escape from certain social, economic and political realities.

In Chapter 4, I explored the relationship between economics, politics and religion in relation to the ethical subject formations of huayno divas. Specifically, I examined the correlations and contradictions between the notion of the subject fostered within

neoliberal ethics and the notion of ‘the suffering subject’, which bears a notable Catholic influence and is a deep-seated part of the cultural values and practices surrounding huayno music and musicians. I highlighted how the self-fashioning and public images of huayno divas variously coincide with the notion of the neoliberal subject, which is typically constructed as autonomous, rational and personally responsible for its own self-development. I suggested that according to this neoliberal logic, ‘success’ is contingent both on hard work and the strategic adoption of business-like traits such as marketing, investment, branding and competition. However, I also described how huayno divas inhabit and perform ‘the suffering subject’ in their lyrics and in their life stories. In many cases, suffering is imbued with value and seen as potentially virtuous in and of itself. From a Catholic perspective resignation is rewarded whereas refusal to accept one’s lot is seen as a rejection of the order of the world as created by God.

At times, the neoliberal subject and the suffering subject overlap, creating mutual endorsement and, at other times, diverge, creating tensions and contradictions. For example, the neoliberal discourse of hard work and the discourse of suffering may become semantically fused so that they simultaneously represent sources of pain, sacrifice and redemption. Alternatively, however, there are tensions between a neoliberal subject, understood as emancipated and empowered, and a suffering subject, perceived as submissive, resigned and vulnerable. For huayno divas, these tensions emerge through having to balance images of ‘success’ with demonstrations of suffering through song lyrics, performances and personal narratives. More broadly, my aim in this chapter was to challenge the oft-perceived omnipresence and omnipotence of neoliberal ideology. I argued that by analysing how neoliberalism interacts with coterminous phenomena, processes and ethics we may gain a better understanding of social realities and subjectivities in general and those operating in and around huayno divas in particular.

Finally, in Chapter 5, I examined the interlinked notions of gender, ethnicity, power and propriety in relation to huayno divas. Whereas men have tended to front most other forms of urban mass-mediated Andean music, the protagonists of contemporary commercial huayno are predominantly female. Given that huayno divas possess some of the most prominent female Andean voices, bodies and narratives of the nation’s mass-mediated public sphere, I considered how these star performers reflect and shape ideas about Andean (migrant) women and female subjectivity in contemporary Peru. While depictions of divas tend to stress their disruptive, transgressive and/or subversive qualities, I argued that in spite of certain exceptions and variations, huayno divas might

be better understood in terms of their normativity and embodiment of 'propriety'. From certain perspectives, huayno divas appear to contest dominant gender discourses through their images of hard work and their symbolic and affective dominance of public space. However, I argued that gendered meanings are not purely self-referential and, instead, emerge through comparison, opposition and difference. Thus, the perceived propriety of huayno divas' bodies, dress and comportment, I suggested, should be analysed in relation to other representations of women in the mass-mediated public sphere, such as vedettes, models and other Latin pop stars. In this context, huayno divas emerge as figures that privilege sentiment over sexuality and manage to inhabit images of 'modernity' and 'success', while continuing to affirm their status as native Andeans.

My thesis contributes to a number of areas of scholarship. First, it adds to the literature on popular music (Alfaro 2005; Romero 2002, Tucker 2011; 2013b; 2013c) and popular culture (Huerta Mercado 2010; Vich 2001; 2003; 2009) in Peru. Whereas tomes have been written about popular culture and media worlds in other countries, scholars of Peru and the Andes more broadly have often tended to favour alternative theoretical and topical frames. I hope my thesis has shown that Peruvian popular music and culture is a terrain that is ripe for further research. Second, my thesis contributes to the ethnomusicology of stars, divas and icons (Danielson 1997; Lohman 2011; Stokes 2007; 2010; Vargas 2012; Yano 2002). Given many of ethnomusicology's default paradigms of identity, community and 'culture', perhaps the discipline has been a little slow to recognise and analyse the agency of star performers and their roles in shaping musical, social and cultural values and practices. Furthermore, because of the methodological challenges of researching famous people, star-studies scholars more broadly have often tended to settle for 'armchair' readings of celebrity figures. Perhaps, then, ethnomusicology could learn something from star studies' attention to the meanings and circulation of stars and their images, while star studies could benefit from ethnomusicology's ethnographic approach and its ability to analyse media production as the result of social and cultural practice.

