

Rita Fiorella Montero Diaz

Fusion as inclusion: A Lima upper class delusion?

Music Department
Royal Holloway
University of London

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Declaration of Authorship

I Rita Fiorella Montero Diaz 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.

Signed:

Date:

Abstract

This thesis examines Peruvian popular intercultural music fusions and their impact among the white upper classes of Lima, Peru. Often antagonised, essentialised and understudied, Lima's white upper classes have historically distanced themselves from the city's migrant Andean/Amazonian population, whilst maintaining a relationship of hegemony. However, in the aftermath of the trauma and mass displacements of the twenty-year internal war (1980-2000) between the State and terrorist groups, certain sectors among the young upper classes have come to question their own social dominance. This study charts how certain aspects of this re-negotiation of identity and social position, and a desire for integration with wider Peruvian society, has been articulated through the medium of fusions musics.

In particular, since 2005 fusion music has crystallised into a distinct genre and received a notable boom in popularity. These recent developments in fusion music are placed within a broad historical frame and the context of Peru's fraught racial and class relations, to examine how discourses of integration are juxtaposed with those of appropriation, theft, exoticisation and acculturation. How, it is asked, are the processes of mixing, creating and performing 'someone else's music' negotiated? Does fusion music simply propagate a naïve, chauvinist delusion of social progress and equality in the context of a post-war macroeconomic boom, as some Lima critics have argued? This study would appear to challenge them, as it documents how a segment of the young white upper class Lima population interpret and attempt to use fusion music as an anti-hegemonic instrument that seeks to convey a political message of inclusion, integration, social justice and peace.

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Introduction

I grew up in a mestizo home in Lima, Peru.¹ My mixed background, with an Andean father and a white middle class mother, facilitated encounters with people from different ethnic and socio-economic background. Yet these encounters were biased by my family's idea of 'the others'. Even though my father was of Andean descent, the only Andeans I knew were the maids in our home and those relatives I was not encouraged to visit as a child, "They don't have anything to offer you, they are ignorant", my parents would say. Whiteness was praised and Indianness hidden. Still, my father would refuse to go to expensive or exclusive 'white' places in Lima saying, "They [the white upper class] are ridiculous and believe they are better than us". So I learned to ignore white *Limeños*, even though my mother looked like them, and I learned to ignore Andeans, even though my father looked like them. Later, I found that this not only happened in my family, but in many other mestizo homes too. However, it still left me wondering who I was. Who the other was. After a couple of years abroad, great was my surprise when I found myself at a wealthy school in Lima, teaching music to the daughters of the white Lima upper class. In this segregated city it meant transgressing my middle class sphere and entering unknown territory with my baggage of prejudices and antagonistic imaginaries. This was how I initiated my first ethnography, by chance really.

What first struck me was the distance between my students and the broader Lima. They lived in gated neighbourhoods, their friends all lived in the same three exclusive districts and private chauffeurs would take them everywhere, they hardly set foot in public transportation. The people who worked for them were mestizos, most of Andean background, they would be the nannies, maids, gardeners, chauffeurs, taxi drivers and shopping mall workers. My students 'saw'

¹ Peru is a democratic republic with a multi-party system. Voting is mandatory for all persons age 18 and over. The government is divided into three branches: the executive (the Cabinet headed by a prime minister under a directly elected president), the legislative (unicameral Congress with 120 members) and the judicial (Supreme Court seated in Lima). Decisions regarding potential wealth redistribution, as well as measures to foster equality are in the hands of the legislative and executive powers.

many Andeans, but never interacted with them as equals, perceiving them as inferior.

Teaching a lesson to 9-year-old students on Andean music in Lima, I asked them to tell me who their favourite Andean singer was, they all started to laugh, glancing at each other and looking at me as if I were a madwoman. Nobody said a word until one little blonde girl stood up and told me she liked Dina Paúcar (blushing and staring at the floor), a group of girls whispered *chola*² sniggering behind her back. I asked how many of them had maids, everyone did “of course” (I was quickly reminded). So I promptly gave them a new assignment; they had to interview their maids about Andean singers in Lima. An awkward silence followed until another girl stood up saying, “Miss, my father will kill me if I talk to my maid”. But others saw it as a radically different music assignment (they were used to Western Art Music lessons), so they did not complain. I was expecting angry letters from parents, perhaps even to get fired for this. Instead, the girls amazed me with interesting interviews, posters and CDs borrowed from their maids. Some were even quite moved, because they were talking to their maids again, “Maria was like my mother, she raised me. I don’t know why I stopped talking to her”. Through teaching at a wealthy school, I witnessed what I perceived as white upper class ‘self-exclusion in exclusivity’. However, through my music lessons I saw the potential of music to make visible distant social realities, change listening habits and subsequently contribute to normalising non-discriminatory attitudes. I also discovered a very heterogeneous upper class with different lifestyles, attitudes and tastes.

Coincidentally, 2005, the year I began to teach, also saw the growing popularity of white upper class musicians like Miki González with his electronic fusions of huayno and chillout among upper class youths. Over the following years, my students began to feel attracted to previously stigmatised genres, such as cumbia, salsa and more traditional Andean styles, like huayno. Fusion bands

² A derogatory term used for indigenous people or *mestizos* with indigenous cultural traits or who speak indigenous languages Turino argues that in Peru people distinguish between positive and negative *mestizajes*: People with predominantly Andean features are considered *cholos*; whereas people with predominantly white features are considered white-*mestizos* and thus perceived as higher ranking in the social hierarchy (Turino 1993, Wade 1998).

engaging in intercultural onstage collaborations became popular in white upper class circuits, and an apparent wish to play music with and listen to ‘the other’ was evidenced. In the years I taught at the school, I observed the emergence of an upper class shift in social imaginaries and self-identification. Suddenly for some students being ‘exclusive’ was no longer a quality, but a limitation that they had to overcome through popular culture.

This experience motivated me to go beyond the music classroom and study the white upper classes and their relation with Andean music in Lima. If students’ social perceptions and interactions can change, at least to a degree, through listening and knowing more about intercultural fusion music, could this music possibly provide a way to articulate them with wider Peruvian society? What I set out to explore was if that apparent rapprochement with ‘the other’s music’ was a superficial aesthetic fad or if there was more to it. In the course of my subsequent formal fieldwork, I was surprised to find, due to my own prejudices perhaps, how seriously the twenty-year internal war (1980-2000) and resulting displacement affected the white upper classes and how this, alongside other factors played an important role in their rapprochement with genres previously considered subaltern. For significant numbers of young upper class *Limeños* this encounter was, as I will show herein, not merely aesthetic, but constituted a means to re-negotiate their identity and social position in order to experience Lima ‘like everybody else’.

In this research, I attempt to elucidate how the processes of mixing, creating and performing ‘someone else’s music’ are negotiated. Does fusion music simply propagate a naïve, chauvinist delusion of social progress and equality in the context of a post-war macroeconomic boom, as some Lima critics have argued? My study would appear to challenge them, as it documents how a segment of the young white upper class Lima population interpret and attempt to use fusion music as an anti-hegemonic instrument that seeks to convey a political message of inclusion, integration, social justice and peace.

Due to the nature of this research, social inclusion is herein limited to the notion of cultural inclusion. I will not be exploring economic or political

inclusion. I focus on the potential of music to help integrate socially marginalised people into a common imagined nation highlighting how even the white upper classes can feel excluded or can exclude themselves from relating to their own imaginary notion of Peru.

The upper classes are a mystery for the general Peruvian population and even for academics. Peruvian academia is predominantly white and upper class, perhaps this partly accounts for the lack of interest in studying the upper classes (themselves) from a more social and not only economic perspective.³ While conducting the literature review for this thesis, I found that there are only a handful of books or studies on the ‘traditional white upper classes’, and most of these depict them as an essentialised and antagonistic social group. Furthermore, there are no previous studies on the ordinary⁴ cultural consumption of the upper classes or their negotiation of racial and class identity through cultural participation.

From 2005 there was a clear rise in the consumption of fusion music by white upper class youths. But this was not a new music style, as some bands started blending aesthetics as early as the 1960s. Still, not much literature has been produced about this genre. Only two books (e.g. Olazo 2002, Rozas 2007) have addressed Peruvian fusion music in any detail. Olazo’s book focuses on music change and production of jazz hybrids and Rozas’ work attempts to discuss fusion from a more social approach, but it is based on a very small sample of musicians. Having identified this broad gap in not only ethnomusicological research, but also social science scholarship, I decided to contribute with an exhaustive, non-antagonistic and non-essentialist study of fusion music consumption by the upper classes. For this purpose, I interviewed most of the major actors in the 2010 Lima fusion music scene, and had the good fortune of

³ In this introduction, I have kept references to a minimum, only using them when strictly necessary for ease of exposition. Appropriate and relevant references are provided in the main body of this thesis, where different interdisciplinary topics are considered at further length.

⁴ The concept of everyday life has been central to many debates in sociology and anthropology (Gardiner 2000, Highmore 2002), and even music (Bull 2000, De Nora 2000). I am here using the term ordinary to refer to the mundane and people’s everyday relationship with culture, in this specific case, with music. See Longhurst for a thorough review of everyday life theory (2007: 7-21).

working with a broad sample of collaborators – producers, venue owners, event organizers, technicians, musicians and several upper class fusion fans (see Appendix 1). Their input allowed me to create, a detailed fusion music timeline (see Appendix 2 – CD).

Given the lack of existing research on fusion music and the upper classes, I partly based my research on literature about World Music hybridity. I am aware of the dichotomies inherent in the World Music framework: ‘Western vs. non-western societies’, consumers vs. producers of World music, rich countries vs. poor countries, but my approach will be less dichotomous, as the music I examine here is consumed in the same country in which it is produced. There are obvious similarities between fusion music and World Music given its hybrid characteristics and the issues surrounding it (appropriation, exoticisation, representation, copyrights). I will discuss some of these themes tangentially through this thesis, as they have received extensive coverage in the literature and arguably are quite limiting as interpretative frameworks for hybridity. Influenced by works such as Bigenho (2012) and Mendoza (2008), I have sought to expand on upper class youths’ stated reasons to fuse and listen to fusion, the significance of its practice for musicians and audiences, as well as the overall impact these intercultural and interclass dialogues have on individuals during their encounters with such unfamiliar music and beyond.

In Lima social class is intertwined with race, racialised class imagination therefore plays an important role in this research, as it limits or facilitates music making, onstage collaborations and affects people’s perceptions.⁵ Within ethnomusicology, race has frequently featured in the study of subaltern communities and repressed peoples in areas such as ‘black music’ and ‘indigenous music’. However, race is largely absent in discussions about the popular music consumption of hegemonic or powerful minority social classes,⁶ hence my interest in upper class associations and negotiations of race, ethnicity

⁵ I will refer specifically to race and not only ethnicity; ethnicity is constructed as a choice, while race is not (e.g. phenotype) (Radano and Bohlman 2000: 8).

⁶ I am aware that race is a big theme in jazz and other areas of popular music studies. However, they usually focus on the music consumption of hegemonic majorities. In the case of this study, the white upper classes are a clear minority in Lima and the whole country.

and class. In her recent book on music and race, Jo Haynes (2013) argues that even though World Music triggers an ‘attraction to difference’, and this has the potential to trigger social and political transformation, “the socio-cultural processes through which it is unevenly translated leaves dominant beliefs and values largely unchallenged and relative structural positions intact” (2013: 145). Haynes specifically discusses World Music producers’ paternalism and ideas of ‘authenticity’, that it is somehow more ‘pure’ and ‘natural’ when certain people perform certain music genres. This argument resonates with my discussion on race and fusion music in Lima: is this exaltation of difference another hegemonic strategy to preserve a romanticised image of the Andean/Amazonian? Is fusion music reinforcing ideas of racial difference rather than of equality? Is this only affecting Andean or provincial musicians? How about white upper class musicians - are they also pigeonholed?

As mentioned above, it had not occurred to me that the twenty-year internal war could have had such a big impact on the fusion music scene, the music industry, the musicians (regardless of social or ethnic background) and the audiences (particularly people between the ages of 20 and 35). I was aware of the general economic and social consequences of the war, as well as the silence and mistrust it engendered among Peruvians. But I did not expect most of the people I planned to interview to be affected by it, given the relatively sheltered existence that their family’s economic situation and social class afforded them. Many of them migrated abroad to avoid the violence and the economic crisis, but have now returned, with values from abroad that are more questioning of racism and classism, to a more stable Peru. They now wish to live a different life, which for them entails changing the way they were, referring to a historical or a family upper class exclusive attitude. Could this be one or even the main reason why part of the young white upper classes are approaching ‘the rest’ through music? Is this merely a matter of curiosity, or are there more complex emotional and identity factors at play in this process? This train of thought has steered my thesis towards the theme of music and conflict, an area, which is somewhat new in the field of

ethnomusicology, but has previously been explored by music therapy and peace studies.

Based on Urbain (2008) and O'Connell and Castelo-Branco (2010) with their interdisciplinary explorations of music as a tool of conflict resolution, I argue that music may sometimes serve as a technology of conflict transformation,⁷ in this case, a technology that seems to allow the white upper classes to reconcile with themselves, validate their suffering and negotiate their guilt in order to construct a more inclusive national project. I am interested in exploring how music may not only contribute to facilitating the inclusion of subaltern and vulnerable communities, but also how it appears to help powerful social groups to seek their own social inclusion. It would seem that music can contribute to changing how "culture is lived" through affecting "ordinary life and cultural consumption" (Longhurst 2007), what Turino describes as the attraction of cultural cohorts for instigating individual and collective social change (2008: 111-116). Can music change daily life and social relationships, thereby normalising alternative forms of behaviour and transforming the conditions that underlie social conflict?

Moreover, even though a central part of this thesis deals with music and identity, I will not be discussing the already broad theoretical framework and vast literature on this topic. I contribute to the already vast literature on music and identity by focussing mainly on class, race and conflict and, through these themes, exploring upper class multiple individual and collective identities, as well as the transformative powers of identity.

My main objective in this thesis is to examine how and why part of Lima's white upper classes seem to attempt to include themselves in a wider Lima experience through the medium of fusions music. In order to develop my arguments, and owing to the lack of ethnomusicological literature on the topics

⁷ I am grateful to Dr. Ernesto Schartwz-Marin for suggesting this term to illustrate the use of music as a solution to a particular social problem when reviewing my paper entitled: "Heralding reconciliation? Peruvian intercultural fusion music in the aftermath of war", presented at a two-day Anthropology Symposium: Rebuilding national imaginaries, reasserting torn social fabrics: Reactions to violence and disappearance in Latin America, an interdisciplinary approach (Durham University, July 2013).

discussed herein, I decided to use an interdisciplinary theoretical framework drawing on literature from a range of disciplines, such as sociology, anthropology, marketing, economics, peace studies, music therapy, cultural studies, popular music studies and, of course, ethnomusicology. In this thesis, I develop four main topics: music and class, music and inclusion, music and race, and music and social conflict. I approach each topic within individual theoretical frameworks, yet they all intersect and relate to the main research question, while opening up a new field: the ethnomusicology of the hegemonic and, within this, music as a technology of self-transformation. My main arguments, which develop as the thesis progresses, consist of the following claims:

- The white upper classes are a complex heterogeneous group often essentialised, antagonised and ignored in Peruvian academia. Some in these upper classes do reflect on their whiteness, privileges, self-exclusion and the role these play when interacting with others in Lima.
- Fusion music is a medium used by part of the white upper classes to negotiate their social place on the Peruvian map. However, fusion means different things to different people. For some: appropriative and exotic music creations, and for others: a space for intercultural and interclass horizontal dialogue.
- Fusion music provides a space for white upper class self-recreation, as people approach ‘the racial other’ to ‘find themselves’.
- This white upper class self-recreation and shift in music taste was facilitated by early space transgressions of provincial performers (1990s), who helped give visibility to subaltern genres. It was also enabled by the post-war trauma, which left young white upper classes tired of their familial narratives of whiteness and the discourses of fear and mistrust that they now appear to want to change. This in itself is a political reformulation.
- Music can constitute an effective tool of discussion and reformulation of identity in the context of post-war trauma and internalised racism and segregation.

- Through the consumption of fusion music, ordinary habits and relationships are initially modified and later normalised in their new form, which may lead to other gradual changes in the self beyond the cultural realm.
- The audience has a choice and some of them are acting on their agency seeking individual and collective social improvement.

I will build on these arguments over the course of the coming pages. For this I structure the thesis as follows: **Chapter 1** serves as a general introduction to the Peruvian white upper classes from an anthropological perspective. It offers a deconstruction of the notion of a ‘traditional white upper class’, reviews historical and contemporary *Limeño* social imaginaries of elite representation, and explores how race and class are intertwined in the construction of status and taste. Secondly, it explores upper class notions of exclusivity, social canons and the relationship with ‘the other’ in elite spaces, which influences the way the young white upper classes interact with others outside ‘allowed spaces’. Here I provide a rather swift overview of research and theories on racism and segregation in Peru, which serve as a backdrop to discuss how sectors of the young white upper classes, use fusion music to reformulate their class and social identity: ‘the alternatives’.

Chapter 2 is all about the music. It reviews the limited existing literature on fusion music in Lima, which is found in fields such as: Anthropology, Journalism and Latin American studies. This interdisciplinary review allows me to detect research gaps and to centre my attention on them. Rather than deconstructing fusion music as a final product, I examine it as a process of *convivencia* (‘coexistence’), which generates spaces for upper class self-inclusion and identity rephrasing. Furthermore, I offer an exhaustive map of Peruvian fusion music, introducing the reader to the scene: the places, the people, the aesthetics and the pioneers. This will illustrate how different historical and socio-political contexts shape audience interpretation of fusion music. It will also provide a basis for more detailed discussion in subsequent chapters. (For a

timeline of Peruvian fusion music history, created as part of this research, see accompanying CD – Appendix 2).

Chapter 3 brings the music makers to the forefront through ethnographic accounts. It examines the processes of fusion making and performing from the perspective of white upper class musicians, focussing on their struggles with defining their music and the contradictions and ambivalences they experience regarding the label ‘fusion’ and the genre. This serves as an exploration of the meaning of fusion for musicians and audiences, beyond the limits of terminological categorizations and genre classifications. In the second section, I move beyond the interpretative constraints of appropriation and exoticisation to explore the role of fusion music as a ‘technology of self-transformation’ among white upper class musicians. It is suggested that a rapprochement with ‘the other’ becomes a means to ‘find the self’. Moreover, I will discuss the creative processes involved in certain interclass and interethnic projects, creating a five-path model of creative loops to analyse them: field encounters, musical dialogues, lyrics, performance and beyond performance. This critical assessment demonstrates how fusion music can sometimes be closely associated with inclusionary projects, but also how it can also easily veer towards exoticism and appropriation. Finally, I reflect on the idea of hybrid as *anti-hegemonic* through examining the role of Lima’s fusion music in political resistance and protest against class and ethnic segregation, state abuse and social inequality.

Chapter 4 explores race. The first section examines how early provincial musicians transgressed their imaginary ‘allowed spaces’ to enter white upper class spaces, where their subaltern genres were associated with bad taste and indigenous populations. This will provide a foundation for exploring racialised limitations on space transgressions (Andean, mestizo and white), as race and phenotype facilitate or hamper the performance of certain genres in certain spaces marked by class. However, in the last section of this chapter, I will examine case studies of contemporary musicians, which challenge commonplace imaginaries of indigeneity, agency, Andean representation, and race pigeonholing. Through these examples, we see some of the ways in which fusion musicians have challenged

the status quo through their music, and how socially normalised attitudes can be turned around.

Chapter 5 approaches music as a technology of conflict transformation in the context of Peru's twenty-year internal war and its subsequent impact on the 'alternative' white upper classes in Lima. Herein I argue that the aftermath of this violent conflict opened up possibilities for empathetic interaction and a sense of community and shared ideals. I explore how the young white upper classes renegotiated their social role, identities and political stances through interaction in "liminal spaces" (Turner 1967). We discover how musicians (mostly Andeans) discuss the war directly and how upper class musicians – having informed their music creations with their own experiences of the war – explicitly criticise their own privilege and whiteness. Furthermore, I explore how the audience reacts to, interprets and negotiates these artists' political message, as well as the audience's agency when negotiating their guilt and attempting to reconcile with themselves and with a broader Peru.

Methodology

My primary research methodology consisted primarily of ethnography, a mainstay of ethnomusicology (Barz and Cooley 1997, Nettl 2005). This included participant observation at music and anthropology conferences, music festivals, music concerts at upper class venues in Lima, and private upper class parties involving fusion music. I undertook discussions and interviews with a range of fusion music scene stakeholders: musicians (composers, freelance musicians, arrangers), technicians, DJs, concert organizers, venue owners, record label CEOs, marketing researchers, television presenters, newspaper journalists and, naturally, members of the fusion music audience (informal and formal interviews, focus groups). Furthermore, I followed Lima's media and explored Internet-based resources, such as social networks, blogs and websites related to the fusion scene

(see Appendix 1 for list of interviews). I also used online resources to design and conduct virtual surveys (three).