Third, my thesis (and Chapter 4 in particular) contributes to scholarship on music, labour and neoliberalism. A growing number of scholars are turning their attention to the relation between music and economics (Dent 2009; Guilbault 2007; Morcom 2013; Perullo 2011, Shipley 2009; Whittaker, forthcoming). However, I hope the arguments presented in this thesis help to make the case for examining how economic forces are variously reinforced, obstructed and modified by alternative social,

cultural and religious logics. Finally, this thesis has made a contribution to the study of music, emotion and intimacy in public culture (Dueck 2013a; 2013b; Fox 2004; Stokes 2007; 2010; Yano 2002) about which I hope to have much more to say in my future research and publications.

Final Reflections and Future Directions

In late June 2012 I left Lima for the Andean city of Huancayo in order to spend a few days with my old friends at the folkloric music production label Ramos Producciones (where I had done research for my Master's thesis). With the festival of Santiago just under a month away, the seasonal trade in *santiago* music video albums was coming to its peak and the producers were busy filming, editing and reproducing *santiago* VCDs. *Santiago* is a musical genre associated with the central region of the Peruvian Andes.⁸⁰ It originates from a rural animal fertility and branding ritual, which takes place in late July and is believed by participants to protect the health, and enhance the fertility, of local livestock for the coming year (see Romero 2001). In recent decades, recording technology and the capitalisation of culture have enabled the development of *santiago* as a stand-alone mass-mediated urban genre and commodity. Like contemporary commercial huayno, the singers are predominantly women. However, the aesthetics of *santiago* music videos tend to be concerned with signifying the regional ritual context, hence they include images of animals (especially cows), rural landscapes, *santiago* costumes and particular plants and flowers. In theory, too, *santiago* lyrics should be about paying homage to one's animals. However, over recent years there have been lyrical changes afoot and *santiago* lyrics have become increasingly dominated by huayno-like narratives of romantic pain and betrayal.

One morning during a visit to the Ramos Producciones studio I encountered Rossmery Inocente, a 20-year old singer I had met a few weeks previously when she was filming a *santiago* music video. In exchange for me taking some promotional photos of her in her full *santiago* garb with my DSLR camera, she granted me a brief interview. My questions and her answers were relatively mundane until I was struck, when in response to my asking what *santiago* songs were about, she explained, 'normally they are about

⁸⁰ I use 'santiago' to refer to the festival in general and '*santiago*' to refer specifically to the musical genre.

suffering; a person who suffers and then creates the lyrics'. When I pushed her on what kind of suffering, she told me 'to do with love, with disappointment' (Rossmery Inocente, interview, Huancayo, 28 June 2012). Rossmery's reply surprised me because normally when I asked this question I was told that *santiago* songs were 'about the animals' or 'about patron Santiago' even though many *santiago* artists were actually singing about love and suffering. It appeared discourse had finally caught up with practice. A few hours later, I recounted this exchange to the producer Lenin who, in response, gently slapped his lowered forehead, shook his head from side to side and chuckled ruefully. In his view, the themes of love and suffering belonged principally to the domain of national genres such as contemporary commercial huayno and cumbia. I was left with the impression that he saw the spread of these themes to *santiago* as part of both an aesthetic and moral decline. However, in spite of his declarations about how things 'should to be done', he too, as a producer, was complicit in these recent developments: perhaps his stance was more ambivalent than he made out.

This brief ethnographic snapshot raises some important questions that help me to reflect on the research presented in this thesis and sketch out questions for future research. What reasons might there be for the aesthetic contagion from huayno to *santiago*? Can we read anything into these lyrical transformations beyond aesthetics? In other words, might shifting aesthetics point to shifting ethics and forms of emotionality? How do we distinguish between, on the one hand, fashions, fads and trends and, on the other, sustained and systemic cultural change? How might we link aesthetic, ethical and emotional transformations to a specific historical moment?

These questions take us beyond the scope of this thesis but they present a series of challenges that merit some consideration here. First, they remind us that the ethnomusicologist's focus is always a moving target; musical and social worlds are continually changing. In globalised and media-saturated contemporary spaces acts of mimesis, borrowing, appropriation, experimentation and fusion occur ever more rapidly. If I had done my fieldwork even five years earlier, I may have settled on defining my genre of focus as *huayno con arpa* ('huayno with harp'). However, in the years during my research for this thesis many huayno divas have emerged who perform with other musical instruments and that betray influences from (Peruvian) cumbia, *cumbia sureña* and *cumbia villera*. For this reason I adopted the broader label 'contemporary commercial huayno' to allow space for these variations. For now, these recent shifts appear to be

rhythmic, instrumental and melodic rather than lyrical. But how do shifting musical aesthetics affect lyrical meanings and emotional experiences?

In spite of these continual shifts and changes, however, there remain some striking historical connections and continuities. While huayno divas may provide symbols of ‘the modern Andean woman’, the ways in which they inhabit and perform gendered roles point to the endurance of generations-old indigenous Andean discourses and practices. For the last several decades there has been intense movement of Andean peoples between rural and urban areas but working out what gets carried and what gets left behind is a never-ending challenge. The inheritance and abandonment of particular habits and epistemologies occurs largely unconsciously. The hints of courtly love songs and Iberian melancholy that one finds in huayno, for example, might tempt us to speculate about expressive, emotional and ethical genealogies but we may struggle to find conclusive answers.

A further challenge concerns the difficulty of using huayno to talk about emotionality in Peruvian public culture. To state the obvious, huayno’s obsession with emotional pain and suffering is not a faithful and unmediated reflection of how people actually feel (in spite of the genres claims of ‘realism’), hence my focus on huayno’s *aesthetics* of emotion. Some listeners and spectators may be sad, they may cry, they may have suffered and they may drown their sorrows but any fly-on-the-wall at a huayno show will see plenty of people having a whale of a time, full of hopes, aspirations, joy and optimism. Moreover, it is important to consider how the meanings, uses and affects of huayno overlap and diverge with those of other musical genres that circulate in the (Andean) Peruvian public sphere, such as cumbia, *chicha*, salsa, and *balada*, among others. These genres carry very different aesthetic, ethical and emotional connotations, though many huayno fans listen to and engage with these genres too. An analysis that seeks to shed light on the musical shaping of emotionality in Peruvian public culture must attend to these various musical influences and their competing emotional claims.⁸¹

However, we might question whether it is even possible to talk about a form of emotionality that is uniquely ‘Peruvian’. Although popular music around the world has often been connected to ideas of national sentiment, how can we reconcile such national emotional frames with frequently cosmopolitan aesthetics and transnational economies

⁸¹ It is also important to note that lyrics, tropes and sentiments that overlap different genres may not necessarily carry the same meanings when embedded within different genre worlds, which often carry their own expectations, connotations and genealogies of affect.

of music and affect? ‘Localized understandings’ are important but these must be seen in the context of ‘a regional traffic in emotions, tropes, genres, and styles’ and ‘the broader flows of technology and migration’ (Stokes 2010, 192).

Finally, throughout my fieldwork, people repeatedly spoke about contemporary commercial huayno’s obsession with love gone sour and its association with emotional and sensorial excess as if these were something new and different from how things used to be done. The notion that ‘these days huayno is all about heartbreak and getting drunk’ is one I encountered on numerous occasions. It is a notion that carries a host of sentimental and ambivalent implications about indulging in, and surrendering to, one’s emotions as well as low-lying anxieties about commercialism, urban living and mass culture. At first, I bought into the discourse about ‘newness’ rather uncritically but now I am somewhat undecided. I wondered (and am still wondering) whether there might be parallels here with Stokes’ suggestion that negotiations over ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ feeling have become increasingly pertinent in neoliberal times (ibid, 189-90). Such an argument would seem to fit with my discussion of huayno divas as neoliberal subjects. But what exactly might the relationship be between sentimentalism and neoliberalism? Cynics might claim that the relationship is nothing more than instrumental capitalist markets catering to the lowest common denominators of human experience. While there is a significant element of truth in this argument, my analysis of the discourses and practices surrounding huayno divas and their music suggests that it is certainly not the whole story.