As mentioned, my interest in fusion music and the upper classes started while I was a music teacher at a wealthy private school in Lima in 2006. I took this interest further in my academic studies, and, in 2008, I submitted my M.Mus thesis entitled: “Forging identities through fusion between electronic dance music and Peruvian traditional music. A dialogue between cultures.” This constituted an initial exploration of upper class music taste and trends following the fusion boom in 2005 and sought to explore whether there was an aesthetic music dialogue between white upper class musicians and Andean culture. During the M.Mus, I established initial contacts with some of the electronic musicians in Lima, as well as some of the Andean and mestizo freelance musicians who collaborated with them. These contacts greatly facilitated access during my 10-month PhD fieldwork in Lima in 2010, which included one month at the Asia beach resort, where the Lima upper classes own beach houses and where the music migrates during the summer months. It proved a valuable strategy to immerse myself in the ordinary life of the upper white classes. I lived with a group of middle and upper class young people, sharing experiences with them, listening to their stories and to their music. In this way, I gained access to exclusive spaces, which is a hard task when these are not your spaces (see Chapter 1).

Attending concerts every Friday and Saturday at exclusive venues, as well as participating in academic conferences and music festivals in Lima, enhanced my visibility in the scene and enabled me to establish more contacts among dedicated fusion fans and regular members of the audience. Among upper class musicians, the fact that I was a musician myself facilitated my entry into their circuits. All this played a major role in enabling me to access private parties and clubs where fusion music was performed, which proves the effectiveness of research through musical practice, something I learned directly from my mentors: John Baily and Henry Stobart (Baily 2001, Stobart 2008).

Conversations, ranging from formal interviews and focus groups to more informal communications (virtual chats, Skype conversations, Facebook and

YouTube discussions, unrecorded conversations during and after concerts), provided a space for mapping the history of fusion music and discussing key issues relating to the intercultural and interclass collaboration of musicians, their motivations, their interpretation of fusion and its use as a technology of self/communal transformation. I indicate the type of conversation (interview, focus group or informal communication), when using conversations with collaborators in the thesis.

I conducted seventy-three (73) extensive formal interviews in Spanish, each lasting between one and two hours, with key members of the fusion music scene, and academics (see full list in Appendix 1). When interviewing members of fusion bands, I sought to talk to diverse members of the band, so as to obtain different perspectives, especially in the case of intercultural bands. Once I had interviewed a number of fusion musicians, it became easier to make further contacts, even with musicians recognised as international celebrities. In other cases, I used Facebook to make initial contact using my own profile, so potential interviewees could see my affiliations, background in music and which friends we had in common. This proved a very effective way to get in touch with more underground groups and freelance musicians.

For formal interviews I used a semi-structured approach, I planned some questions and guided the discussion in certain directions in order to address themes I had planned to explore beforehand. However, I kept the structure flexible so as to allow collaborators to represent their experiences in their own way and at their pace. The fact that Spanish is my mother tongue greatly facilitated such interviews.⁸

In addition to formal interviews, I also engaged with informal interviews. These were not recorded, but I took notes, I wrote down quotes from fusion fans before, during and after concerts, gatherings or private parties. I did not ask for names, as I wanted to preserve anonymity, given the nature of the quotes. When quoting these informal communications (25 testimonies), I will feature a pseudonym, the age of the collaborator, the venue and the year. Furthermore, I

⁸ In this thesis I am featuring translations into English of these interviews, while also including certain key phrases in the original language.

conducted three formal focus groups with four collaborators each (16 testimonies). These were held at coffee shops and consisted of people I had met at concerts and who fitted the variables of white upper classes. I offered free coffee and a socializing environment where music would be the centre of attention. There was great interest in participating, which made the focus group informative, yet quite difficult to transcribe. I had planned more focus groups, but resources were limited and answers repetitive, so I decided to keep the focus sample small and limited the topics discussed. This method proved effective and many of the most illustrative quotes about sensitive issues, such as the internal war and racism, came from these focus groups. I used this tool to understand common trends among people from a restricted age group (22 to 35 years old) in a collective setting.

For most formal interviews and focus groups, I categorised the class and race of collaborators using several filter questions at the start of the interview. These questions helped me to establish variables of social class (school, university, neighborhood, leisure lifestyle (club memberships, beach houses) and networks (common upper class friends)). I based my categorisation of collaborators as belonging or not belonging to the ‘white upper classes’ on the variables mentioned, in conjunction with last names and Caucasian European phenotype. During my many interviews with actors belonging to this small scene, I also contrasted my class and racial perception of individual actors with other actors’ perception. Crosschecking in this way, I strove to reduce the potential error margin of these categorisations. I am aware that grouping people in this way is inevitably fraught with bias. However, I decided to use it as a method of classification for social class and race, which are inherently subjective, knowing that segregation due to class and race exists in Lima and plays an important role in building relationships and empathising with ‘the other’.

Drawing on studies of Internet ethnography (Amichai-Hamburger 2005, Gauntlett and Horsley 2004, Nakamura 2002, Miller and Slater 2000), and YouTube and social network studies (Pelle and Vonderau 2009) I also conducted

three virtual surveys, which added a quantitative dimension to my qualitative research:

1. <i>Hablémos de Música</i> (Let's talk about music)	88 valid responses	Between June 10, 2008 and July 23, 2008.	An exploration of upper class music trends and relation to Andean music.
2. <i>El Mundo Virtual y Tú</i> (The virtual world and you)	73 valid responses	Between February 15, 2010 and March 7, 2010.	An exploration of the upper class image of Andean indigeneity and how music related exposure might challenge this image. Furthermore, it explored upper class interaction with YouTube and other YouTube users. YouTube video links were included.
3. <i>Fusiones Musicales en el Dia a Dia</i> (Music fusions in daily life)	88 valid responses	Between September 7, 2010 and October 15, 2010.	An exploration of upper class radio, club and live music venue preferences. Also, it explored upper class international and national concert attendance, as well as favourite fusion groups and musicians and the spaces where they followed fusion music.

The three questionnaires were designed in *Google Docs* and were disseminated via group e-mail using the same programme. Respondents received the questionnaires in a standard e-mail, filled them in directly in the e-mail and then simply clicked a submit button. All three surveys were sent out in three rounds⁹ and targeted upper middle class and high-class school and university students, with whom I had maintained contact since working as a music teacher in Lima. The instruction was to forward the survey to friends.¹⁰ Knowing that Lima's social classes rarely mix, I trusted that people were only likely to share the survey among their closest friends, and that the class and race variables of the people directly sent the survey would therefore probably remain unchanged for most secondary recipients of the survey. Still, I found that I had to discard a few

⁹ Each round consisted of ten surveys: First round: school students (10), second round: university students (10) and, third round: upper class friends (10). In total, I sent out thirty surveys, which were multiplied due to the snowball effect of people forwarding the survey.

¹⁰ I am indebted to all the people who took the time to ponder my questions and share their thoughts.

entries, as they did not fulfil all the variables required for my upper class categorization. I applied the same class variables I designed for the face-to-face interviews. However, in virtual surveys it is impossible to see the race or phenotype of the respondent, so I used survey results with caution, mainly as initial explorations before the fieldwork. Employed in this way, they proved useful in outlining some of the main trends, stereotypes, imaginaries and music lifestyles and habits of the upper classes.

The survey procedure ensured that the surveys were anonymous. Respondents did not have to reply to my e-mail account, when they pressed the submit button their answers were automatically collated in an excel database where they were stored and later analysed.¹¹ The e-mail was accompanied by a presentation, an explanation of the voluntary nature of the survey and my e-mail address, in case anyone wished to contact me as the researcher conducting the survey. I also provided the option of submitting an e-mail address, if anyone wanted to be contacted again regarding the research. This proved helpful, as I contacted some respondents to discuss their answers.

The Internet was a very useful tool for my purposes, but I am aware of its limitations. Attracting respondents to virtual surveys is a challenge, not many people feel compelled to answer a virtual survey and among respondents there may well be an overrepresentation of people who already have an interest in these topics (fusion, inclusion, indigeneity, music). However, I was satisfied with the number of respondents and the interest evident from the thorough answers and time dedicated to completing the three surveys. All in all, I believe that being able to cross-reference the quantitative survey data with the qualitative ethnographic data has rounded off my research methodology.

I am indebted to all those who collaborated with this research. I maintain contact with some of them through Skype, Facebook, YouTube and e-mail. Some

¹¹ The surveys were anonymous, which proved beneficial, because of the protection it afforded to respondents from sectors of society that are perceived as antagonistic by most *Limeños*. Also, on the Internet people “are able to explore aspects of themselves they might otherwise be reluctant to share with others, and can do so in relative anonymity and in the safety of their own homes” (McKenna & Bargh, 1998, 2000 as quoted by Skitka and Sargis, 2005:6).

wished to remain anonymous, I respected their decision and have taken steps to protect their privacy. I have always asked for permission before recording any interviews and I have sent many interviewees their recording for their personal use or archive. I am eager to publish this thesis as soon as possible, first in English and then translated into Spanish, so I can return a snapshot of the scene along with a thorough study of the potential music might have to shape class and race identities. In turn, I hope to contribute to Ethnomusicology and Popular Music Studies in Peru, a country rich in music, but where these two fields are greatly in need of development.

Chapter 1: ‘Traditional white upper class’?¹²

Is fusion as inclusion an upper class delusion? Any attempt to address this question will require introducing the reader to the *Limeño* upper classes. How are they perceived and constructed in Lima discourse? What makes people describe them as ‘traditional’? What role have they historically played and what image do others have of them? Terminology and differing collective social imaginaries of the relationship between whiteness and class will, inevitably, generate all sorts of complications in this research. However, it is precisely on these complications that I will focus, in order to examine how sectors of Lima’s young upper classes have employed intercultural music making and listening in attempts to reconstruct their place within national and class identities.

This chapter is divided into three sections: The first deconstructs the idea of ‘traditional white upper classes’, exploring wider historical and contemporary representations of the upper classes and discussing how race and class are intertwined and perceived by the upper and middle classes. Furthermore, it explores the upper classes’ self-image and how this relates to how other view their race and class. The second section delves into upper class notions of exclusivity, social canons and their relationship with ‘the other’. I enrich this discussion with ethnographic material from Asia beach town,¹³ which also serves as a backdrop for discussing the music consumption of what I identify as the two main subdivisions within the young *Limeño* upper classes. I will show how one of these groups actively uses music to formulate its identity as distinct from the ‘traditional white upper classes’. The identity negotiations and divisions within the upper classes are documented in the third section of this chapter. This topic’s relevance resides, in part, in the woeful lack of research focusing on the white *Limeño* upper classes, especially contemporary sociological studies.¹⁴

¹² Terms coined and used frequently in this thesis will initially appear in single quotation marks, but as of Chapter 2 these quotation marks will be omitted for the sake of clarity.

¹³ See Section 1.2

¹⁴ On the other hand, there is a wealth of studies on the new upper classes, *emergentes*, successful Andean migrant entrepreneurs in Lima.

A few caveats are necessary here. First, in Peru there are studies and portrayals of the upper classes with historic and economic focus (Durand 1982, 1994, 2003, 2004a, 2004b), journalistic approaches (Malpica 1990), market-oriented research (Arellano 2004, 2010), humorous fictional social commentaries (León 2000, 2004, 2006) and political caricatures (Acevedo 2009). Second, my aim is not to examine the history of the *Limeño* white upper classes, their early formations, or its economic impact in Peru, but to explore the cultural dynamics of this broad and ontologically slippery grouping, especially as regards music. Third, as concerns class, racism and discrimination certain similarities may be identified between the situation in Lima and ethnic diaspora segregation in the United States, racial segregation in South Africa and Australia, or even class stratification in the United Kingdom. However, the historical and cultural specificity of Lima means that I will primarily draw on Peruvian and Latin American literature for my analysis. I believe the contribution of this thesis does not hinge on a comparative study of class, but rather on furthering the understanding of the *Limeño* upper classes' mechanisms of self-recreation through musical expressions. Fourth, this thesis distances itself from, yet acknowledges, the Latin American Marxist tradition of criticism of Latin American history and social stratification. As we know, Karl Marx and many Marxist Latin American social thinkers, such as Uruguayan Eduardo Galeano or Peruvians José Carlos Mariátegui and Alberto Flores Galindo, focus mainly on the working classes in opposition to the elites in their critique of capitalism, class stratification and hegemony. In Peru, owing largely to the internal war (1980-2000), Marxism, communism and more recently, socialism, are today discussed with anxiety, fear and mistrust, which means that a Marxist perspective, in the vein of the writers mentioned, would not facilitate carrying out ethnographic work in today's Lima particularly, perhaps, among the elites. Moreover, in this thesis I attempt to deconstruct class and the Lima elites with a fresh critique of Lima's social systems through a deep social and cultural study from inside the upper classes, not in opposition to them.

At this stage, some data on population statistics might help the reader understand Peru's class context further. In 2008 Peru's total population, according to National Census XI, was 28,220,764 inhabitants. Lima is Peru's capital and the largest city with 8,564,867 inhabitants, 67.7% of these are aged between 15 and 64. The country is divided into three main geographic regions: Coast, where Lima is located, Andes and the Amazon (see Figure 1). According to APEIM (2013), in Lima 4.8% of the population belongs to the upper classes, 59.1% to the middle classes and 36.1% to the lower classes. However, this is only a socioeconomic categorisation based on income, property and housing variables; race and ethnicity were not taken into consideration, therefore, it is impossible to know exactly how many people in these 4.8% belong to the "traditional white upper classes". Yet, by extrapolating results from my own fieldwork surveys and data collection, I estimate that approximately 1.5% of Lima's total population belongs to the "traditional white upper classes".



Figure 1: Map of Peru by geographic regions with the Departments of Lima and Ayacucho
by Camila Quinteros

The middle class is the largest socioeconomic sector in Lima, its ranks have swelled with former upper class families who lost money during the 1960s and 1980s recessions, and Andean entrepreneurial families with newly acquired wealth. The expansion of the middle class has attracted academic interest and there is a growing body of literature on them, this is another reason why I decided to solely focus on the elites and upper classes in Lima. However, I will often refer to the middle classes, as the upper classes maintain their status in opposition to them, especially the growing group of Andean *emergentes*.¹⁵

When it comes to the contemporary sociological study of class in Peru – post 1960s, the list of scholars contributing extensively can arguably be whittled down to three. Gonzalo Portocarrero focused on the Peruvian middle classes (1998) and Maruja Barrig dealt with gender in the middle and upper classes (1979, 1981). Only Liuba Kogan has produced recent research on the *sectores altos* ('upper classes'), in which she paid special attention to the *viejas élites* ('old elites'), or the *oligarquía tradicional* ('traditional oligarchy'), approaching her research from a gender identity perspective (2009).¹⁶ This paucity of academic scrutiny reflects a generalised avoidance of contemporary academic debate about the 'traditional white upper classes'. In his prologue to Kogan's *Regias y Conservadores* (2009), the Peruvian journalist and writer Rafo León observes:

The rich were never studied or analysed as anything but agents of evil, beings without personality, soul or feelings; mere machines engaged in racist money-making; epigones of a feudal system, which Velasco did away with, though only with its trappings, because the rich are like cockroaches, notwithstanding even the worst catastrophes, outliving the human species.¹⁷

Kogan's research is important as a pioneering contemporary sociological study of the upper classes, despite limitations in her ethnographic sample and

¹⁵ A term frequently used when referring to successful generations of Andean migrants who have attained economic stability and are gradually accumulating wealth, to varying degrees. It is a term used to differentiate between the traditionally dominant sectors of Lima and the new middle and high classes of Andean background, who were initially associated with poverty and are now 'emerging' economically to compete with the traditionally dominant middle and high class *Limeños*.

¹⁶ I would also like to acknowledge Rolando Arellano's contributions to the understanding of class from the perspective of market research and business administration (2004, 2010).

¹⁷ The vast majority of interviews and quotes used in this thesis have been translated from Spanish to English by Marita Thomsen, except when otherwise indicated.

methodology.¹⁸ This influential research has motivated public debate and encouraged Peruvian scholars to move their focus beyond sociological studies of the subaltern. Still, in my research I have discovered no major studies or research on upper class cultural consumption and construction of identity in Peru, hence my efforts to contribute to this area through ethnomusicological research. Elsewhere in Latin America, research on local elites is also rare, but two innovative studies are of special note: Edwin Chuquimia, Ronal Jemio, and Alex López' work on the cultural identity of the *Jailones* – the elites of the city of La Paz, Bolivia (2006), and Eugenia Iturriaga Acevedo's analysis of white elite racism and ethnic discrimination in Merida-Yucatán, Mexico (2011). In addition, Frederick Moehn's recent book on the technologies of mixing in Brazil (2012) is of special relevance to this study. In particular, I draw on his discussion of white upper middle class musician Fernanda Abreu, which explores the concept of whiteness that is often made musically invisible in the context of Brazil's black identity (2012: 130-166). These works have informed my approach to issues of identity, race, class and discrimination among, what I term, the 'traditional white upper classes' in Lima.

Studying the upper classes matters. According to Latin American and European academics at the Peru Support Group annual conference in London in 2012 "Peru and the Persistence of inequality", the persistence of inequality is the result of multiple factors such as the already established hierarchical colonial political and economic systems, which continue to centralise power in Lima. In addition, the absence of strong political structures and parties makes the transformation of policies difficult. This has undermined the ability of the poor to ensure economic growth. However, the most successful experiences of combating inequality in Latin America have been through formal job creation, achieved in tandem with economic growth.¹⁹ Peter Low, in his report on the 2012 Peru Support Group conference writes:

Our conference suggests that [in order to find inequality remedies], the country

¹⁸ Relying solely on a group of friends within a social sector is a risky methodological decision, which may well lead to biased results based on the group's shared views and characteristics, which are not necessarily common to other upper class groups.

¹⁹ See more in <http://perusupportgroup.org.uk/article-604.html> (Last accessed 04/03/14).

will need to focus on overcoming its history of weak institutions, strengthening its political parties, combating discrimination, improving its education system and diversifying the economy away from the extractive industries. Each of these various elements will involve substantial challenges. Yet, if these can be overcome effectively, the country will be well down the road towards creating a more equitable and just society (Low 2012).

The upper classes have the potential to play a pivotal role in combating discrimination, diversifying the economy and breaking away from Peru's hierarchical colonial history, which have been identified as key to achieving social equality. Many in the upper classes are involved in extractive industries, hold top positions in private businesses and banks, some own media and communication companies, and some are part of government. People in such key positions have the possibility to either contribute to a transformation towards more equality or defending the status quo. Some of their sons and daughters are now playing a more active part in political parties and, from their position and cultural consumption, are actively critiquing and rebelling against neoliberalism, which is deeply engrained in Peru.²⁰ Shedding light on this trend may provide some clues to upper class engagement with or disengagement from combating inequality.

So, who are the upper classes? A plethora of terms are used discursively to describe the upper classes in Lima, such as: *clases altas* or *sectores altos* ('upper classes'), *ricos* ('the rich'), *adinerados* ('the monied'), *acomodados* ('the wealthy'), *platudos* ('the loaded'), *potentados* ('tycoons'), *oligarcas* ('oligarchs') or even A and A+²¹ (Peruvian marketing categories). These terms denote economically privileged people, regardless of ethnic or racial background. However, more specific words are used when referring to the white upper classes and the most common one is *pituco* ('posh'), which carries a pejorative

²⁰ In the 1980s Latin America began to adopt the neoliberal model through structural political changes. In Peru, in the 1990s, President Alberto Fujimori started shifting Peruvian economic policy towards a clearly neoliberal system, which coincided with the emergence of neoliberal tendencies elsewhere in Latin America, for example Brasil, Argentina and Mexico. In Peru the shift was consolidated by subsequent presidents Alejandro Toledo (2001-2006), Alan García (2006-2011) and, surprisingly, also the current allegedly left-wing nationalist President Ollanta Humala (2011).