Glossary

<i>animador</i>	literally, ‘animator’: roughly equates to a compere, emcee or master of ceremonies and is responsible for verbally framing the performance and generating enthusiasm among the crowd
<i>aniversario</i>	literally, ‘anniversary’: a concert that marks a certain number of years since the beginning of a singer’s career
<i>ayacuchano/a</i>	from/of Ayacucho in the southern Peruvian Andes
<i>ayacuchano huayno</i>	a style of huayno from Ayacucho in the southern Peruvian Andes; typically characterised as the most refined, sophisticated and artful huayno variant
<i>cachascán</i>	a type of free-style fighting akin to <i>lucha libre</i>
<i>calificación</i>	an artistic verification process for folkloric performers run by the state
<i>charango</i>	a small mandolin-type instrument used in various parts of the Andes
<i>chicha</i>	1) a musical genre combining Andean <i>huayno</i> , Colombian <i>cumbia</i> and rock that developed over the 1970s and 1980s; associated primarily with working-class Andean migrants 2) a traditional Andean maize beer
<i>chicharías</i>	bars or stalls selling <i>chicha</i>
<i>cholo</i>	an ethnic label for an indigenous Andean person who moves to an urban area; associated with hybrid cultural practices; often used pejoratively
<i>cholito</i>	a diminutive of <i>cholo</i> that is commonly used as a term of endearment in relation to young (unmarried) Andean men
<i>chola</i>	1) female equivalent of <i>cholo</i> 2) more specifically, a heavily racialised and gendered stereotype that refers to an urban Andean women whose strong will, independence and unconstrained sexuality contravenes dominant gender discourses

<i>cholita</i>	a diminutive of <i>chola</i> that is commonly used as a term of endearment in relation to young (unmarried) Andean women
<i>chollywood</i>	Peru's celebrity world; so named by combining the words ' <i>cholo</i> ' and 'Hollywood', the former word indexing, somewhat pejoratively, its orientation toward working-class Andean migrant audiences
<i>choque y fuga</i>	literally 'hit and run': slang phrase for a one-night-stand
<i>chuscada</i>	a variation of the huayno genre associated with the Ancash region of Peru
<i>coliseo</i>	a type of venue that was popular in Lima between the 1940s and 1970s and became one of the principal site for performances of Andean music
<i>combi</i>	a small bus that serves as a form of public transport in urban areas but is usually privately owned;
<i>conjunto</i>	group or ensemble
<i>corrido</i>	a Mexican folk ballad genre that developed out of the Spanish <i>romance</i> and came to prominence during the Mexican revolutionary era (1910-1917)
<i>criollo</i>	literally 'creole': in colonial times, a Spanish person born in the New World but today used more generally in Peru to refer to coastal people and cultural forms bearing strong influences from Iberian Europe; also used as a ethnic label for 'whiter' Peruvians
<i>cumbia</i>	a popular music genre popular throughout Latin America but with different national variants; in this thesis ' <i>cumbia</i> ' refers to the Peruvian variant unless otherwise stated
<i>cumbia sureña</i>	a variant of <i>cumbia</i> associated with the borderlands between Peru and Bolivia
<i>cumbia villera</i>	Argentinian variant of <i>cumbia</i>
<i>cuzequeño/a</i>	from/of Cusco in the southern Peruvian Andes
<i>desamor</i>	roughly, un-love, bad love or love gone sour; one of the most common sentiments in contemporary commercial huayno