²¹ According to APEIM (Peruvian Association of Marketing Investigation Companies) research on socio-economic levels in Lima-Peru conducted in 2007, Peru is divided into five socio-economic levels: A, B, C, D and E from the highest to the lowest earners.

connotation encompassing whiteness, wealth and a snobbish attitude associated with discrimination against ‘non-equal people’. Terms such as GCU, short for *gente como uno* (‘people like oneself’), or *gente bien* (‘people of good standing’) are used by certain sectors of the elites and upper classes when referring to themselves. More formally, the terms ‘elites’ and ‘traditional elites’ are used when referring to the wealthiest power groups, who are still white and belong to powerful families or have well known last names.²² ‘High class’ includes the elites, but also wealthy people, who are not necessarily white. When these terms are prefixed with the word *nuevos* (‘new’), or mestizo *emergente*, they usually implies elite of upper class people of Andean background who may earn the same as or more than the ‘traditional upper classes’. However, they have yet to enjoy the same privileges or social position. It should be noted that there are also provincial indigenous and Andean upper classes, but they, along with the emergent upper classes, are beyond the scope of this research, which focuses on Lima’s ‘traditional white upper classes’.

Peruvian scholars use different terms in reference to the white *Limeño* upper classes. As stated, Liuba Kogan uses words, such as *viejas elites* (‘old elites’) and *oligarquía tradicional* (‘traditional oligarchy’); Rolando Arellano uses *grupos tradicionales A, B* (‘traditional A, B groups’), *Lima tradicional* (‘traditional Lima’), and Gonzalo Portocarrero uses *clases altas criollas* (‘creole upper classes’). The word ‘traditional’ is commonly used academically and in popular discourse when referring to the Lima upper classes that predate the massive waves of Andean migrants to the capital. Hence, the ‘traditional’ upper classes are usually of European descent (white) and associated with an urban coastal *criollo* culture and lifestyle. By ‘traditional’ then, I refer to ‘old money’ *Limeño* families, in this context, ‘traditional’ does not carry connotations of tradition and authenticity.

In Peru, the term *criollo* was used in colonial and republican times to refer to Peruvian-born children of Spanish nationals. Currently, some Peruvian scholars, as well as older *Limeños*, use the term *criollo* to differentiate people of

²² Foreign or Spanish family names linked to Peruvian political history and development, usually with economic power (e.g. Aspíllaga, Prado, Bentín, De la Puente, etc).

any social strata who belong to a family that has lived in Lima over several generations, from others who have settled in Lima more recently through internal migration. The term *criollo* also refers to a type of music called *música criolla* ('Creole music'), which is a coastal expression of the musical blending of Spanish and indigenous populations.²³ In addition, in popular discourse, *criollo* can also mean 'street smart', having the ability to come up with 'creative' quick fixes by deceiving or tricking others.²⁴ The ambiguity of the term *criollo* has led me to avoid it in this study, opting instead for a combination of terms commonly used in popular and academic discourse to refer to the social classes that form the focus of my study: *clases altas tradicionales blancas* ('traditional white upper classes'). I am aware that this term is not entirely unproblematic and I do not suggest that it represents a fixed category. However, it proves helpful to distinguish those born into families that have belonged to the upper classes for generations from the 'new emergent' upper classes, while preventing misunderstandings by avoiding polysemous words, such as *criollo*.

Finally, as class divisions are mainly the product of imaginary ideas of difference and communalities, Benedict Anderson's (1983) concept of "imagined communities", Charles Taylor's (2004) notion of modern social imaginaries, and the work of Eduardo González Cueva (1994) on urban imaginaries and mental city mapping in Lima, have proved useful for examining notions of community and group identity.

1.1 Welcome to *Pitucolandia*

Scholars, including Liuba Kogan, Gonzalo Portocarrero and Rolando Arellano, agree that the upper classes in Peru do not have historical continuity and

²³ The instruments used also indicate this blend; Spanish guitar sounds with the *cajón* or spoons as percussive accompaniment. This genre of music is perceived to belong to the Peruvian upper classes, as it carries more Spanish elements in it.

²⁴ It is important to note, that in Lima, when referring to the street smarts or informality of working-class or Andean background people, the term used is *cultura chicha* ('chicha culture'), this phrase transforms hybrid urban Andean culture into negative social images. See more about this in Quispe (2000). http://interculturalidad.org/numero01/c/arti/c_chi_010404.htm (Last accessed 16/05/12).

that the groups holding economic power have changed over time. Some ‘traditional upper class’ family names have been maintained over many generations, but these families do not necessarily still wield economic power. Due to years of internal migration and Andean entrepreneurial skills (Durand 2007), new groups have emerged and new mestizo and Andean family names gained prominence (*nuevos ricos*). At this point, it is important to clarify that the term ‘Andean’ herein refers to urban Andean-mestizo Lima residents and people born in Lima who have Andean ethnic background, phenotype and cultural traits (pejoratively referred to as *cholos*). However, the upper classes also use the term ‘Andean’ to reference their imagined idea of indigenous Andeans or rural Indians, when referring to this essentialised group I will use the term ‘indigenous-Andeans’.

Even though the upper classes do not have historical continuity, this group does exist as a minority and there are observable sub-groups. Who are these people? How do they live? How are they perceived and what is their role in *Limeño* society? In a recent study, Kogan (2009) divides the upper classes into three groups according to their origin: (1) landowners, as a Hispanic colonial legacy and hegemonic power until the 1950s; (2) families of European descent, who first migrated in the last decade of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century, and who made their money in manufacturing, commerce and banking; and, (3) the new upper classes, who are business owners and directors, top executive and highly skilled professionals in medium size and large companies, mainly multinationals. In this division, Kogan does not explicitly differentiate between ‘traditional elites’ and ‘new elites’ of Andean origin, who now are making an entrance as business owners and executives. Nor does she acknowledge, or address the racial tension between contemporary white upper classes and new emergent Andean upper classes. This, I suggest, is key to understanding historical and contemporary interclass interactions, as the role of whiteness is just as significant as wealth in shaping such interaction. The interplay between whiteness and wealth will become more evident in the course of the discussions in this chapter.

Kogan's division basically illustrates the economic origin of the upper classes in Lima. However, within the upper classes, a variety of sub-groups are identified which are related to lifestyle, access to power/status and relationships. Several middle-aged self-defined "traditional upper class" collaborators²⁵ highlighted this point to me, as illustrated by Martín, a white upper class economist:²⁶

One of the subcategories of this group [the upper classes] is the family name, but the group is no longer the family name, it's a subcategory, another is the professional position, another is the amount of money, access to the beach house, say, or social clubs (...), another subcategory is the one with the contacts (...) (Martín, interview, November 2010)

Today, division according to the origin of family fortunes does not necessarily match the contemporary upper classes' division into sub-groups according to lifestyle, access to power/status and relationships. Martín also commented that some people from the "old power groups" do not have as much money as before, but retaining their social network or old assets allows them to remain in an upper class circle. This process sometimes entails taking out large loans in order to afford club membership or to maintain an expensive car and keep children in expensive schools.

Martín also noted that the most important sub-group were the wealthiest people. The people with the most money, he added, are usually those with *buenos apellidos* ('good family names') and, in turn, mostly white. The importance of having the 'right' name makes it hard for the new rich with Quechua, Aymara or 'ordinary' Hispanic last names to get their foot in the door and be recognised by the 'traditional upper classes' as belonging to their group.²⁷

As we can see, there are obvious contradictions regarding what it means to be upper class in Lima. Most of us would associate this with wealth. Yet, in Lima in order to belong to the 'traditional upper classes', and to be able to move in its exclusive circuits, not only do you have to be wealthy, but also have the 'right'

²⁵ The self-definition terms used by collaborators were: *élites tradicionales* ('traditional elites'), *clases altas históricas* ('historical upper classes'), *clases altas blancas* ('white upper classes').

²⁶ I have used pseudonyms for some informants to protect their identities due to the nature of their testimonies.

²⁷ Further information on last name perception and discrimination in Peru: *¿Existe discriminación en el mercado laboral de Lima Metropolitana? Un análisis experimental* (Galarza et.al 2011).

colour of skin, race and lifestyle. Status, contacts, race and phenotype play an important role in class categorisations, though, in some cases, money can help to blur the boundaries of class and race.

People resort to imaginary ideas of social existence and difference every day in order to understand the place of the self in an imagined community and in social interaction. The very concept of *class* is also subjective, as a class only exists in relation to others. According to Rolando Arellano, a market researcher who studies social classes and lifestyles from a marketing perspective:

The state has no social class categorisation; this does not exist, the INEI (Peru's National Office for Statistics)²⁸ does not have A, B, C, D, that is false. The only categorisation is by levels of income (...) there is no official data about classes. This is an invention of society, where researchers have pushed it through (...) Social class is hard to measure. Peru's A is completely different from Brazil's A (...) What is worse, Lima's A is nothing like Tarapoto's A [Peruvian Amazonian province]. I mean, people talk as if social classes existed and they don't. (...). What each person thinks of as A, B or C is totally different from what someone else thinks. For some people, being middle class means having three meals a day (Arellano, interview, March 2011).

As hinted, in Lima people do not only rely on socio-economic categories to classify someone they interact with; they also proceed to racially scan the person, and this becomes part of their imaginary hierarchy, where whites rank above mestizos, and mestizos above indigenous-Andeans (Turino 1993, Wade 1998, Mendoza 2000). Gonzalo Portocarrero writes:

In our country, typical *cholo* traits are devalued. Copper skin tone, medium height, abundant black straight hair, lack of facial hair, thick lips, all these traits are of very little prestige. There is sort of a consensus that increased height, white skin, light hair, thin lips and facial hair are deemed better 'quality' and are much more appreciated (1993:218).

I will illustrate this with an example. In June 2010, a heinous crime caught the attention of Lima's press and *Limeños* in general. A tall, white, young man from the Netherlands was accused, based on hard evidence, of killing a girl at a famous casino in Miraflores. Later, it was discovered that he was on the FBI's most wanted list. It was a gruesome murder, covered by the press when I was just starting fieldwork in Lima. I heard about the case and discussed it with taxi drivers, musicians, relatives and others. It was interesting to note how people

²⁸ For more information on INEI: <http://www.inei.gob.pe/> (Last accessed 15/05/11).

reacted: “It is just impossible that such a good looking guy could be so evil in the end”, “maybe it was a mistake, what a waste, so good looking”, “I am not used to seeing white murderers, he looked just like an angel”, “that is why I prefer an ugly *cholo* to a white killer”. It is striking how being white is automatically associated with being a decent person in the minds of many *Limeños*. In turn, this brought to mind Drzewieniecki’s survey on ethnic stereotypes among school students from different socio-economic strata in Lima, which found that “whites do not have any positive stereotypes of those they call *cholos*” (2004: 14).

Whiteness is, for many Peruvians, a marker of positive stereotypes, and it is immediately associated with wealth, which, as previously discussed by Martín and Arellano (2010: 61), is not always accurate. According to the surveys and interviews I conducted in Lima, in *Limeños*’ minds a white person would always be thought of as having more money than a more mestizo or Andean looking person. Furthermore, whiteness is relative, as many of these Peruvian descendants of Italian, Spanish, French and Arab immigrants have olive skin, sometimes darker than many Andean mestizos, but, thanks to their more European features, body shape and phenotype, they are included in the category of white. If whiteness is inexorably linked to economic and social status, is it even possible for the ‘new mestizo upper classes’ to enter the circuits of the white upper classes?

There are some [*nuevos ricos* members of exclusive clubs], but they are very few. They don’t even make up ten percent, because family lineage is still maintained for entry. I’ll give you the clear example of the Club Nacional, I’m a member of the Club Nacional and it is extremely difficult for anyone not belonging to the family to get in, but there are some who do get in (...) but they charge them, I’m not sure about the figure, but something like one hundred thousand dollars to get in, the son of a member is charged ten thousand soles [approx. four thousand dollars]. You have to pay your dues to get into the group (Martín, interview, November 2010).

This illustrates the process of *blanquearse* (‘whitening yourself’) with money, which – as evident from Steve Garner’s work on whiteness – is by no means an exclusively Peruvian phenomenon (2007: 91-92). It is not uncommon for the mestizo or Andean middle classes to try to gain access to the same lifestyle as the traditionally wealthy in Lima, who are usually still of a lighter skin colour

than other Peruvians, either through education and intelligence (De la Cadena 2001:4) or with money (Bruce 2007: 101). Nonetheless, as many respondents stated in their testimonies, money can whiten people, but not completely. There are still exclusive venues, including music venues, with strict and illegal discriminatory rules of admission, as will be discussed in Section 1.2.

Social class and ethnic background are difficult to separate when discussing social mobility and strata in Peru; these are also complex concepts to deconstruct. According to Arellano, 65% of Peruvians define themselves as middle class, but according to retail and business sector analysts the middle class only makes up 15% of the population. This leaves 50% of Peruvians believing they belong to the middle classes, without business researchers acknowledging their self-identification (Arellano, interview, March 2011).²⁹ During fieldwork, I faced complex situations of this kind on many occasions. Musicians and people from the audiences, who I assumed to be white and upper class, would tell me that they thought of themselves as *mestizo*, middle class *Limeños*, as if the word white were taboo (c.f. Byrne 2006: 73). In a discussion with Jorge, about the virtual survey I was conducting over the Internet, he said:

It was the first time that I saw such a direct question: How do you consider yourself ethnically? I didn't know what to write...white I suppose, but that is not [politically] correct. Is it? I guess a lot of people will write mestizo, because it is not good to recognise that you are whiter than someone else; that browns exist. Also, the question about class, most of my friends would say they are middle class, I guess saying that you are high class or rich is not politically correct, with this you are saying you are higher than many others, than the low classes, and that is not correct (Jorge 26, focus group, December 2010).

In my research, I was faced with having to juggle two juxtaposed constraints. First, I found it necessary to define my research subjects based on criteria ranging from objective aspects, such as income and level of schooling, to more subjective ones, such as ethnicity and race. Second, ethnic, racial and social identities are fluid. I myself was confronted with personal doubts and insecurities about my own ethnic identity, as well as about my agency to choose and navigate between identities when interacting within what I perceived to be my own class

²⁹ This has slowly started to change from 2012 onwards as the rapid expansion of the middle classes is more acknowledged academically and statistically.

context and an upper class one. I therefore tried to accommodate both constraints. On the one hand, I defined who is a member of the upper classes based on variables of ethnic and social identity. On the other hand, I documented the upper classes' identity doubts by talking to respondents about their identity choices and, ultimately, I examined the role played by music in these choices.

In order to limit my scope to the 'traditional white upper classes', I took into consideration common variables found in what *Limeños* described (or imagined) as the 'traditional white upper classes': people with a light skin tone or European phenotype, who either have well-known upper class last names, are historically associated with the intellectual or economic upper classes or have been part of the upper classes for generations, have attended wealthy private schools and universities, live in wealthy districts, such as Barranco, Miraflores, La Molina, Surco, San Borja or San Isidro, and attend upper class exclusive venues for leisure and entertainment (clubs, parties, venues and beach houses). I did not take self-identification into consideration, because, as already noted, it proved problematic for the upper classes. Nor did I use household income classifications, as it would have been impossible to obtain income figures from interviewees and survey respondents. Moreover, when it comes to musicians, few earn enough to be part of the higher *Limeño* strata based on income alone, but their education, network and family history do match the profile. Marisol De la Cadena, when discussing Peruvian racial politics and racism, contextualised her own racial identity as it played a role in shaping her research (2001:8). Similarly, I am aware that my own perceptions, identity, family history and perspectives as a 'light' middle class mestizo *Limeña* with a mestizo-Andean father and a white-middle class mother definitely shaped my research. I know that the notion of 'traditional white upper classes' is necessarily essentialist, imagined and methodologically elusive; however, I hope that through a grounded ethnographic approach, I will be able to short-circuit some of the stereotypes and offer new and less antagonistic ideas about this understudied segment of Peruvian society.

1.1.1 Historical antagonisms

In Lima the ‘traditional white upper classes’ have been, and continue to be, perceived as antagonistic. This antagonistic image is rooted in history: colonial, racial and economic tensions, hegemonic power, symbolic violence, racism and discrimination towards Andeans and systematic appropriations of Andean culture. Lima as a city has also been historically described as a white cluster (Eakin 2007:187), *hija de la Conquista sin raíces en el pasado autóctono* (‘daughter of the Conquest without roots in the native past’) (Mariátegui 1970: 254), *centro de irradiación de la ideología racista* (‘a centre from which racist ideology spreads’) (Galindo 1994: 235), an urban “desire for adaptation to the European culture. And this is because Cuzco already existed when the Conquistador arrived, and Lima was created by him” (Valcárcel 1972 [1927]: IIO as quoted and translated by García 2005:18). In a well-known speech in the Politeama theatre in 1888, Peruvian politician and writer Manuel González Prada stated that:

The true Peru is not made up of the groupings of *criollos* and foreigners living in the strip of land located between the Pacific and the Andes. The nation is made up of the multitudes of Indians spread throughout the eastern band of the [Andean] mountain range (González Prada 1960 v.1: 67).

Historically, and not only in Lima, the elite has been seen as a manipulative hegemonic group. The economic and political elites shaped and ‘invented’ traditions for different aims and many nationalistic symbols were created with a view to making them traditional in the future. Traditions are fixed in people’s minds through ritualised repetition and symbols (Hobsbawm et. al. 1983), and national memory is also “the power to use the past to order the present” (Storey 2003:85).

In Peru these ‘inventions’ contributed to the construction of romantic conceptions of the Inca Empire described by Galindo (1994: 15-16): ‘authentic’ Peruvians characterised as fair, brave, tall and hard working. I believe that these romantic trappings may well have fuelled a disassociation discussed by Méndez (1996), which she boils down to the expression: *Incas si, Indios no*, (‘Incas, yes; Indians, no’). In contrast with the ‘unspoilt’ Incas, ever since the conquest those

‘authentic’ Peruvians – the *indios* – have been perceived as untrustworthy, cowardly, short and lazy. In 1855 Sebastián Lorente a Spanish educator known for his liberal ideas and influential academic work, wrote about the Indians in *Pensamientos sobre el Perú*:³⁰

They are mired in ignorance, they are cowards, indolent, incapable of recognising any benefits, they have no guts, they are lazy, freeloaders, thieves, they have no respect for the truth and have no noble feelings, they vegetate in abject poverty and worries, living out drunken days and lewd nights (Lorente in Galindo 1994:227).³¹

This had a considerable impact on the actual indigenous communities, as they were held up against a highly idealised, unrealistic image of the supposed past glory of the Inca Empire (Degregori 2000: 29), an image that was appropriated by the elites as a “seductive idea about the glory of an ancient indigenous aristocracy” (Greene 2009: 29).

This exaltation of the Inca past was spearheaded by *Indigenismo*, a movement made up of parts of Peru’s political, economic and intellectual white and mestizo elites. *Indigenismo* emerged in the 1920s and its stated aim was to tackle the problem of discrimination against the Andean population through heightening the status of indigenous art forms (see Turino 1993: 122). *Indigenismo* created a new concept of the *Indio*, developing new traditions and arts, including highly stylised ‘folklorised’ versions of indigenous-Andean music. In the 1920s *Indigenismo* brought to the capital the first ‘authentic’ interpreters of Andean music, who were seen as performers of ‘original’ folklore. Nevertheless, the music brought to the capital by *indigenistas* was not really the kind played by Indians in the rural Andes, but more a reflection of what people from the city imagined Andean culture to be like. Martín Barbero wrote:

³⁰ Lorente was a teacher at the prestigious Guadalupe school in Lima and Dean of the Department of Literature and Languages at the most influential university in Peru at the time, Universidad Mayor de San Marcos in 1868. Lorente is also recognised for establishing the study of history at University level, and as his successor as Dean at San Marcos said: “The past of the Department of Literature and Languages in the past year and all previous years, since it was founded, is expressed in a single name: Lorente. It is all his work; curriculum, establishment of subjects, textbooks, methods, discipline, everything, I repeat, everything is his work, his handiwork is in everything.” LISSON, Carlos. «Memoria del Decano de la Facultad de Letras, 1884», en *Anales Universitarios del Perú*, t. XIII, Lima: Imprenta del Universo de Carlos Prince, 1887. Pp 446-447.

³¹ See also Lorente 1980: 177.

The songs of the folk allowed middle-class intellectuals to imagine a lost national and natural identity and to dream of the possibility of a new ‘authentic’ national unity of a people bound together once again by the organic ‘ties of land and language’ (Barbero 1993: 12).

This movement is now viewed as paternalistic (Canessa 2005: 13-14), appropriating the indigenous voice, while remaining far removed from indigenous reality (Manrique 1999: 12). Rozas (2003, 2007: 31) argues that there are musicians in today’s Peru who, based on *Indigenismo* from the 1920s, still want to *sitiar al indio* (‘besiege the Indian’). They wish them to remain in a ‘mystical and authentic’ past, and then appropriate Andean culture from a New Age perspective as a mystic culture linked to a transcendental geography, according to New Age’s cosmic ethos. According to this argument, in interactions between musicians from the elite and indigenous performers the former merely ‘use’ the latter as tools for a greater goal, or as Rozas writes, “to have access to everything” (2007: 32). I will discuss these ideas of appropriation and manipulation in Chapter 2.

The upper classes are not only viewed as manipulative, but also as distant. On this point we cannot ignore the protracted process of migration from the Andes to Lima. The biggest migration waves were mainly due to labour shortages (1880), agricultural reforms (1940-1960) and internal violence (1980-2000). They led to what Anibal Quijano (1980) termed the “*cholificación* of Lima”; this phenomenon implies:

... the rise of a new cultural strand in our society, which has grown as a trend in recent years and foreshadows a Peruvian destiny different from the mere total ‘acculturation’ of the indigenous population in the framework of *criollo* western culture... (Quijano 1980: 71).

Traditional middle and upper class reactions to the Andean *cholificación* of Lima contributed to intensified racism and segregation in the city. With the increased presence of internal migrants in Lima’s historic centre,³² the upper classes left their traditional areas for new homes in Magdalena, Miraflores, San Isidro, and later in La Molina (see Tucker 2005: 82-83). But they were rapidly encircled, as the explosion of shantytowns and land-grabs³³ surrounded Lima with

³² The areas adjacent to Lima’s Plaza Mayor with the Presidential Palace and Cathedral.

³³ After migrating to Lima, some displaced Andean families would group together and organise *inversiones* (‘land-grabs’) claiming unused land in the periphery of the city to build new homes.

peripheral emergent districts.³⁴ The bands of separation remain to this day; the upper classes not only sought intellectual or racial distance, but also geographical and physical distance (see Figures 2 and 4).

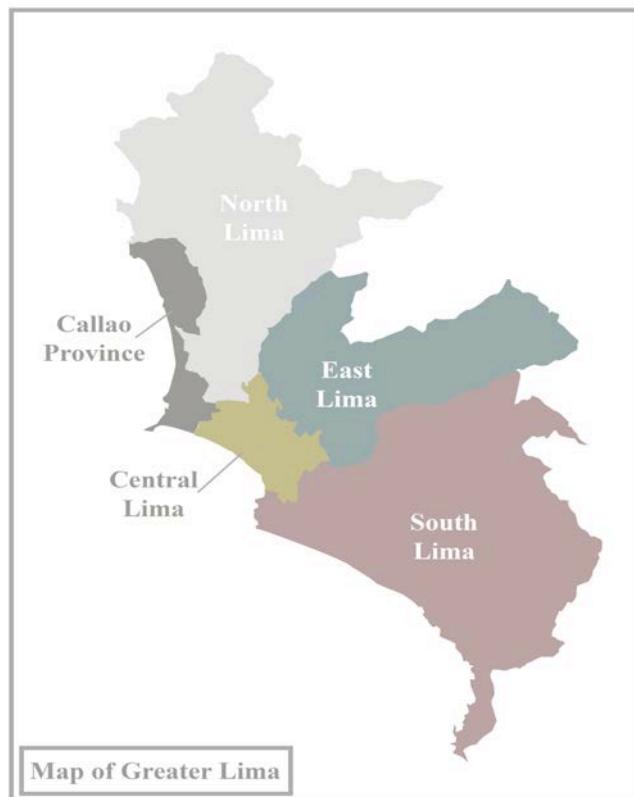


Figure 2: Map of Greater Lima by Camila Quinteros

The factors very briefly outlined above contributed to shaping the elite's image as distinct and of good taste; owners of cultural capital by appropriation and through attending the best and most expensive schools, and consequently powerful and socially and politically manipulative. This is a class that distances itself from the masses and does not share their reality. The upper classes have maintained a static, idyllic image of Andean "hyper-reality" (Ramos 1994) as a strategy to avoid recognising the real Andean and to 'protect themselves' from actual indigenous uprisings (Convenio Minga 2005: 142).

These ideas are not irrational; they are rooted in history and also in contemporary racism and discrimination against Andeans, not only from the

³⁴ Initially known as *conos*, they are now officially called North Lima, East Lima and South Lima.

‘traditional white upper classes’, but also mestizo middle classes. Unfortunately, in Lima, prejudice, racism and discrimination are practiced on a daily basis and in “many directions”, as Mario Vargas Llosa, Peruvian writer, wrote in his memoir *A Fish in the Water*:

It is a grave error, when discussing racial and social prejudices in Peru, to believe that they act only from the top down; parallel to the contempt that the white shows toward the mestizo, the Indian, and the black, there exists the bitterness of the mestizo against the white and the Indian and the black, and of each one of these latter three against all the others, feelings – or perhaps it would be more accurate to speak of impulses or passions – that lie concealed behind political, professional, cultural, and personal rivalries, in accordance with a process which cannot even be called hypocritical, since it is rarely rational and seldom openly revealed. In the majority of cases it is unconscious, stemming from an ego that is hidden and blind to reason; it is taken in with one’s mother’s milk and begins to be shaped from the time of the Peruvian’s first birth-cry and babblings as a baby (Vargas Llosa 1994 [1993]: 6).³⁵

Historical racial tensions are present in *Limeños*’ daily lives and are even exploited by populist politicians, such as President Alejandro Toledo (2001-2006). In 2001 during the presidential campaign, Toledo acted as the personification of Inca Pachacutec³⁶ and his wife, Eliane Karp would address *Limeños* in this way: “Listen to me carefully, Miraflores *pituquitos*, the *apus*³⁷ have spoken: my *cholo* is *sano* ['good'] and *sagrado* ['sacred']” (Centurión 2002).³⁸ During his term he went on to play on the *Inkarri* legend as the personification of a returned Inca,³⁹ a strategy of indigenous vindication (see also Greene 2009: 140, García 2005: 170). Later, President Ollanta Humala, when he was a 2006 Presidential candidate, spoke of governing for the bronze skin, threatening the *blanquitos* ('little white people') and foreigners with expulsion from the ‘new country’.⁴⁰ For ordinary *Limeños*, the upper classes are *un mal necesario* ('a necessary evil') as they provide jobs. Therefore, Andean migrant

³⁵ Translated by Helen Lane.

³⁶ Pachacutec, was the ninth Great Inca (1438–1471/1472). Ruler of the Kingdom of Cusco, which he transformed into *Tawantinsuyu*.

³⁷ Spirits of the mountain protectors of local Andeans.

³⁸ See <http://agenciaperu.com/actualidad/2002/jul/eliane.htm> (Last accessed 11/07/12).

³⁹ The *Inkarri* legend narrates how, when the Spanish tortured and killed Inca Atahualpa (the last emperor of the Incas), Atahualpa vowed to return to seek revenge. According to the legend, the conquerors buried his dismembered body in different places. It is said that he will rise one day and reclaim his stolen kingdom and then the Andean race will prevail over the whites (Galindo 1994).

⁴⁰ For more about Ollanta Humala and *Etnocacerismo*, see <http://www.partidonacionalistaperuano.com> (Last accessed 15/08/12).

workers (maids, gardeners, mechanics, etc.) manifest respect, admiration and humbleness when dealing directly with the upper classes. Furthermore, many mestizo families use the upper classes as ‘good examples of economic success’, but at the same time highlight their ‘lack of family values and unity’. However, respect and admiration blend with resentment and loathing rooted in social inequality and lack of opportunities, which makes horizontal interaction among classes very difficult. In contemporary Lima, among the working and middle classes, there is also blatant racism and discrimination, but it seems easier to aim the blame at historically antagonistic groups and ignore the damage caused by someone considered ‘more equal’. In saying this I do not wish to downplay the social harm of systematic white upper class discrimination towards people of Andean background, I just hope to illustrate the complexities of class and race relations in Lima. Historical racial tensions, the media and academic portrayals of the upper classes as antagonistic, distant and ignorant, and the generalised imaginary of whites as the most discriminating group in Lima,⁴¹ are indicators of Lima’s great social polarisation.

Bridget Byrne writes: “White people generally do not spend much time thinking about whiteness or how their experience and identities are racialised” (2006: 28). This opinion is in line with the notion that whiteness “is rendered invisible under the weight of accumulated privileges.” (Garner 2007: 34-35). These studies explore whiteness in a British context, but in this thesis I hope to show that, on the contrary, being white in a country like Peru *is* problematic, and it is even more problematic for the young white upper classes who do not identify with the negative broader *Limeño* imaginary of their class. For them, music creates tense, but also utopian, and ‘dangerous crossroads’, borrowing George Lipsitz’ suggestive book title (1997) a ‘place’ where historical imaginaries are being renegotiated and resignified through intercultural projects.

Throughout this thesis, I will follow musicians and members of their audience who spend time reflecting on their whiteness and privileges, and who are trying to create a more inclusive identity, not only inclusive of less privileged or

⁴¹ See Nélson Manrique’s discussion on Peruvian surveys on racism and discrimination (1999:14).

Andean *Limeños*, but also more inclusive of themselves. With the constant focus on discussions of indigenous, mestizo and black issues, academics also contribute to ‘invisibilising’ whiteness as a racial issue. In order to truly understand social interactions, I think it is important to analyse whiteness as much as other racialised categories, interviewing and observing white people, just as we would mestizo, black and indigenous populations.

1.2 Going exclusive – A short trip to ‘Eisha’⁴²

As evidenced in the previous section, today’s image of the ‘traditional white upper classes’ is partly rooted in history. But, how do these upper classes live today? Have the colonial ghosts disappeared? In this section I will be discussing contemporary manifestations of exclusivity and distinction, imaginaries of good and bad taste and segregation according to taste, race and class. I introduce the term *espacios permitidos* (‘allowed spaces’) as an analytical tool to examine safe, poverty-free places for the upper classes to live in and transit ‘comfortably’.⁴³ I will frame this discussion through a case study of Asia – an ethnography *within* an ethnography – of an upper class community that constitutes one of these ‘allowed spaces’; a grouping of restricted-access communities of private and rented beach houses, which serve as summer holiday residences for many in the upper classes. Asia proved to be an ideal place in which to observe the upper classes in a confined space, where they felt at ease and ‘safe’ in what seemed like a mini utopia; a safe and happy garden village in the middle of a

⁴² This beach town is located in the District of Asia in the Province of Cañete and it was founded around 1890. Asia comes from the Quechua expression ‘Aysa’, which could be translated as an expression of encouragement (e.g come on!, go for it!), others claim that it comes from ‘Asiac’, which is an expression of disgust due to the smell of a lake nearby. This district is a poor *comunidad campesina* (‘peasant community’), which is why the upper classes, who own expensive houses in the exclusive beach area near the Boulevard (a shopping and entertainment strip), started calling it and writing it ‘Eisha’, as pronounced in English, in contrast with Asia, the poor district. See more about Asia in <http://www.muniasia.gob.pe/resena.php> (Last accessed 05/08/13).

⁴³ For *Limeños*, Lima tends to be restricted to the spaces where one is comfortable among similar people. As an example of this, see Eduardo González Cueva’s bachelor thesis on imaginary Lima city limits “*Ciudades paralelas: imaginarios urbanos en Lima*” 1994.

desert, distant from Lima, ‘which isn’t what it used to be’,⁴⁴ and distant from ‘the rest’.

Asia beaches, *Balenario de Asia*, consist of around thirty beaches between Km. 60 and Km. 130 of the *Panamericana Sur* highway. Most of them are exclusive private beaches with limited access for the general public. Due to the popularity of *Balenario de Asia* among the upper classes in Lima, in 2003 Asia Boulevard (Km 97.5) was created as an exclusive open air shopping strip with exclusive boutiques, top-end high street fashion, a multicinema, well-known discos, a supermarket, a golf course, a sports centre and swimming pool, with a wave simulator for surfing, a five star hotel and a number of exclusive restaurants (see Asia map Figure 3).⁴⁵

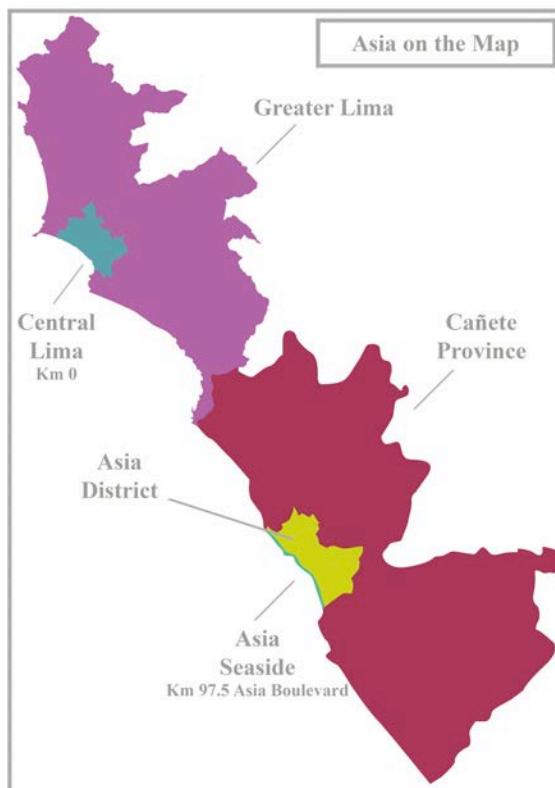


Figure 3: Map of Asia by Camila Quinteros

⁴⁴ The phrase *Lima de antaño* ('Lima of old') is often used as a nostalgic remark about the capital before Andean migration (only Central Lima – see figure 2), and therefore “cholificación”. Gandolfo describes it brilliantly in the Preface to her book *The City at its limits* (2009: xi).

⁴⁵ More information on Asia: <http://www.asiaperu.info/balneario-asia-sur-chico-playas-sur/turismo-en-asia.php>. On Asia Boulevard: <http://www.boulevardasia.com/> (Last accessed 16/05/11).

In 2010, during my ethnographic work in Lima among fusion musicians and audiences, people kept telling me to go to Asia in summer, as many bands would be playing there at private concerts or exclusive discos. Since I was following the music, I realised that music would take me to Asia. But the problem was how to rent a place there. I was aware that I did not have the ‘right’ last name or the ‘right’ look, so I had to plan well ahead and turn to the upper classes for a leg-up.

When you want to rent or buy a place in Asia the first filter, apart from what you can afford, of course, is that you have to apply to the *junta de propietarios* (‘neighbourhood homeowners association’) controlling the beach in which you are interested.⁴⁶ When it comes to renting or buying a house there, the requirements are sometimes as ambiguous as belonging to a *familia constituida* (established family, in other words, that you are married, have never divorced and are not homosexual), having *apellidos extranjeros o Peruanos conocidos* (‘foreign family names or well-known Peruvian family names’). Pictures are sometimes required to buy a house, as well as the family history in writing; these documents are submitted to a neighbourhood homeowners’ association and the applications and photos are made available to other owners for perusal and acceptance or rejection (Luciana, 22 – Asia, 2009). The stringency of the requirements varies, of course, from beach to beach depending on its proximity to the most exclusive beaches and Asia Boulevard. What I was not aware of at the time was the emotional toll that this process would take.

In September 2010, I talked to six upper class friends in Lima, people whom I knew well from before and who would be willing to invest a large sum in spending the summer together. Renting a house in Asia is expensive, so we could not access (and did not even try to find) a place at the most ‘exclusive’ beaches

⁴⁶ It is important to note here that Peruvian beaches are, by law, public and open to everyone. However, certain groups of wealthy families have taken control of public beaches and have privatised them de facto by building houses and walls that close off any access to the beach area. They then control the only gates allowing access to the beach from land, and hire security guards who will demand to see identity or residence cards before they let anyone access the beach. As an example of the tensions this provokes among *Limeños*, see the official website of Asia Sur Plaza, the commercial Boulevard at the most exclusive conglomerate of private beaches: <http://www.asiasurplaza.com/component/content/article/3-playas-en-el-distrito-de-asia> (Last accessed 22/10/12).

near the Boulevard.⁴⁷ I got twelve people involved in the project, most of them close friends from the upper and middle classes, and we finally settled on a considerably cheaper bungalow at Km 115 *Panamericana Sur* highway: *La Encontrada*. As I was the one doing fieldwork and had more time to negotiate, I tried to take more responsibility in the rental process, so I called the owners of the bungalows we wanted to visit and offered to go and visit them myself. My friends told me immediately that it would not be that simple, that we should have a meeting and consider our ‘strategy’ carefully.

At the meeting, several of the issues I theorised fell into place. Ernesto told me diplomatically, that even though it would make more sense for me to sign the contract and be responsible for the bungalow, it would not be wise, as I would not pass the interview process. He did not need to say more, we all knew why I would not pass. It was the first time I put myself in this position, where my own identity, race and social status limited my work and took my agency away. Perhaps because while growing up I mainly remained in my middle class bubble and I was quite comfortable being *la blanquita* ('the white girl'), as I had lighter skin than most of my school friends, although not really white when compared to the white upper classes. But now I was transgressing my own ‘allowed space’, so ‘strategies’ were called for.

As the meeting continued, we reviewed our family names in order to check that there were enough foreign ones and we chose the two men with the best chances of passing the interview, and with access to a car, because as I was reminded ‘one does not arrive in Asia without a car’. I told them I still wanted to go to see the place and jokingly they said:

Ernesto: Fiore, if you want to go, you can, but you have to stay in the car.

Carlos: Yes, and if they ask why you are staying there, we will say “never mind, she is just the maid”

It was a joke, and everybody laughed, including myself, but I was really uncomfortable, because the joke was rooted in reality and we were just ‘playing the game’. In the end, Ernesto represented us and had his interview in December,

⁴⁷ The cheapest price I found for a month at one of those beaches was thirty thousand dollars (approx. nineteen thousand pounds).

after several cancellations, forced bungalow changes and jury miscommunications. When retelling his encounter with the members of the jury, Ernesto said:

It was never a problem, I knew I was going to pass the interview. What they want is just to know that you are GCU [*Gente como uno*],⁴⁸ they have different mechanisms to check that. For example, the President of the *Junta* knew me, because she was the aunt of a school friend, and it so happens that she used to work at the same company I did too, so we all had friends in common. I showed them that I was ‘well connected’, I was then trustworthy.

I think this fieldwork experience truly illustrates not only the created and maintained racial and status division, but also the upper classes’ mechanisms for perpetuating divisions through limiting access to what they consider ‘exclusive’, ‘theirs’. It does not matter whether people can pay for a place in Asia, they have to show their looks and connections in an interview, if they do not fit in, then they do not enter. Fabrizio (42), owner of several beach houses in Asia, explained to me that when interviewing potential tenants:

You never know who is renting, so I think it’s good we maintain certain filters. It’s not a race issue, it is just that...you know, you want someone who will take care of the house *in the same way you would*, so you try to find *people like you*. I am not racist, but sometimes, some *cholos* don’t know how to behave or take care of a property like this, so I honestly prefer to rent it to *people like me* and the jury is there to guarantee this (Fabrizio, interview, February 2011).

It is also interesting to note the way Fabrizio repeatedly looked for and valued sameness, and, for him, sameness was guaranteed by being of the same race. “*Cholos* don’t know have to behave”, with this he was reaffirming how he

⁴⁸ In Gonzalo Portocarrero’s words when talking about the China Tudela, Rafo León’s upper class fictional character (see pg 1): “China belongs to a wealthy and high-bred family, she is conscious of family ties, even when far removed, because they define a group of people, whom she considers her equals and with whom she interacts on a daily basis. These are the GCU, meaning *la gente como uno* (people like oneself), these are white, have financial resources and belong to recognised blood lines. Anyone lacking these three characteristics cannot be part of the group. The families of the GCU are of colonial origin and they have been intermarrying for centuries, although they have also accepted foreigners and, on specific occasions, commoners. Many had large haciendas, ever fondly remembered. In any case, after the Agrarian Reform they managed to reinvent themselves, and so they remain prosperous. Because the GCU are also modern, not to the extent that they want progress to do away with hierarchies, they feel overwhelmingly superior to the rest of the country (the *cholos* and the Indians and the Asians and the undefined). Tradition and money, efficiency and appropriate taste are the criteria combined to create frontiers. A feeling of exclusivity, which is expressed in networks of mutual recognition, and also in an awareness of excluding and devaluing the rest” (<http://www.dimensionantropolologica.inah.gob.mx/?p=1263> Last accessed 22/10/12).

was different in terms of values, culture and tacitly, race from these people who would not be able to take care of his property the way *he would*. This self-imposed distance ‘must be maintained’ not only in spaces such as Asia, but also in Lima as a city, as González Cueva (1994) documented in his study on the urban imaginaries of university students in Lima. He argued that students seem to imagine uncrossable boundaries, which “generate an emotionally charged, frontier-like experience that students from all socioeconomic backgrounds seemed to feel relative to unfamiliar, class distant areas of the city” (Gandolfo about González in 2009: 10-11). This creates imaginary race and class distance and avoidance. In short, everyone creates their own ‘allowed spaces’ where they feel safe and comfortable, where they can avoid being discriminated against and can distance themselves from people ‘not like them’, who they consider different ethnically, socially, culturally or by class. This is true across the whole social spectrum. People on all rungs of the social ladder instinctively avoid leaving their ‘allowed space’, when possible. The difference, however, between the top and the bottom of the ladder, is that those at the bottom are often forced out of their ‘allowed spaces’ to access work, services and leisure, whereas, those on top are relatively free to create and extend their own ‘allowed spaces’, unchallenged, (e.g. Asia) by wielding their political and economic power. Moreover, these are very attractive ‘allowed spaces’; they are safe and equipped with all the necessary services. This division contributes to the upper class’ feeling of superiority, because they would rarely be forced out of their ‘allowed spaces’, risking exposure to direct bottom-up discrimination. And, as they are the ones on top, they do not experience any top-down discrimination either. They have many people to distance themselves from, people who are ‘beneath’ them on the privilege ladder and therefore ‘inferior’. In their view, the ones below participate culturally in ‘vulgar’ traditions or lead ‘vulgar’ lifestyles, which, of course, include ‘vulgar’ or ‘non-refined’ music.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ This space segregation also takes place in music, as some radio stations are just aimed at the upper classes and others play genres associated with the lower classes. Uncrossable borders and ‘allowed spaces’ are maintained through music taste and radio listening, where a radio station can become a social marker. This will be discussed in Chapter 2.