<i>emoliente</i>	a hot Andean drink
<i>indigenismo</i>	an intellectual and artistic movement that developed across Andean countries during the early-twentieth century that sought to revalorise indigenous Andean cultures
<i>indigenista</i>	1) a practitioner of <i>indigenismo</i> 2) pertaining to <i>indigenismo</i>
<i>gordita</i>	plump
<i>guapeo</i>	stylised and rhythmic shouts of encouragement common in Andean music performances
<i>guaracha</i>	a fast-paced Cuban popular music genre
<i>huaylas</i>	a fast-paced, lively musical genre and dance derived from huayno and associated with the central Peruvian Andes
<i>huayno</i>	The most widespread song and dance genre in the Andes
<i>harawi</i>	an indigenous song genre of pre-Hispanic origins
<i>la onda chelera</i>	literally, ‘the boozy wave’: a term used to distinguish certain types of contemporary commercial huayno, which emphasise getting drunk and having fun
<i>lo andino</i>	Andean-ness
<i>lo incaico</i>	Inca-ness
<i>mestizo</i>	literally ‘mixed’: used in twentieth and twenty-first centuries to describe a person or cultural form that combines rural indigenous practices with urban and ‘modern’ ways of living; this process is referred to as <i>mestizaje</i> : literally, ‘mixing’
<i>muliza</i>	a musical genre with a slow tempo, associated with the central Peruvian Andes
<i>neoindianista</i>	similar to <i>indigenista</i> but with a greater emphasis on celebrating the ‘hybrid’ nature of contemporary indigenous culture rather than its past glories
<i>orquesta típica</i>	a musical ensemble consisting of saxophones, clarinets, a harp, and a violin associated with the central Peruvian Andes.

<i>panetón</i>	a sweet bread loaf
<i>parranditas</i>	style of huayno performance where several songs are played back-to-back; usually songs that are up-beat and lively
<i>pasacalle</i>	used in the Andes as a generic label for relatively slow music played while performers or festival participants walk through the streets
<i>peña</i>	folkloric music tavern
<i>pollera</i>	an Andean skirt
<i>pueblos jóvenes</i>	literally ‘young towns’: name given to Peruvian shanty towns in peripheral urban areas, especially Lima
<i>quechua</i>	the most widely spoken indigenous language across the Andes
<i>ranchera</i>	a traditional Mexican folk genre that typically speaks of love, patriotism, and rural life
<i>vedette</i>	showgirls who are the some of the protagonists of Peru’s celebrity world; known for dressing scantily, dancing and posing provocatively and employing low-brow humour
<i>yaraví</i>	an eighteenth-century song genre with strong Iberian influences that relates the painful emotions connected with love

List of Interviews (all conducted in Spanish by James Butterworth)

Alanya, Maximo. Lima, Peru. 5 January 2012.
Alanya, Anibal. Lima, Peru. 23 December 2011.
Bustamente, Lily. Lima, Peru. 16 January 2012.
Cavero, Marisol. Lima, Peru. 3 March 2012.
Cortés Canchis, Juana. Lima, Peru. 8 March 2012.
Corrales Quispe, Fanny. Lima, Peru. 9 March 2012.
Dolores, Samuel. Lima, Peru. 22 February 2012.
Flores, Rosario. Lima, Peru. 13 April 2012.
Harada Vasquez, Angelica. Lima, Peru. 24 April 2012.
Herrera, Francisco. Lima, Peru. 20 October 2011.
Huaman Meneses, Adrian. Lima, Peru. 29 November 2011.
Inocente, Rossmery. Huancayo, Peru. 28 June 2012.
Lavado, Gisela. Lima, Peru. 12 April 2012.
Leyva, Jhon. Lima, Peru. 11 October 2011.
Lozano Aylas, Plinio Demóstenes. Huancayo, Peru. 9 May 2012.
Montes, Benigno. Huancayo, Peru. 12 May 2012.
Pacheco Robert. Lima, Peru. 16 December 2011
Padilla, Johnny. Lima, Peru. 10 March 2012.
Paucar, Dina. Chupaca, Peru. 26 June 2012.
Ponce, Jaime. Lima, Peru. 18 November 2011.
Ponce, Jaime. Lima, Peru. 25 April 2012.
Portales, Amanda. Lima, Peru. 22 November 2011.
Quintana, Wilfredo. Lima, Peru. 14 January 2012.
Ramos, César. Lima, Peru. 10 November 2011.
Ramos, Lenin. Huancayo, Peru. 29 June 2012.
Raymundo, Jesús. Lima, Peru. 24 October 2011.
Rojas, Alexander. Lima, Peru. 11 Apr 2012.
Rojas Matos, Raúl. Lima, Peru. 8 March 2012.
Rosales Aparicio, Maruja. Lima, Peru. 8 March 2012.
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