This ‘feeling of superiority’ was evident in Asia on a daily basis. One of my respondents, an Andean-looking *emergente* young woman, told me a striking personal story:

I went to Asia only once, I don’t think I want to return. I was invited there by my boss; he has a beautiful house at the most exclusive beach in Asia. The place is great, nice sunsets, very calm, you forget you are at the beach. I was having a walk alone at around four in the afternoon, I wanted to walk along the shore for a while admiring the beautiful houses when a blonde white woman came up to me, and after giving me a patronising look, she told me that it was still too early to swim or wade, that I should wait until 8 pm, as the rules stated, and of course I shouldn’t forget to wear my maid uniform. I said I was here as a guest, but I just left, I didn’t want to argue, it was very awkward... I felt so humiliated (Luisa, personal communication, December 2010).

She told me all this while sitting in the living room of her house located in one of the most exclusive parts of Lima. It was obvious that she had the money to rent a place in Asia, perhaps even buy one, but for her there were also obvious limitations that money would not help her to overcome. “I’m not going to risk my peace of mind by going there again” (Luisa 2010).

I wanted to explore Asia myself, and Nicole, an upper class sociologist, and Carlos, her husband, walked with my partner and I along many of the Asia beaches. Nicole’s family was among the first upper class families to have a summer residence in Asia, before it became an exclusive retreat for the rich, so she knew the area very well. While walking, I could not avoid observing fixed and obvious divides between the people living in Asia and the people serving them: gardeners, maids, nannies, cleaners, security guards, waitresses, many of whom live in the Asia district themselves, but in the shanty town just on the other side of the highway. The glaring divide the *Panamericana* highway constitutes, becomes apparent as you approach Asia, and it is maintained inside the *balneario*. Maids and nannies are not allowed to use the same bathrooms as the people who hire them; they have to wear white and blue uniforms and cannot swim in the sea with the children they care for.

While walking along these beaches, I could not relate to any of the people who crossed paths with me. The people whom I look like, and therefore relate to the most, were the maids, nannies and security guards, who, ironically, were looking at me with suspicion, they knew I did not belong in that space. However,

they could not say anything due to my white friends and guides. Carlos and Nicole insisted that Asia was not as segregated as before “People are more mixed now, there are whites and browns, no one cares anymore, it is not a white beach town”. Still, the looks people gave me on my three-hour walk were quite revealing, not only to me, but also to them.

It is important to mention that Carlos and my partner are blond, white Europeans; Nicole is Peruvian, but of European ancestry. She is not white, however her phenotype is more European than Peruvian (she would later tell me that this issue had caused her insecurity, as she was considered dark and called *negra* ('black') at the wealthy school she attended). Some people were looking at me as if trying to determine my role in the group. I was definitely the odd one out. We crossed paths with several of my former students from when I had been a teacher in Lima, but not one of them stopped to talk to me, as they would usually do in Lima. Some looked at me, but tried to ignore me, others just gave me a half-hearted smile. Only the youngest ones (six to eight years old), would stop and wave. I asked one of them about this when our paths crossed again in Miraflores – Lima. She said:

I'm sorry Fiorella, I was dumb, I didn't know what to do. My friends would have teased me if I greeted you with affection...you understand, do you? [long pause]. They are quite....maybe racist; they would have asked me many questions. I was stupid to feel intimidated (student 17, Miraflores, March 2011).

I became *desobjetizada*, a process Jorge Bruce describes as when someone who was important for an individual becomes, owing to social pressure and socialisation, invisible, non-human, a thing that can be ignored (Bruce 2007: 61-62). After the walk, Carlos and Nicole shared a meal with us and acknowledged noticing the looks and the discrimination I had been exposed too. They also, moved to tears, told me what a revealing experience this had been for them, as they had never walked through Asia with a person who could have been discriminated against due to her looks. Of course, I could not avoid thinking about my family and my friends who looked more Andean than me. How would they feel in Asia? Could they even enter at all? After this experience, I had to gather emotional strength before being able to return to the central Asia Boulevard

complex and discos. I auto excluded myself from some concerts and events, because I felt unwelcome and, ‘inferior’. My own ‘allowed spaces’, which I had internalised and respected thus far (it was my first trip to a place which is actually only 2 hours from my home) laid down uncrossable imaginary boundaries, and when I finally transgressed them of my own accord, the result was uncertainty, fear and rejection.

During my years as a schoolteacher at a wealthy school in Lima, I observed that this segregation and notion of ‘allowed spaces’ was transmitted to young upper class students by their parents. Upper class parents overwhelmingly tend to confine their families to their ‘safe’ Lima districts (Miraflores, La Molina, San Isidro, San Borja and Surco) (see Figure 4). They fear and shun public transportation (they have cars, some also have private drivers or hire private taxi services when needed) and refuse to let their children interact with lower class children and teenagers as equals (even superficial temporary interaction is usually limited to charity work). This segregation through ‘allowed spaces’ provides fertile ground for prejudices and stereotypes. Gonzalo Portocarrero analyses this distance:

Middle and upper class children are invited to feel disgusted by dark and poor people, they are probably also riddled with disease, because they are dirty and unwashed. On the other hand, if a girl, for example, chooses a colour combination that she likes, because she has seen someone she thinks highly of wear it, let’s say her maid, her mother will repress her, she will tell her not to be a *chola*, that someone might mistake her for one, that she has to have good taste, because otherwise people won’t be as fond of her anymore. Any aesthetic exploration must stay within the confines of correct taste, usually sober as well as different and exclusive, naturally. This is how spontaneity is restricted. Differences are constructed (Portocarrero 1998: 93).

Before going to university, the only regular interaction my students had with Andeans and Andean mestizos was with people in subaltern positions as maids, nannies, gardeners, drivers or security guards. This generated the impression that such people were inferior and dependant, either through charity or the jobs their parents provided. This was echoed by my students’ consumption of Peruvian TV and media contents that portrayed indigenous populations and poor communities as ignorant and ridiculous (see Ardito 2004). It was further reinforced by the omission of specific issues from the school curricula, such as

social conflict and mobilisations, the twenty-year Peruvian internal war and social inequality.⁵⁰ These subjects were deliberately left out, probably to avoid shaming or politicising the upper classes through discussion of their historical or current role in a poor country like Peru. In any case, the end result was ignorance, distance, prejudice and, ultimately, discrimination, for example, when my students succumbed to peer pressure and avoided acknowledging me.

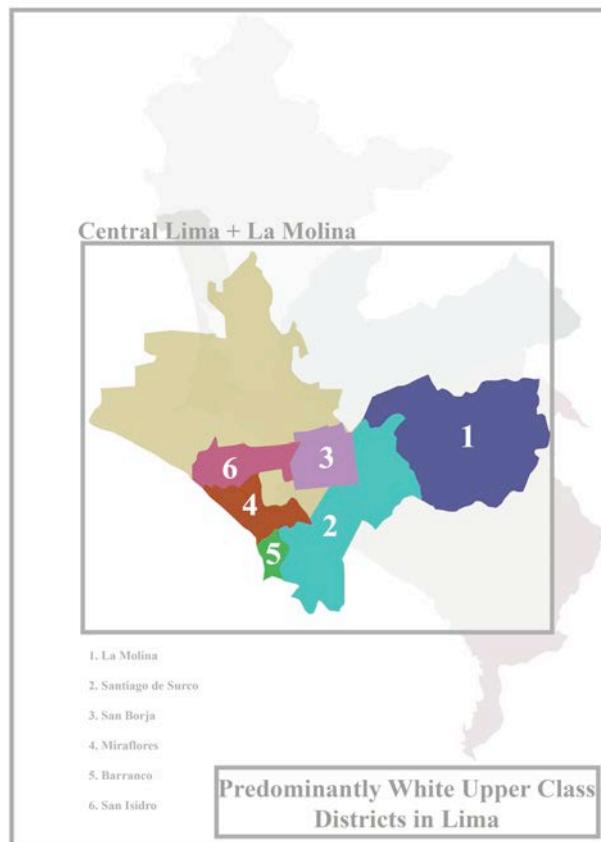


Figure 4: Predominantly white upper class districts in Lima ('Allowed spaces') by Camila Quinteros

⁵⁰ In the 1980s, Peru was plunged into a bloody internal war confronting the state and two armed groups: Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) and MRTA. The most violent group, the Shining Path, was a communist maoist terrorist group whose aim was to replace bourgeois democracy with new democracy, claiming to fight against elitist power to empower the *campesinos* ('indigenous peasants'). However, they lost track of their initial aims, and committed atrocities against *campesinos* themselves, soldiers, trade unionists, and civilians in general. The violence lasted almost twenty years claiming over 70,000 lives and traumatising the entire country. The Andean region Ayacucho was the most affected. In the aftermath, violence was replaced by silence along with distrust, disunity and distance between the Andes and Lima the capital. However, I argue that musicians have started to challenge, discuss and negotiate the legacy of war through music (for more information see Chapter 5).

Of course, there are upper class youths in Asia and Lima who do not succumb to such peer pressure. I saw groups of young people playing volleyball in Asia with maids and nannies in mixed teams, after work hours; an old Andean ice cream vendor talking about the Andes to a group of blond teenagers, who wanted to go to Cuzco for their prom; people like Nicole and Carlos, who never hesitated to walk with me through Asia and introduce me to their upper class relatives and friends, even though they acknowledge racist attitudes in some of their relatives. Then again, there is a tendency for those who do not segregate or discriminate to project their own attitudes and perceive prejudice and racism as an individual problem, not a class issue. However, there is a dominant prejudiced upper class mindset, which causes discrimination and segregation on the basis of ethnic background and appearance, in short, racism.

1.2.1 Racism in Peru

What do Peruvian scholars say about racism? Many have studied racism and segregation in Peru from different perspectives. For Nélson Manrique, a Peruvian historian, a focus on race – and in turn racism – emerged with the social reforms of President Velasco,⁵¹ where previously the lower status and lack of rights of rural Andeans had not been questioned. The economic and social structures changed deeply, but subjectivities remained unchanged, and this generated racism (Manrique in Tanaka 2007).⁵² For the Peruvian psychoanalyst Jorge Bruce (2007), Peruvians are intrinsically racists, specifically: *racistas solapados* ('underhand racists'). People do not talk enough about these issues and many Peruvians believe it is 'just the way it is'. Many in Lima perceive racist speech or references as normal, even by journalists in the media or by politicians

⁵¹ Former President of Peru (1968-1975). Juan Velasco Alvarado, a left-wing army general, was responsible for a number of nationalist reforms, such as the nationalisation of industries, implementation of bilingual education, prohibition of the term Indian and the promotion of traditional music in the media.

⁵² *Sobre 'Eisha' y la discriminación*. (On 'Eisha' and discrimination). Article published in Peru 21, Peruvian newspaper on Tuesday, Feb 6th, 2007 by Martín Tanaka.

in parliament (Bruce 2007: 11); this reinforces stereotypes in a country where the “media have been cemented as a source of truth” (Rozas 2007:17).

Contrary to Bruce’s and Manrique’s arguments, Martín Tanaka, a Peruvian sociologist, argues that mentalities and subjectivities have changed and that now it is time for the socio-economic power structure to change too. Tanaka argues that we should reinforce all the changes that have occurred in Peru over the years, especially the rebellion of many Peruvians against racism, an indirect rebellion through, for example, migration; an idea that seems dangerously naïve to me. For Tanaka racism *per se* is part of Peru’s past, society now is only affected by the remnants of racism (Tanaka 2007). Tanaka focuses on the positive social changes, not on the negative continuities and internalised racist conducts, which Bruce seems to emphasise (Tanaka 2008).⁵³ He has declared that he is not at all interested in what people *think*, on the contrary, Tanaka focuses on the way people *act*. Racism for Tanaka is not an individual and intimate experience; it is a relationship of social hierarchy between two or more people who accept it. Wilfredo Ardito, Peruvian lawyer and human rights activist, acknowledges positive changes in Peruvian society regarding blatant racism. However, he thinks that while hegemonic racism and exclusion has diminished, other kinds of racism such as “auto racism” have increased, meaning that Andeans, Afro-Peruvians⁵⁴ and Andean mestizos reject and discriminate against ‘their own’ (Ardito 2008).⁵⁵

These scholars agree that Peruvians are naturally racist and that everyone in Peru is a potential victim of racism. However, they seem to address racism and segregation from the point of view of the discriminated, to whom they usually assign the responsibility for rebelling or subverting the system. Mario Vargas

⁵³ Interview of Martín Tanaka by Utero de Marita’s YouTube channel:
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C2AwxUOJTfs> (Last accessed 17/05/11).

⁵⁴ Peru’s Afro-descendant community is not large (making up roughly 1 to 9% of the Peruvian population) compared to other communities such as the Amazonian and the Andean. However, it is recognised as a distinct population – Afro Peruvians, who are concentrated in the coastal region (Lima – Ica). Afro Peruvians, together with Andean indigenous populations, are the poorest groups in Peru. The demographics of the Afro Peruvian population are inexact, due to the impossibility to use variables such as geographical location and language to categorise who belongs to this ethnic group. Therefore, the lack of statistical information (Benavides et.al. 2006).

⁵⁵ Interview with Wilfredo Ardito by Chino Becerra. <http://takillakta.org/rcpal/article/493/aqui-nadie-acepta-su-propio-racismo-wilfredo-ardito> (Last accessed 29/08/12).

Llosa illustrates the complexity of stereotyping, racism, segregation and discrimination in Peru as a multi directional phenomenon:

One is always *blanco* or *cholo* in relation to someone else, because one is always better or worse situated than others, or one is more or less poor or important, or possessed of more or less Occidental or mestizo or Indian or African or Asiatic features than others, and all this crude nomenclature that decides a good part of any one person's fate is maintained by virtue of an effervescent structure of prejudices and sentiments – disdain, scorn, envy, bitterness, admiration, emulation – which, many times, beneath ideologies, values, and contempt for values, is the deep-seated explanation for the conflicts and frustrations of Peruvian life (Vargas Llosa 1994 [1993]: 5-6).

Nevertheless, processes of plural interaction between the upper classes and the lower classes are underway. My interviewees often mentioned university as the place where people from different backgrounds would meet. They recognised the difference between the ‘exclusive’ universities of thirty or twenty years ago and those of today, which they described as more open and intercultural. Gradually, this ‘educational melting pot’ is also extending to primary and secondary education. Money is, however, still an important filter. Thus, only affluent *emergente* families can afford to send their children to schools and universities recognised as exclusive.

There are also expressions of peer influence pushing towards greater intercultural interaction and I found these to be more frequent in cultural circuits, such as music. Sectors of the young upper classes have started showing their preference for previously stigmatised music genres publicly, subverting traditional markers of upper class taste and distinction. This ‘new taste’ has led them to appreciate intercultural fusion music groups performing at venues within their ‘allowed spaces’, which means that they are starting to value Andean musicians’ artistry and music while sharing the same space. As explored herein, this ‘taste’ subversion has also motivated some upper class youths to transgress their ‘allowed spaces’. This transgression takes place on two levels, music making, where upper class musicians move between spaces transgressing their own mental maps and prejudices; and music consumption, where fans follow the musicians’ lead in the appreciation of intercultural expressions.

Contemporary young upper classes are influenced by this cultural context, where fads and peer pressure result in greater exposure to diverse ‘popular music genres’,⁵⁶ Andean musicians, mixed venues and non-allowed spaces (see discussion on fads in Chapter 5). Identity in teenagers and young people is constructed and reconstructed by comparisons and social pressure and then carried over into adult life (Hargreaves et.al. 2002:15). This means that if people are excluded from certain musical experiences, they are unlikely to take to them because of lack of empathetic exposure and fear of peer rejection. This constitutes a psychological explanation for why, up until recently, Peruvian upper class teenagers and young adults would overwhelmingly reject traditional music out of embarrassment or fear of what their friends might think of them. Could Andean/Amazonian music now become part of what upper class youths actively listen to, if the social situation of exclusion towards people of a certain ethnic background were eased by white/provincial intercultural collaborations? Of course, the impact of this phenomenon among the young upper classes will not be uniform; indeed, to claim so would be to essentialise these social classes. There are different groups, and music constitutes a tool of differentiation, as will be discussed in the next section.

1.3 ‘Traditional white upper classes’ vs. ‘caviaries, progres, pitucos pezuñentos’⁵⁷

The local elections held in Lima in early October 2010 were notable for the way they brought out the divisions within the upper classes. The two frontrunners for the position of mayor, both women (a milestone in Lima’s history) and from the upper classes, were polarised by the media and politicians.

⁵⁶ ‘Popular classes’ or *clases populares* in Spanish, is a common term used in Lima to refer to the working-classes. As it is a term normally used in Lima discourse, I will also use it in this thesis.

⁵⁷ These are some of the names people from the upper classes, including ‘traditional upper classes’, are called in Lima when their lifestyle, political ideology, cultural consumption and ‘good taste’ do not match what it is expected of their class and status. These ‘rebellious attitudes’ are seen as markers of their ‘alternative’ wealthy lifestyle.

Lourdes Flores Nano was the candidate of the right wing and Susana Villarán de la Puente represented what she called the “new left”. Among *Limeños*, Lourdes Flores was thought to represent corruption and old-fashioned ideas, while Susana Villarán was compared to Abimael Guzman⁵⁸ and was accused of bringing terrorism and communism back to Lima.

Villarán and Flores Nano have very different life stories. The first was always involved with human rights organisations, did not finish university, married young and chose Caja de Agua in San Juan de Lurigancho, one of the poorest parts of an already poor and crowded district of Lima, as her first home; By contrast, Flores Nano excelled at university, as a lawyer and career party politician, and lives in an exclusive area of Lima. Even though these women were perceived as having the same class status and being white, they attracted different voters. Villarán was supported by part of the lower classes and by many young people from the middle and upper classes; on the other hand, Flores Nano was also supported by part of the lower classes as well as middle aged and older people from the middle and upper classes.

Ideological wars were fought in Lima and music was an important weapon. Most fusion musicians with whom I was in contact⁵⁹ supported Villarán’s candidacy, while popular class *cumbia* groups supported Flores Nano through their campaign songs at rallies and in the media.⁶⁰ Susana Villarán’s end of campaign concert featured fusion groups, including La Sarita, Colectivo Circo Band and Del Pueblo y del Barrio, who all supported her with their music. It was striking to witness so many people coming together, regardless of their social status or ethnicity, especially young people, who until recently had shown no political interest. The media repeatedly asked Villarán, “Why, when you had everything, did you go to live in a poor neighbourhood?” She answered: “Because I wanted to live like everybody else, and experience for myself what poverty

⁵⁸ Leader of Peruvian terrorist group The Shining Path (*Sendero Luminoso*).

⁵⁹ Musicians who blend traditional Peruvian genres with foreign genres, and who are perceived by the upper class audience as fusionists. A more in depth description of the fusion genre will be provided in Chapter 2.

⁶⁰ Lourdes Flores Nano had a well known norteño cumbia as her campaign song; Susana Villarán on the other hand, had an afro-reggae composed by Julio Andrade and Andean –rock composed by La Sarita.

really means".⁶¹ This raises the question: Why is there a need to live like everybody else? And what does this notion 'everybody else' encompass? As those young people among the upper classes who ask themselves these questions often turn to fusion music to express their separateness from status-fixated parts of the upper classes, perhaps this question is best answered in music.

I am more a Susana than a Lourdes, I guess I am more *verraca* [vulgar]. I hate Gótica [Lima's most exclusive night club] it is so fake, I love cumbia [referring to Bareto] and beer so I go to Sargento Pimienta⁶² instead, where others like me gather. We just don't like to be exclusive or go to Asia. You can't be Peruvian and ignore most other Peruvians. You have to mix, to experience the city like everybody else (Jimena 20, focus group, December 2010).

Jimena is negotiating political differences translating them into contrasted lifestyles, tastes in music and social venues, i.e. particular clubs (see Chapter 2.1.1, Appendix 3). This shows that music is an active tool of differentiation among the young upper classes and is an example of how music "can be used as a device for the reflexive process of remembering/constructing who one is, a technology for spinning the apparently continuous tale of who one is" (De Nora 2000: 63).⁶³

The role of music in the battle to control Lima's City Hall provides a telling backdrop to why I chose to focus on the young upper classes (18 to 35 years old). Parts of this group think and act in politically and culturally different ways from what they view as the 'traditional upper classes'. This is expressed in their support for political candidates, their active participation in social marches and protests, and a shift in how they perceive their own role and involvement in wider Peruvian society and its economic and cultural development. But, why is this important? A glance at Peru's population pyramid is very telling (see Figure 5). Today's young Peruvians will, in future, constitute the largest population sector. Birth rates increased steadily throughout the 20th century, but there was a shift around the turn of the millennium and they are now slowly declining (Census

⁶¹ Villarán said this several times in TV interviews.

(e.g. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=38akH71G8tk&feature=related>) (Last accessed 15/05/11).

⁶² Music venue in Barranco often featuring fusion artists. According to people I interviewed, Sargento Pimienta mainly attracts alternative upper classes, who want to reject exclusive posh spaces. See Chapter 5.

⁶³ Issues of place and space in fusion music circuits will be further discussed in Chapter 2.

1993, 2005, 2007) (Golte and León Gabriel 2011: 21-23). What this means is that the mindset of young Peruvians today is likely to shape Peru's future imaginaries and interactions even beyond their own youth.

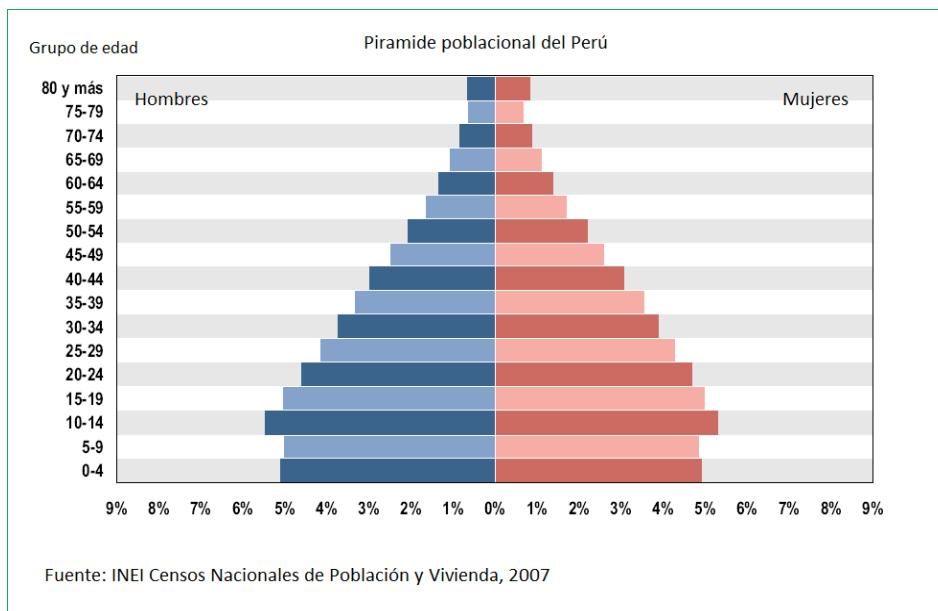


Figure 5: Peru's population pyramid. Source: INEI

Jürgen Golte and Doris León Gabriel's critique of traditional Peruvian anthropology as a discipline studying mainly small homogenous groups and therefore not focusing on urban multifaceted personalities and contradictions (2011: 41-43) was at the back of my mind during my investigation. Their study resonates with the ethnographic challenges of my own research, which highlights identity contradictions and constructions among the young urban white upper classes. The upper classes are not an homogenous group and do not carry the same class identity. I have chosen, as an analytical strategy, to highlight two contrasting characterisations within this class. They could perhaps be subdivided further, but this division is the most striking and useful for this initial exploration. There is an upper class segment of people who comfortably identify with a sense of superior status and wealth, believe in hierarchies distinguishing themselves from 'the rest' and describe themselves in interviews as white high-class people. Then, there is another group of people who mainly identify with moderate left-

wing politics, are more liberal, reject notions of exclusivity and superiority and are generally more socially involved. They are sometimes referred to as *pitucos pezuñentos* (literally translated as ‘wealthy smelly feet’), *Barrancoides* or *Berracos*. During fieldwork when I met young people from the white upper classes, approximately, one out of three would define themselves as ‘more alternative’; a growing proportion according to older ‘alternative’ collaborators. However, this is only a very rough estimate; the actual proportion is very likely to be lower, as I specifically sought out fusion music venues and circuits, which are favoured by ‘the alternatives’.

It is interesting to note that these differences between the two groups, are also expressed by distorting names of venues or Lima districts, establishing in this way different scenes and music circuits for different upper class lifestyles. ‘Alternative’ wealthy youth seem to favour Barranco district’s music scene, therefore another name for them is *Barrancoide* or *Barranquero*, in opposition to *Gotiqueros*, which is also used to refer to the ‘traditional upper class’.⁶⁴

You can always find a non-*pezuñento*, in Gótica. Always advertising what they are going to do on Facebook: “I am putting together a list for the ‘white party’ [parties where everyone wears white], I have five more spaces, do you want to join us?” Of course if you are not on the list you can’t get in, it is all about the contacts, the looks, the showing off. Of course nobody calls them non-*pezuñentos*, because they are just themselves, the crazy ones are the *pezuñentos*, the *Barrancoides* (Micaela, chat, November 2010).

There are other names, mostly pejorative and associated with political preference and ideology, such as *progre* or *caviar*: someone from the upper class who has a wealthy lifestyle, but claims to understand ‘the people’ and sympathise with leftist ideology. When asking wealthy *Limeños* about the difference between these two categorisations the replies came without hesitation,

⁶⁴ As an interesting aside, among the virtual survey and focus group respondents who preferred Gótica and Aura, an impressive 70% described themselves as white, while people preferring Sargento Pimienta described themselves as mestizos or did not specify their ethnicity. Moreover, the virtual survey also revealed that those who said they sympathised more with a right-wing government did not seem to attend any local concerts of Peruvian music. Meanwhile, people who stated that they sympathised with the left went to more concerts in middle and lower class neighbourhoods, such as Lima Centre or Lince, and also saw more punk and fusion bands. This sheds light on the link between political preferences and the upper class lifestyle.

They're totally different, I consider myself Barrancoide, but I went to Gótica two weeks ago and to tell you the truth I'm ashamed to go to Gótica, because I don't have anything in common with the people who go there, the music is al 107.7 [reference to Radio Planeta] *Barrancoide* people are like "asi no mas" [they maintain their distance] with Gótica people and they don't mix because a *Gotiquero* works at a bank and has a different life, different aspirations, they want to marry quickly. We share the same social class, but the *Barrancoides*, for example, there are people who don't go to Starbucks they don't do the "cafecito" [let's go for a coffee] thing, they're totally underground... they drink *chela* [beer] (Jorge 26, focus group, December 2010).

This division is not black and white or inflexible. During fieldwork I met people who clearly identified with *Barrancoides*, and others who definitely did not. Others would switch allegiances, either because they did not feel the need to identify with one rather than the other or because of indecision or insecurity about their upper class identity (see Figure 6).

I guess I am mostly a *pezuñento* if I think about it, but I can be a damn good *Gotiquero* if I want to. My friends go to Gótica, so why not go with them? It is very comfortable there and you can always drink a good Whisky, but I also like La Mente, and they are *berracos*, so I have to go to Sargent, I can put on a Prada suit and a pair of *ojotas* and I am ready. This is what I like, the fluidity of class, although I am a lefty and that makes me an even more smelly *pezuñento* I guess (Fabricio 28, focus group, December 2010).

For the sake of clarity and objectivity, I have chosen to use a single non-pejorative umbrella term for the upper class segment this thesis is about: 'alternative upper classes'. Here 'alternative' connotes a set of values different from, almost opposed to, those of the upper class establishment.⁶⁵ This resonates with Peterson's omnivore thesis (1992), which describes how the elites in the US shifted their attraction from high-class culture to popular culture, distinguishing themselves from the 'snobs' or exclusive elitist.

In effect, elite taste is no longer defined as an expressed appreciation of the high art forms (...). Now it is being redefined as an appreciation of the aesthetics of every distinctive form along with an appreciation of the high arts. Because status is gained by knowing about and participating in all forms, the term omnivore seems appropriate (Peterson and Simkus 1992: 169).

⁶⁵ It is important to note that the terms *pituco* and *gentita* are used informally by the young 'alternative upper classes' when referring to the young upper class establishment.

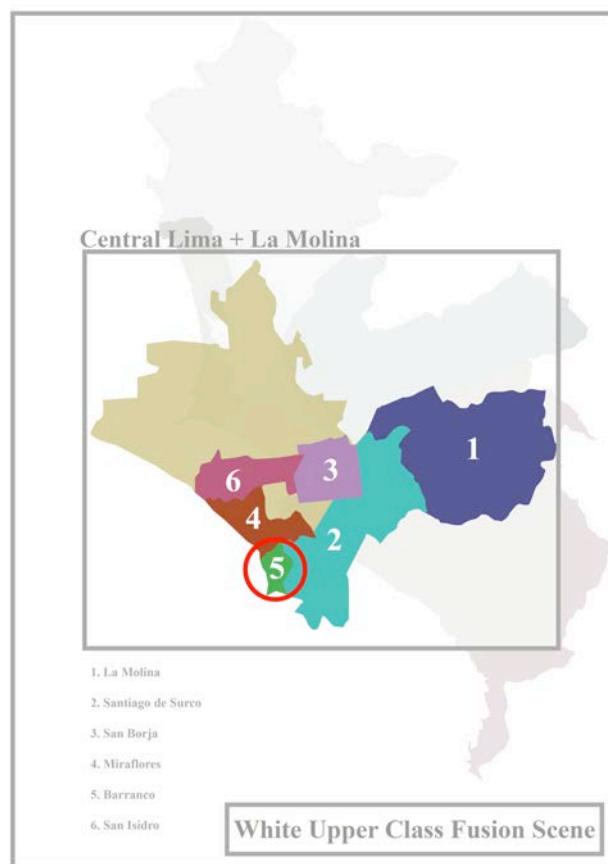


Figure 6: White upper class fusion scene (Barranco) by Camila Quinteros

But is this status in the same sense as that sought by the upper classes through exclusion? Or is it a kind of ‘popular status’, where the broader Lima accepts the young white upper classes as ‘one more’, ‘as everybody else’. For the ‘alternatives’, fusion music often serves as a means to mark this alternative identity, and an opportunity to explore other cultures (and classes), and interact with them, a phenomenon Hopenhayn terms “transcultural self-recreation”, “a way to self-recreate oneself through the interaction with the ‘other’” (Hopenhayn 2000).⁶⁶ Even though he is theorising from a social development rather than a music perspective, Hopenhayn’s notion of self-recreation is very useful as a means to conceptualise young upper class people’s desire to interact with and belong to

⁶⁶ Hopenhayn, M. (s/f) *Transculturalidad y diferencia* (online text). <http://www.facso.uchile.cl/publicaciones/moebio/07/hopenhayn.htm>

Lima's wider society.⁶⁷ Furthermore, for them, place and space is crucial for their construction of an imagined community and their idea of social inclusion and rejection of exclusivity. The choice of place, in this case Barranco, is crucial to maintaining their political position as 'alternative elites', as for them this represents a "utopian space where people from different backgrounds engage in music dialogue and appreciate the other for their quality as musicians and not for how white or rich they are" (Sandra 28, focus group, December 2010).

Scholars, such as Andrew Canessa, have doubted this apparent South American upper class interest in Andeanness. For him, "cool" acts of chewing coca leaves in jazz bars in La Paz are "images of indigeneity, colourful and exotic, [that] bear little resemblance to the lives of real people" (Canessa 2005: 4). Such views have been contested by other scholars of Bolivia, who see in this apparent naïve cultural consumption a "rediscovery of national cultural roots, (...) the concerns and explorations of a certain degree of challenge to the dominant cultural tradition in the group [elite]" (Chuquimia et al. 2006: 31). It is often impossible to distinguish between the dynamics of exoticism and genuine intercultural engagement, indeed arguably both blur with one another in many lived situations. However, from a methodological perspective, to look beyond upper class exoticism enables us to listen, explore and trace the young upper classes' journey of rediscovery of their individual and collective cultural identity, during which real socially challenging attitudes are formulated and negotiated.

Some of the intercultural music case studies discussed in this thesis illustrate the processes of intercultural curiosity, realisation of difference, equal dialogue and subsequent collaborative attempts to blur differences through communal music practice. Music practices that are turned into performances are, in some cases, far from a superficial quest for Andean cool, and arguably constitute a genuine search for a more Peruvian sound and identity (see Chapters 2 and 3). This is a process Arellano describes as *aspiración inversa* ('inverse aspiration') (2010: 172), when generations of Andean migrants do not copy the music taste of hegemonic groups, on the contrary, they influence these classes

⁶⁷ See also case studies in Byrne 2006: 51.

with their Andean traditional sounds. Still, as discussed in this chapter, the *Limeño* upper classes are far from homogenous, and while some youths try to recreate their national and elite identity through cultural consumption, others might only “explore their inner ‘Indian’ in socially selective venues [but] nevertheless recoil in disgust from a ‘real’ Indian encountered in a less protected setting” (Weismantel 2005: 184).

Conclusion

Based mainly on Peruvian and Latin American literature on the upper classes, racism and discrimination, this chapter has examined how whiteness and class have affected and continue to affect horizontal interaction among *Limeños*. I also deconstructed academic and quotidian discourse on the upper classes in Lima, presenting the terms commonly used to refer to them as a group, in order to differentiate the ‘traditional upper classes’ from the new emergent Andean upper classes. I decided to refer to the people at the centre of this research as ‘traditional white upper classes’, a label that encompasses old economic power groups and families with European background of historic relevance in Lima and their descendants. ‘Traditional white upper class’ is not a fixed category, nor is it free from contradictions, as class divisions are mainly created by imaginary ideas of difference, and are also born out of the intimate interplay between race and wealth in Lima; an interplay that limits people with Andean phenotype from entering exclusive circles of white privilege. All this creates an ambivalent relationship between the mestizo working class and the upper classes, as internalised hierarchies and associations with whiteness and class haunt any interaction.

I also discussed the upper classes’ historical antagonisms and negative social image in Lima. How they have been seen as a manipulative hegemonic group, inventors of traditions and manipulators of the past. In Peru, these cultural inventions contributed to the construction of a romantic image of the Inca past, spearheaded by Indigenismo in the 1920s. This romantic image was juxtaposed with Lima’s *cholification* (Quijano 1980), triggered by Andean migration to Lima

during and after the internal war (1980-2000), when Andeans became a nuisance and synonymous with poverty for middle and upper class *Limeños*. These historical processes added to the image of a careless and distant upper class, as they fled to their exclusive ‘allowed spaces’ in order to distance themselves from an undesired Andean ‘invasion’.

Through the ethnography of Asia, I documented contemporary upper class canons of taste and distinction, examining the mechanisms of segregation among *Limeños*, through the concept of imaginary ‘allowed spaces’. I explored the lack of interclass interaction in Lima, as the young upper classes do not horizontally interact with many Andeans. However, some of the young upper classes are challenging their own place and role in Lima’s social fabric and trying to distinguish themselves from the discriminatory upper classes, especially through their musical consumption. They seem aware of their racialised antagonistic white image, and are actively trying to acquire a more ‘alternative’ identity through music, something that seems to have the potential to transform their experience in the city, their relationships and their engagement with others.

Even though some scholars question upper class interest in Andeanness, I argue that it is important to look beyond limiting discourses of upper class exoticism and explore the journeys that certain upper class youths have embarked upon to (re) discover their individual and collective cultural identities.

In the following chapter, I will define the term fusion music and describe the sound and media dissemination circuits of the fusion scene. Furthermore I will map fusion music through an account of its history, its relation with Lima’s socio-political context, its pioneers and their influence, its sales, and finally its fans and followers.

Chapter 2: Mapping Peruvian fusion music

In Chapter 1, I started to explore the use of fusion music by certain sectors of Lima's upper class youth as an identity marker and as a way of differentiating themselves from a more distant and discriminatory upper class. But, what is fusion music exactly? Where is the scene? Who are the musicians? *Música fusión Peruana* ('Peruvian fusion music') or plain *música fusión* (fusion music) are the terms used by young middle and upper class *Limeños* when describing blends of any music considered traditional Peruvian with foreign genres.⁶⁸ It is therefore a discursive umbrella term encompassing different styles of musical dialogue: Afro-jazz, Andean-jazz, cumbia-ska, cumbia-rock, Andean-rock, Andean easy listening, electronic-Andean, electro-chicha, among others. However, what at first appears as a broad term is also quite specific, as the scene is small and the venues are few.

This chapter is descriptive, because it is intended to familiarise the reader with the history and dynamics of Peruvian fusion music as a genre and scene. This chapter, together with the fusion timeline (Appendix 2), will hopefully help the reader to understand the origins, history and development of fusion in Lima, through a brief introduction to the main fusion figures and their influences. There are two sections herein: The first defines the term fusion music and provides a detailed description of its sound aesthetics, its scene, audience, and its media dissemination circuits. The second section maps Peruvian fusion music through a genealogy of fusion pioneers and their influence on the current fusion scene and styles. With this I hope to illustrate how different interpretations of fusion music are constructed depending on the historical and socio political context. Moreover,

⁶⁸ 'Foreign genres' is generally used in this thesis when referring to any musical genre perceived by *Limeños* as originating outside Peru such as rock, pop, jazz, electronic music etc. This establishes a dichotomy between traditional Peruvian music genres and foreign ones based on origin. However, some upper class collaborators equate 'national music' (*lo nacional*) with any locally produced music, including, for example, Peruvian rock and hip hop, regardless of the initial origin of the genre. I will therefore also, in certain discussions, use the term 'national music' (*lo nacional*) as an umbrella term for locally produced music, regardless of the genre, as the upper classes often locate themselves in opposition to the working classes, who are seen to consume more locally produced music such as chicha or cumbia, instead of rock, jazz, electronic or classical music produced abroad termed 'foreign' or 'international music' (*lo internacional*), which is preferred by many in the traditional white upper classes.

I will provide information about the fusion sales boom (2005). Finally, focusing more on the fusion audiences, I will explore the differences between fusion fans and followers.

What became popularly identified as fusion music after the end of the internal war (2000), particularly as of 2005, had its own scene with several fusion musicians, productions venues and fusion albums topping the Peruvian charts. This music became hugely popular, it triggered academic curiosity, and the word fusion started to be used in academic research on Peruvian musical hybridity. I would like to acknowledge the work of Peruvian journalist and musician Jorge Olazo, and his early book, which is not easy to find, *Mixtura. Jazz con Sabor Peruano* ('Mixture. Jazz with Peruvian flavour') (2002). Jorge conducted pioneering studies on Andean, Afro and criollo fusions with jazz. Although its early release precludes the book from including the numerous fusion musicians and innovations emerging after 2005, it contributes an interesting genealogy of jazz in Lima, especially instrumental jazz until 2002.

Another important work is *Fusión, Banda Sonora del Perú* ('Fusion, soundtrack of Peru') by Peruvian anthropologist Efraín Rozas (2007). This book, based on a series of interviews with several popular *Limeño* fusion musicians, was the first to address debates on acculturation and the imposition of 'European culture', as in foreign genres in the context of Peruvian fusion music. Rather than eliminating the natural dialogue of cultures, he proposes that fusions should aim for a fair dialogue, which inspires respect for Peru's cultural roots (2007:15-16). Rozas drew the media's attention to intercultural music in Lima and, with this, to fusion musicians.

Another work I would like to highlight is Kimberly A. Dodge's MA thesis, *Fusión Peruana: Contemporary Peruvian Musical Hybrids* (2008). Dodge associates Peruvian music fusions with the search for local and national identity; therefore her broad study includes genres such as Peruvian vals criollo, huayno, chicha, cumbia and techno-cumbia. Dodge dedicates the last part of her thesis to what she calls "contemporary musical fusions" (what herein I call the Barranco fusion music scene), focusing on the experiences of five fusion musicians in order

to examine their relevance to the development of an inclusive Peruvian identity (2008: viii). Dodge's conclusions highlight the potential of fusion to attract young audiences and to expose them to cultural diversity; however, she states that fusion lyrics "do not reflect the contemporary experience of youth living in a post-dictatorship, post-war Peru" (2008: 118-119). This runs directly counter to what I observed during fieldwork in 2010. Although I agree with Dodge that some contemporary fusion lyrics do not discuss the internal war or reflect a contemporary post-war youth experience, if we expand the sample of fusion musicians, we can find several examples of direct discussions of the war and indirect post-war nostalgia for togetherness (see Chapter 5).

I will draw on these studies, which provide a valuable foundation for assessing the relevance of music dialogues to the development of an inclusive Peruvian identity. Both Rozas and Dodge have dedicated some attention to this theme; albeit focusing on the aesthetic perspectives of a relatively small number of musicians. While Rozas offers a useful initial exploration of the fusion genre, along with a well-constructed account of musicians' hybrid aesthetic approaches, Dodge provides an outstanding literature review, which outlines theoretical conceptual tools to analyse music hybridity. She also presents fusion as a broad umbrella term encompassing most Peruvian music blending across socioeconomic and class divisions. In line with these existing studies and the discourse of audiences and musicians, I also use the term 'fusion' to refer to intercultural music dialogues. I aim to contribute to these debates surrounding fusion music by analysing the discursive complexities of the term itself, by examining the scenes in which it is manifested, and by exploring the tensions surrounding its creation and performance (Chapter 3). In particular, I will do this from the perspective of upper class fusion musicians and their upper class audiences, investigating how fusion relates to interethnic and interclass interactions.

It is not the aim of this chapter to discuss fusion or hybridity from a theoretical terminological perspective (for this see Dodge 2008, Bhabha 1994, García Canclini 1989, 2000, 2003, Gilroy 1987, 2002, Frith 2000, Taylor 1997), or to categorise Peruvian fusion music as a genre with subgenres. My interest lies

in deconstructing fusion music not as a final product, but as a process of encounter, dialogue, collaboration and *convivencia* ('coexistence'), which generates spaces for upper class self-inclusion and identity self-recreation (for musicians and audiences). These self-recreated upper class musicians, together with other fusionists, constitute an interclass and interethnic musical force that creates entertainment spaces of intercultural visibility (c.f. Slobin 1993: 19-21), social discussion (c.f. Lipsitz 1997) and identity negotiation. Herein, I question the potential of fusion music as a vector for inclusion in a segregated post-war city like Lima.

2.1 Mapping Peruvian fusion music

Let us now turn to how I define fusion for the purpose of this work. First of all, I consider intercultural music blending to be fusion, whether or not it is transitory. This immediately gives rise to a string of questions: is it then possible to have 'non-fused' music? Why, if fusion is intercultural blending, am I not considering chicha, huayno con arpa or música criolla in this research? Strictly speaking, nearly all music is likely to be a fusion of previous genres.⁶⁹ However, only a limited range of music is considered as such by the public, or even musicians. Although many Peruvian genres, such as chicha, cumbia, huayno con arpa, música criolla, música latinoamericana and Afro-Peruvian music could quite easily be categorised as fusions, given their structure; they are not branded as such

⁶⁹ Some fusions spark a strong response and others do not. For some authors, like Steingress, hybridisation occurs through musical fusion, but not all fusion can be categorised as a hybrid. In order for a fusion to be hybridisation it must innovate on three different levels: formal, semantic and socio-cultural. Many fusions innovate formally and semantically, but fail to create their own socio-cultural space (Steingress 2004). For the purpose of this research, more attention will be given to fusions that contribute to social change through social impact, and therefore are not considered transitory (hybrids for Steingress). However, I will use the term 'fusion' for the reasons previously stated.

by audiences, performers and promoters.⁷⁰ Furthermore, as my research is circumscribed to Lima and the young *Limeño* upper classes, I have decided to focus only on what they would refer to as their ‘fusion circuit’ or ‘Peruvian fusion music’, even though it could just as easily be called *Limeño* fusion music, because the scene is in Lima and the majority of fusion musicians are from Lima too. All the case studies discussed in this thesis fit neatly into this category, as they have been classified as part of the fusion scene by upper class interviewees.

In this section (2.1), I will draw extensively on the results of two types of research methods I deployed in 2010-2011 to gauge trends in the Lima fusion scene: A virtual survey made among the upper classes in Lima (88 respondents), as well as three focus groups (16 participants).

2.1.1 Who listens to live fusion and where?

When asked, in a 2010 survey, about their favourite venue for hearing local bands live: 18 to 28 year olds favoured La Noche de Barranco (Barranco) (27%), Sargento Pimienta (Barranco) (20%), Jazz Zone (Miraflores) (17%), Dragón (Barranco) (15%) and Help (Miraflores) (15%). Among people between 29 and 39 years old, La Noche was also the favourite (39%), Dragón (11%) and Jazz Zone (7%). People over the age of 40 did not answer or mentioned concerts with local artists, which led me to conclude that going to concerts was not a regular free-time activity for them. However, some did mention Cocodrilo Verde (Miraflores) as a place where they enjoyed the occasional concert, depending on the musician. Aura and Gótica (Miraflores), even though they are preferred by upper class youths

⁷⁰ When talking to Peruvian fusion music audience members, most seemed to have a clear idea of what fusion was, and what it meant to them, even though there was much variation in these opinions. The main differences concerned which musicians to include in which fusion aesthetics. Most informants approached Peruvian fusion as a broad term that incorporated fusion diversity of styles; fusion became everything that mixes traditional music with foreign genres as people were not at all concerned with dividing fusion into different subgenres. For example, for many interviewees, La Sarita, Uchpa, Bareto and Miki were all fusion music, even though their music was quite diverse. Cumbia, huayno or chicha would not be branded as fusion, as they are recognised as distinctive traditional Peruvian genres; fusion for many would be chicha with electronic music or huayno with rock.

under 18 years old, do not offer concerts often. For many of its regulars, who rarely frequent other venues, this was a key reason why they did not listen to concerts with local bands.

Among the respondents, Gótica and Aura were considered the most exclusive discos in Lima, while Sargento Pimienta, Dragón and La Noche were presented as more mixed; they are where upper class alternatives gathered to listen to their favourite bands. When discussing music venues, a *Limeño* music producer told me:

I don't know exactly how A [referring to the marketing division of social strata] some venues can be, I mean, the people who go there [Dragón] are young *pezuñentos*, people with a lot of money, but who go through life as *pezuñentos*, like hippies... but they're Bentín and Miroquesada [economic power group surnames] and whatever, but they almost wear *ojotas* [car tyre sandals] (...) right?, they go through life like dirty people. But those people will always have that kind of dirty style "I wanted to be a hippie, but I wasn't born thirty years ago" because their friends are the ones who go to Aura, they are the ones who go to Asia, they are the ones who don't go to any disco, because no disco is good enough for them, but they are smelly-feet and Sargento Pimienta is A *pezuñento* and Dragón is also A *pezuñento*... (Sandra, interview, October 2010).

For the upper classes it makes a difference whether you frequent Gótica, La Noche or Sargento Pimienta. Each space symbolises a certain socio economic status, age group, social network and desired lifestyle, which are frequently expressed in the preferred music scene.⁷¹

Barranco is a district well known for its bohemian, artistic and leftist intellectual inhabitants.⁷² Along with a couple of venues in the adjacent affluent district Miraflores, it is at the heart of the Peruvian fusion scene.⁷³ According to audience members and a musician active at the time, the Barranco scene of the 1980s and 1990s was divided into two main music circuits: a young rock and pop scene and a middle-aged trova, nueva canción, and criollo scene. However, from the 2000s, this once clear distinction became blurred with the emergence of fusion music. Now, Barranco is recognised by fusion music listeners and some musicians

⁷¹ See Appendix 3 for more details about Barranco music venues, where fusion is disseminated.

⁷² For more information in Spanish on Barranco: <http://barranco.net/> (Last accessed 14/11/12).

⁷³ Even though there are a couple of venues in Miraflores that are part of the fusion music scene, most of the fusion music venues are in Barranco. For the sake of clarity I will therefore use the term Barranco fusion scene when referring to the Barranco/Miraflores cluster of venues (see Figure 5).

as the quintessential expression of the *Limeño* fusion scene. The audience is ethnically but not socio-economically diverse, consisting primarily of young middle and upper class listeners between twenty and thirty-five years old. Outside Barranco, fusion musicians tour the Peruvian provinces, and sometimes play in other Lima districts, including less affluent ones, such as Lince and Lima Centre. The audiences at the latter venues are mainly from the middle and lower classes, yet some fans from the young upper classes I interviewed do follow their favorite fusion musician or band to other Lima districts, though they consider Barranco their music scene.

The Barranco scene was the starting point for several fusion musicians' musical life. They grew up there, or nearby, and therefore had the friends and contacts they needed to get a lucky break. This is why many musicians in this circuit are from the upper middle classes or upper classes themselves. Others crossed-over from music circuits, such as el Agustino, Lima Centre or from the Andean provinces, which cannot be described as middle or upper class in *Limeño* terms. A combination of genre, style and popularity enabled them to enter the Barranco scene.⁷⁴

By 2010 it became clear that fusion had transcended the Barranco scene as projects from other districts and provinces started to emerge on the *Limeño* scene. These musicians did not come from the traditional middle or upper classes, and wanted to produce 'more independent' fusion music, outside the Barranco circuit (e.g. Nueva Invasión).⁷⁵ With this I do not want to imply that Peruvian fusion music as a process of intercultural music dialogue did not exist outside Barranco. However, I argue that its growth and success promoted and fed by the Barranco and Lima Centre scenes, inspired other musicians outside Barranco to play fusion music and start intercultural bands. Furthermore, after my fieldwork in Lima in 2010, many other upper class fusion bands entered the Barranco scene, but did not stay there exclusively; they actively attempted to descentralise '*des Barrancar*'

⁷⁴ The Agustino district is well known for its urban migrant Andean rock. The likes of La Sonora del Amparo Prodigioso, Los Mojarras and La Sarita started their career in this music circuit. Lima Centre is the main music scene for the underground circuit (punk, heavy metal, goth).

⁷⁵ El Comercio 21/11/12 <http://elcomercio.pe/espectaculos/1499416/noticia-nueva-invasion-queremos-consolidar-escena-musical-peruana> (Last accessed 22/03/13).

the scene and with this also took their music beyond the Lima upper class. By 2011, these space transgressions by musicians were more common than before. I will not be focusing on these new bands here, but I believe that by focusing on the fusion genre up to and including 2010, this research will also contribute to understanding more recent fusion projects.

Many of the regular at fusion venues in Barranco state that in these spaces they experience a utopian *communitas* feeling; one that is achieved on a massive scale at festivals. In Lima, among the upper classes, music festivals were not common before 2005, especially the ones featuring fusion music.⁷⁶ However, the scene has become more diverse now as there is a bigger upper class audience and more interest in Peruvian music. In March 2012, the first large-scale fusion music festival: *Festival de los 7 Mares*, was organised by Cernícalo Producciones, directed by Pepita García-Miró.⁷⁷ Fusion artists such as Bareto, La Sarita, Tribal (Manongo Mujica and Pepita García-Miró), Coba Sound System, participated together with Peruvian DJs and other local bands, such as Kanaku y el Tigre and Sabor y Control, along with international artists like Manu Chao and Toto la Momposina.⁷⁸

Another good example of fusion festivals is *Selvámonos*,⁷⁹ an annual music festival organised outside Lima (Oxapampa),⁸⁰ a new development in a very centralised country. In 2009 the festival included groups as diverse as La Sarita (Andean rock), Serenata de los Andes (Andean jazz) and Andrés Prado (Afro-Peruvian music and jazz); in 2010, La Mente (Cumbia ska) was also invited. These groups would rarely share the stage in Lima because of their different styles and different audiences (including different age groups).

⁷⁶ Some in the white upper classes, who are now over the age of 30, used to attend multi-band underground music festivals during the internal war.

⁷⁷ Official Festival website: <http://festivalsietemares.com/> (Last accessed 08/05/11).

⁷⁸ Pepita García-Miró is a white singer from one of the most affluent and powerful families in Peru. Through *Cernícalo Producciones* Pepita secured major sponsorship from Lima's Municipality and private businesses, such as newspaper El Comercio, TV channels and embassies. Thanks to her efforts the public was charged less, tickets were sold at 25 soles for students, 77 soles pre-sales and 95 soles at the door.

⁷⁹ *Selvámonos* is a wordplay on: Let's go to the jungle. <http://www.selvamonos.org/> (Last accessed 08/05/11).

⁸⁰ A town in the Pasco region founded by German settlers in the 19th century. It is consider *ceja de selva* ('part in the Andes and part in the Amazon').

The idea behind the project was to decentralise culture in Peru allowing Oxapampa and Amazonian locals to enjoy concerts they would not normally access; thereby bridging the gap between people in Peru's capital and its departments. For Pascaline Simon and Candy Vilela, who are among the voluntary festival organisers, "it is also good to bring *Limeños* out of the city to experience a different place." (Simon and Vilela interview 2010). Travelling from Lima to Oxapampa is not cheap, so the people who go there are mainly students from expensive universities and tourists with the purchasing power to afford accommodation, food and travel.

The role of these venues and festivals in disseminating fusion music is more obvious now that the internal war is over. Many of the administrators, organisers, owners and followers, highlight the importance of the end of the violence for the growth of the music business and the creation of a national music circuit. Music fans can now access music live and it is possible to achieve a *communitas* feeling among audiences.

2.1.2 What does it sound like?

This is a difficult question to address from an audience perspective, because Lima's upper classes perceive Peruvian fusion music in different ways. As stated previously, fusion music serves as an umbrella term encompassing stylistically diverse musicians' attempts to engage in intercultural aesthetic dialogues. In one musician's words, it is a kind of music that is "essentially Peruvian, but it is not folklore, nor rock, nor any foreign genre" (Ricardo Silva – Del Pueblo y del Barrio, interview, December 2010). Here I will provide a brief account of fusion music diversity.

Traditional Andean music and Andean chicha / Amazonian cumbia hybrids with rock, reggae and ska tend to be the most popular fusions among the alternative upper class youth and are also the main representatives of Peruvian fusion (e.g. Uchpa, La Sarita, Bareto, La Mente (see Appendix 2)). Several of the musicians playing these styles identify with leftist ideologies, are politically active

and use lyrics and performance as a medium for political discussion and protest. Musicians from these bands describe themselves primarily as rock musicians with fusion just coming to them naturally, as it is already part of who they are (see Chapter 3.1).

Electronic music fusionists, are usually more politically neutral. Their music is perceived to be aimed at tourists, the corporate world and the middle-aged elites, so artists like Miki González and Jaime Guardia rarely play open concerts, but mostly private and corporate events. One exception would be Novalima, who enjoy a broad young upper class audience. Electronic fusions are perceived by many as ‘commercial fusion music’.

A popular variant among the older upper classes is instrumental fusion music, classified by Rozas (2007) as Peruvian New Age, though the musicians behind this music do not entirely agree. Manongo Mujica and Manuel Miranda are two such Peruvian musicians, who create soundscapes and atmospheres by fusing genres. These are laboratory creations inspired by nature, landscape and surroundings. Jean Pierre Magnet and his large ensemble of instrumentalists (Serenata de los Andes) are inspired by Andean landscapes and mix traditional Andean music with Jazz.

At the other end of the intercultural spectrum, some fusionist describe what they do as *musica que parte del Ande y se va al otro lado* ('music that is based in the Andes and moves towards foreign styles'),⁸¹ in clear reference to the root sound being Andean (and maybe also the musician), instead of merely using Andean sounds to add ‘a touch of colour’ (e.g. Chano Diaz Limaco, Magaly Solier, and Lucho Quequezana).

For some in the older generations of upper class *Limeños*, Peruvian fusion music mainly refers to contemporary *música criolla* and Afro-Peruvian music, which now include jazz and trova guitar rhythmic patterns and free-voice style (with lyrics and instrumental music). This music dates back to the late 1970s (e.g. Richie Zellon, Susana Baca, Patricia Saravia), but a new generation of young musicians is currently attracting younger audiences (e.g. Pamela Rodriguez and

⁸¹ A phrase used by many Andean musicians from the fusion scene when describing their music.

Gabriel Alegria). This is another type of fusion rooted in left-leaning ideologies. There are some variants, as young upper class musicians also mix criolla music and other Latin rhythms, such as cha cha cha or bossa nova (e.g. Jean Paul Strauss). Furthermore, certain bands of white upper class musicians who play ‘lower class dance genres’, such as salsa dura,⁸² are also perceived to be fusion by Lima’s young upper classes, even though the musicians state that they have no intention of creating fusion and are, in fact, playing very traditional genres (e.g. Sabor y Control).⁸³ This shows that the meaning of the term fusion is highly dependant on the sociopolitical context, as fusion music contains diverse musical aesthetics and various political ideologies.

2.1.3 Where do the upper classes first encounter fusion?

During fieldwork 98% of the fusion musicians I interviewed claimed that no radio stations broadcast their music, accusing them of failing to support this segment of the Peruvian music industry. Moreover, some fusion musicians and former radio programmers said that, although it is illegal, there are Peruvian bands that pay to be broadcast (*payola*). They claim that the practice is widespread amongst bands that can afford it. However, judging from the absence of fusion music on the radio, one could surmise that the practice is mostly limited to more mainstream bands.

Around 60% of my upper class audience interviewees stated that they did not specifically look for Peruvian music in the media, because they did not prefer it to foreign music (e.g rock, pop, electronics, etc). Most also believed that their taste had been shaped by their ‘more foreign’ surroundings and background and the lack of local music on the radio.

...I don’t like *lo nacional* [‘Peruvian music’], because it’s not on the radio, the stations I listen to don’t play any Peruvian music, so... in the end, your ear tunes into what you’re hearing (Martin, interview, November 2010).

⁸² For a few young upper classes, Peruvian fusion music includes pachanga, salsa and Cuban son with cajón and Afro-Peruvian rhythmic patterns. However, this music is generally not perceived as Peruvian fusion music and its scene is based in pubs and casinos in Miraflores, therefore it will not be included in this thesis

⁸³ See also the case of Pepita Garcia-Miró in Chapter 4.

It was striking that 18 to 39 year-old upper class *Limeños* mainly listened to only five radio stations: Planeta FM, Viva FM, Oxígeno, Doble 9 and Oasis.⁸⁴ These stations are all very similar. They are known for their humorous programmes and for playing pop and rock in English, with the exception of Oasis and Viva FM that also play rock and pop in Spanish, though not necessarily Peruvian. These radios appear to match the upper class preference for foreign genres, and, by extension, contribute to perpetuating it. Many of their DJ's and hosts are also well-known upper class actors and entertainers. Their humour is mostly aimed at the upper classes with jokes and references that this class appreciates.⁸⁵

Music programming on these radio stations tends to be limited, repetitive and cyclical. Sometimes songs are replayed every half hour and these are not necessarily new entries. For Raúl Cachay, a journalist specialising in music and culture at major Peruvian newspaper, *El Comercio*, the radio is stuck in the 1980s and 1990s. Stations mostly cater to global mainstream music taste and their limited local offering still focuses on Peruvian pop and rock bands, which peaked, one, two or even three decades ago. This journalist states that it is “always the same music” on air, and his opinion echoes the impressions of the fusion musicians, managers, former radio programmers and the general public I interviewed:

...the radio stations are made up of a clutch of idiots, who don't even care about music, they're not even music lovers (...) and who repeat the formulas that worked for them again and again, they don't take any risks whatsoever... that's why Gianmarco is the only one on the radio here, Pedro Suárez (...) I think it's a shame, because they're not even aware of the possibilities of their own business, because people are simply listening to the radio all day here, in this traffic, in other words, we don't have any other choice than the radio (Raúl Cachay, interview, December 2010).

This means that upper class fusion fans have stopped listening out for their favourite fusion musicians on the radio, they know they will not hear them there.

⁸⁴ However, there are over thirty FM radio stations in Lima.

⁸⁵ Well-known upper class radio hosts, such as Carlos Galdós, Carlos Carlín, Eduardo Saettone and Johanna San Miguel, host popular programs on these radio stations.

I used to only listen to radio when I was driving, but it's very boring to be listening to the same singers all the time. Now, I prefer TV, at least there is more national music there, of course I'm talking about cable TV (Ignacio 26, focus group, October 2010).

Fusion musicians do get more attention from television and newspapers than they do from radio. Here it should be noted that, according to Arellano (2010: 162), television is the media of choice for all Peruvians irrespective of social class. Unfortunately, as several scholars and journalist have observed (Peirano and Sánchez 1984, Convenio Minga 2005, Robles 2007) Peruvian television, more than almost any other medium, continuously disseminates racist discourse, reinforces ethnic and social stereotypes and contributes to the segregation of Peruvian society by propagating inflexible social hierarchies.

Cable television is perceived by the upper classes as broadcasting ‘more intelligent’ programmes. In addition to international channels, the upper classes acknowledge Peruvian cable channel Plus TV, also known as Canal 6, operated by Media Networks (a branch of Telefónica) as one of their favourites. Plus TV focuses on *Limeño criollo* culture and is often accused of reinforcing racist stereotypes. For some *Limeños*, it is also a sort of ‘white television, a channel for the white upper classes presented by white upper class hosts. Wilfredo Ardito, a Peruvian scholar who researches discrimination and racism comments:

Another space of marked racism is Canal 6 (Plus TV), which has refused to include non-white hosts, in spite of the rejection of many viewers, also expressed in a drive to collect signatures. We believe that this Canal 6 is very aware that it is conveying an elitist and modern image through white blond hosts (Ardito 2010: 22)

The notion of cable as ‘more intelligent’ television is problematic; nevertheless, it is still a common perception. Upper class cable television is compared with Peruvian free-to-air television, which is associated with the lower classes. This reinforces the idea of the upper classes as being intellectually and ethnically different, and the notion that it is ‘more intelligent’ reinforces imaginaries of superiority. It should be noted, though, that *Limeños* of any class will lambaste free-to-air television for its lack of quality, content and neutrality; still, this does not blind them to cable television’s white upper class image.

Against this backdrop, Plus TV is one of the major platforms for disseminating fusion music and a key driver for audience participation in the fusion scene. Two programmes in particular focus on music: *Sonidos del Mundo* (Sounds of the World) hosted by Mabela Martinez and *Jammin' Sessions*, currently with a non-host format, but previously hosted by Eduardo Saettone (*Jammin'*).⁸⁶ These two programmes are exclusively about music, international or local, and not necessarily fusion. Nevertheless, they regularly promote Peruvian music and within this, fusion.⁸⁷ I interviewed the creators, presenters, producers and followers of these two programmes in order to explore their influence on the white upper classes.



Figure 7: Mabela Martinez. *Sonidos del Mundo*. Source: Mabela Martinez.

Photographer: Javier Ferrand⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Mabela and Eduardo are recognised as knowledgeable music *aficionados*; however, they are often criticised as elitist and for being ‘disconnected from the people’s music’, because they do not include wider popular genres like: cumbia, chicha, reggaeton, huayno con arpa and folklore.

⁸⁷ Other programmes such as: *Fulanos y Menganos*, *Oh Diosas*, *Polizontes* and *Nadie nos escucha* have also presented interviews and segments promoting fusion music, such as: Bareto, Magaly Solier, Angel Electrochicha, among others.

⁸⁸ The images used in this thesis are often part of the artists’ personal collections. I have made every effort to trace the copyright holders and to obtain relevant permissions. If any detail is not accurate, I would be happy to be notified of the proper attribution, and to make this known.

Mabela, host of *Sonidos del Mundo* (*SdM*) states that it acts as an educational tool for Lima's music lovers and is a good way for local musicians to showcase their music. She highlights the end of the internal war as one of the reasons for a considerable increase in Peruvian musicians featured on *SdM*, which also coincides with the fusion boom (2005) (Mabela Martinez, interview Dic 2010). *SdM* is very influential among the upper class fusion public between 25 and 49 years old. During her programme, Mabela promotes music CDs and material in collaboration with *Phantom Music*, a well-known Peruvian record label and chain of music stores. Phantom stores usually have a section labelled: "*Sonidos del Mundo recommends*". Half of the upper class interviewees in that age bracket said that they took Mabela's advice on new music and would buy music material relying solely on her recommendation.

For the younger upper class audience, especially for the alternatives, the other Plus TV music programme, *Jammin'* was the preferred choice. Eduardo Saettone became its first presenter in 2004.⁸⁹ The idea was to broadcast live recordings of local bands, the only requirement was sounding good live. Luis Salazar, *Jammin'* producer, told me that the upper classes in general did not believe that Peruvian popular music could provide enough material for this new programme. For him, the *Limeño* concept of Peruvian music in 2003, when the *Jammin'* project was born, was of traditional music and three or four music figures successful in the 1980s. The programme was partly conceived as a challenge to the radio stations' refusal to broadcast Peruvian popular music.

Luis Salazar believes that *Jammin'* has played a role in encouraging and raising the standards of local music production and sound quality, promoting local musicians and creating a space for young sound engineers. In 2008 the programme changed format and *Jammin' Sessions* was born. It now runs without a presenter and as more of a 'tribute' to major local musicians and bands. Daniel Farfán, current producer of *Jammin' Sessions*, says that they emphasise audio-

⁸⁹ This coincided with the transition of Cable Magico Cultural to Plus TV and with Mabela Martinez' decision to leave Cable TV and take *Sonidos del Mundo* to free-to-air TV. Thus, there was a space for music again in this Cable channel and *Jammin'* was created as a space where local music could be shown.

visual quality. Among the upper class public interviewed, many seem to miss *Jammin'* in its original version, as a space for promotion and improvement for new bands

Followers of these programmes said that they listened attentively to their suggestions regarding concerts and CDs. Fusion musicians also praise them for their impact on how fusion and other Peruvian popular music sounds today. In a focus group (2011), when asking different groups of young people from the upper classes about their favourite *Jammin' Session* tribute, 65% said it was the programme dedicated to La Sarita filmed at the *Asentamiento Humano Viña Dorada in Surco*, where Marino Marcacuzco lives.⁹⁰ It was designed as a *Yunza* celebration⁹¹ with *Pachamanca*⁹² and the participation of the *Asentamiento* community. This episode being the favourite *Jammin' Sessions* programme among the young upper classes, definitely highlight their change in music taste, as they are appreciating a music product even in a marginal Andean migrant setting.

These two TV programmes have served as a post-war window allowing the upper classes to see and hear music that would not normally reach them. TV seems to allow people to cross imaginary boundaries. With time, the audience of cable TV also grew reaching more people in the middle and lower classes. Mabela states that world music, jazz and son, among other genres, have also reached social contexts where they would not usually be heard. The window is not only open to one sector of society.

Two successful TV programmes do not seem like much in terms of disseminating fusion music, but the Internet is also contributing. Apart from the use of YouTube for fusion music exploration and the use of Facebook and other social networks to disseminate fusion music links, comments and promote concerts

⁹⁰ *Asentamientos Humanos* are urban clusters made up of blocks of precarious housing, lacking urban infrastructure and public utilities (INEI 1997). District Socioeconomic Infrastructure 1997 <http://www.inei.gob.pe/biblioineipub/bancopub/Est/Lib0359/INDEX.htm>

⁹¹ A traditional carnival celebration. People dance hand-in-hand around a decorated tree with gifts in its branches. As they dance and sing, they also take turns to chop its trunk with an axe, until it tumbles and everyone dives in for the presents.

⁹² *Pachamanca* ('earth pot' in Quechua, or 'food from the earth' in Aymara) is an Andean communal food feast. Food wrapped in leaves is placed on hot stones in the ground and covered with soil until it is cooked.

(Montero Diaz forthcoming), a few radio stations on the Internet have also begun promoting Peruvian music as an alternative to repetitive mainstream FM radios.

Sergio Galliani, a self-defined “actor who makes music” is an Internet radio pioneer with *Radio Insomnio* (Insomnia radio). In 1997-1998 he asked Radio America 94.3 FM for a time slot that nobody wanted. This was how *Radio Insomnio* was born, airing from Monday to Thursday from 12am to 5.45am and broadcasting Peruvian music with a special focus on the underground scene. It later became an Internet radio station. *Radio Insomnio* is important for the current fusion scene, as some fusion groups were born in the underground scene and the political protest scene of the 1990s (second decade of the internal war and the beginning of Fujimori’s regime) (see Appendix 2). For example, Uchpa and La Sarita are among the bands that got their first radio or TV break from *Radio Insomnio* (Radio Insomnio 2010). Furthermore, the people behind *Radio Insomnio* organised a series of live concerts (*Desgraciadazos*) with bands they discovered.⁹³

Many of my upper class interviewees, especially alternatives between 25 and 35 years old said that, even though they do not listen to *Radio Insomnio* now, this radio influenced their political music awakening through its programme of fusion, ska and punk. Moreover, for many of them *Desgraciadazos* became their first attempt to transgress physical spaces, as some of the concerts took place in Lima’s peripheries where people from different social and ethnic backgrounds got together to enjoy non-promoted local music.

Currently, in 2013, other radio programmes have started promoting fusion due to the growth of this scene. These include *Tayta Fusión*, whose organisers also arrange live concerts under the name Festival *Tayta Fusión*, highlighting the increasing interest among young Peruvians in creating fusion and exploring Peruvian music tradition,⁹⁴ and *Made in Peru*, hosted by Rafael Ramirez, on air every Friday at midnight.

⁹³ The Agustinazo is another important music festival featuring fusion musicians, especially from El Agustino, such as La Sonora del Amparo Prodigioso, Los Mojarras and La Sarita and currently many more. However, this festival enjoys no popularity among the upper classes as it takes place in El Agustino, a crowded lower class Lima district.

⁹⁴ YouTube link: Festival de Tayta fusion –Canal N, program 13 horas. Interview with the organisers 21/10/11 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uKzFZQIiuK8>. Last accessed 13/04/12.

As evidenced in this section, local rock and fusion music are conspicuously absent from the dial. The upper classes stick to their allowed spaces even for the radio stations to which they listen, there are several stations to choose from, but they only listen to a handful, especially the ones with more foreign programming. However, they have other ways to tune into the music they like, Cable television: *Sonidos del Mundo* and *Jammin' Sessions* are two highly influential television programmes, which promote fusion music and offer suggestions for concerts. Yet, at the same time, Plus TV has been accused of elitism and racism in its programme contents and choice of white upper class presenters. This brings race to the forefront of music discussions once again and may partly explain current young upper class attempts to transcend those racialised categories through the choice of concert venue and space. Internet radio stations and social networks sites are also contributing greatly to the dissemination of fusion, as the promotion of these radio programmes is mainly done through Facebook and YouTube links.⁹⁵

2.2 Did the pioneers change the nation? (A fusion music genealogy)

2.2.1. Early beginnings

I will now provide a brief account of some of fusion's most influential pioneers. Based on figures identified by my collaborators I attempt to draw up a fusion genealogy, which traces music influences, relations and exchanges. On the surface, fusion music appears diverse, but in this section I demonstrate that it is also possible to trace commonalities in its history, ethos and meaning. This section also aims to provide a sense of milestones in fusion music moments, when aesthetic, class, race, ethnicity and language divisions were challenged by music making, and “broken middles” exposed. I find useful the idea of “broken middles”

⁹⁵ Each radio station has its own Facebook profile, list of friends, subscriptions and events. Their Facebook profile also contains videos and audios of their interviews, photos and forums.

coined by literary critic Isobel Armstrong and discussed by ethnomusicologist Kevin Fellezs (2011) as “a point of contradiction, where opposites fail to transform one another” (Armstrong in Fellezs 2011:8), “an overlapping yet liminal space of contested, and never settled, priorities between two or more musical traditions” (Fellezs 2011:8). This is the awkward tension to which music encounters often give rise (Stokes 1994:10). However, I argue that anything that is ‘broken’ can ‘be fixed’. So, a ‘broken middle’ in utopian dialogic spaces is re-structured, re-created and re-constructed, at least “while the music lasts” (Cook 2008).

For many in the current fusion scene, Peruvian fusion dates back to the 1940s with Zoila Augusta Emperatriz Chávarry del Castillo (Yma Sumac), “the queen of Exotica”, a music genre which peaked in popularity around the 1950s, and that was “used to refer to the entire genre of exotic lounge music, a kitschy, Western-centric pop music that relied heavily on percussion instruments to evoke images of mysterious, far-away places” (Sloan 2009: 409). Yma Sumac was heavily criticised by *indigenistas* for her “unauthentic” performance of Andean indigeneity (Arguedas, 1977: 19; Siabala Valer 2006) In fact, Andeans themselves also criticised her severely for her portrayal of Andeanness as primitive and savage (Mendoza 2008: 172. Footnote 11). However, even though her music was roundly rejected and not well known in Peru, Yma Sumac was a very influential figure for Lima’s prolific (English language) rock scene (1950s – 1968). Her album Miracles (1972) blended Andean tunes and psychedelic rock, and even though it was still received as exotic music, it influenced groups, such as El Polen, who would peak as local pioneers of Andean rock during the 1970s. It is important to note that Yma Sumac never really belonged to the Barranco scene, nor to any *Limeño* scene for that matter, as her music was mainly produced outside Peru for a foreign audience.

President Velasco’s un-official ban on ‘foreign capitalist genres’ in 1968 led several rock musicians, who suddenly found themselves barred from pursuing

their passion for rock, to explore more local sounds.⁹⁶ For many of these upper class youngsters, Andean music, landscapes and realities were an ‘authentic’ source of ‘more Peruvian sounds’. Raúl and Juan Luis Pereira, founders of El Polen, are often recognised as the first to combine Andean instruments and melodies with rock (see Figure 8),

There was Andean fusion, but it wasn’t a conscious choice, but rather commercial, it was that of Yma Sumac, Vivanco, who was the one making the arrangements, did this so that she would penetrate the market with the exotic, it was exoticism. It wasn’t a matter of let’s do something authentic that reflects who we are... it wasn’t like what we did (Juan Luis Pereira – El Polen, interview, November 2010).

While talking to Juan Luis Pereira, he acknowledged Yma Sumac’s influence on El Polen’s work, but also highlighted the differences between her exotic blends and their own ‘authentic’ exploration of sonorities and ‘real coexistence’ as they traveled the Andes and Europe. This band triggered other musicians’ curiosity about Andean culture and other former rock musicians from the English language rock scene, such as Richie Zellon, formed Andean rock bands. Fusion was, for the first time, a possible music path for urban *Limeño* musicians, though it was not recognised as ‘fusion’. Juan Luis Pereira remembered that El Polen played at folkloric events and also rock concerts, but that their music aesthetics did not really match either. He attributed the lack of radio dissemination of their music to people’s perception of their genre as undefined.

The Pereira brothers traveled to Chile in 1973 where they forged a lasting artistic connection with Los Jaivas, a Chilean band, which fuses rock and traditional Chilean music. However, unlike El Polen, they were rooted in Chilean Nueva Canción. For Juan Luis Pereira, this alliance has inspired Andean and traditional rock fusions throughout Andean South America. In Lima, in spite of El Polen’s collaboration with Chilean Nueva Canción and with song titles like *Hermosa Niña Serrana* (‘Beautiful Andean Girl’) and *Orgullo Aymara* (‘Aymara Pride’), the band was not perceived as political and did not achieve the success it

⁹⁶ The ban was unofficial, as it did not explicitly forbid foreign music. However, some foreign bands’ concerts were cancelled while Peruvian traditional music was prioritised. During Morales Bermudez presidency, there are testimonies of how the army used to classify people who would dress in a rocker fashion as drug dealers (Riveros 2012: 149).

achieved in Chile or Argentina, or the recognition that Los Jaivas enjoy to this day. Even so, the influence of El Polen in the current fusion scene is recognised by many, if not all, of the fusion musicians I interviewed. Even though the Barranco fusion circuit did not really exist yet, musicians such as El Polen, Richie Zellon and Miki González would play in Miraflores and at some venues in Barranco, such as Sargento Pimienta, which is a mainstay of the fusion scene today. Many other musicians in the Barranco and Miraflores trova, criollo and jazz scene would play at venues that today are either closed, dedicated to non-fusion genres or specialised in trova.



Figure 8: El Polen in rehearsal. Source: Emilio Hernandez Saavedra.

Used with permission from Juan Luis Pereira

For Pereira, their music was a collective journey to get in touch with ‘more Peruvian sounds’. In order to achieve this, they lived in hippie communities and traveled the Andes making friends and playing music along the way. Among these friends were Miki González and Susana Baca, who frequently visited their community. I mention this connection, as González and Baca are still active in the fusion scene and are also recognised in Peru as pioneers of Afro-rock/electronic fusions and Afro-jazz song, respectively.

2.2.2. Miki González

Miki González' prolific career and profound impact on the fusion scene merits a more detailed overview. According to Miki González, in the mid-1970s he started fusing jazz and blues with Afro-Peruvian music and formed a band called Los Chunducos. This band and a second fusion music project, Oba Meboto, "would be one of the first opportunities for musicians, such as David Pinto, Oscar and Ramon Stagnaro, Coco Salazar, to rethink their relationship to Peruvian music" (Miki González in Olazo 2002: 50-51). These musicians were playing for *música criolla* interpreters too and are acknowledged as harmonic innovators in Peruvian waltz and Afro music.⁹⁷ Later, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, other musicians from the early Barranco scene, such as Cali Flores, Elsa Palao, Sergio Valdeos, Patricia Saravia, among other influential figures, would combine trova song, jazz and *música criolla*. These musicians would also collaborate on different fusion projects (see Appendix 2).

In the mid-1980s, Miki left jazz aside to focus on fusing Afro-Peruvian music with rock and formed a rock band with upper class rock musicians, including Eduardo Freire, Wicho García and Pelo Madueño. He also invited Filomeno Ballumbrosio, member of one of the most emblematic families of Afro musicians in El Carmen, Chincha, the heartland of Afro-Peruvian culture, to play Afro percussion. During the 1980s, Miki and his rock band played a major role in the rock scene in Lima. His lyrics did not shy away from thorny socio-political issues: terrorism, corruption, racism, consumerism, drug trafficking, and others. Miki embodied youthful protest and became a successful and emblematic figure, regardless of the acute crisis the music industry was suffering due to the internal war and economic decline. His music videos often appeared in the media, portraying for the first time black and white intercultural and interclass popular mainstream collaborations. It was also the first time this type of genre and collaboration came to enjoy massive public acceptance. Miki was born in Spain,

⁹⁷ Miki González was Luis González' student. Luis was Chabuca Granda's main guitarist and innovator of Peruvian waltz (see more in Olazo 2002: 32-34).

but came to Lima very young. His tall stature, white features and light eyes, and the fact that he was a hippie upper class musician, impressed the Afro-Peruvian community, as he was obviously willing to transgress his allowed space, and perhaps this facilitated his acceptance in Chincha and the Andes, and the dissemination of his political statements.

In the early 1990s, Miki consolidated his place in Afro rock with more collaborations with the Ballumbrosio family. He lived with them in Chincha in order to research Peruvian Afro roots and get to know them, essentially undertaking music ethnography. He collaborated with many musicians from the Ballumbrosio family, including Amador Ballumbrosio, one of the elders of the Chincha community. During this decade, his music videos not only portrayed intercultural collaborations, but were also filmed in Chincha, featuring the Ballumbrosio family and other Chincha residents (see Figure 9). The social realities of black Afro-Peruvians were disseminated in the Peruvian media along with a message of equality and friendship that transcended allowed spaces, skin colour and social class.⁹⁸

In the late 1990s he turned his attention to Andean music and also collaborated with Andean vernacular singers, such as Rosita del Cusco. He would speak Quechua at his concerts and also in his music videos, another novelty in Lima, where Quechua was perceived as backward and something to be ashamed of. The fact that a white upper class person would learn Quechua, sing with Andean singers and portray the Andean cosmology respectfully in times of political and social tension (internal war), impacted Lima socially, and was perceived as an open door to music dialogue. His music videos would portray a very romantic idea of Andean people as speaking only Quechua, wearing traditional costume, dancing through Inca ruins and conducting coca leaf divinations (e.g. Hoja verde de la coca – see Chapter 4.3.1). However, his music trajectory helped him to legitimise his essentialist portrayals as a genuine white upper class approach to Peruvianess. Miki, thus, represented a contrast in popular taste and fusion acceptance compared to the days of Yma Sumac and her

⁹⁸ See video featuring Amador Ballumbrosio:
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IJ8cLJbwmH0&feature=related> (Last accessed 27/10/12).

entry into the exotica realm. Yma Sumac was perceived as an Andean diva succeeding in Europe, while Miki was a white Spanish guy engaging with Peruvian sounds in Lima, this ambiguous relationship with Peruvian identity initially allowed Miki to bridge Peruvian social divides more easily than those more firmly established in the Peruvian class hierarchy.



Figure 9: Miki González' slide of photo session for his album *Akundún*. From left to right: Miki González, José Ballumbrosio (green hat), Amador Ballumbrosio (back), Miguel Ballumbrosio, Roberto Ballumbrosio (chullo hat), César Ballumbrosio. Source: Miki González. Photographer: Roberto Huarcaya

From 2004 Miki started fusing electronica with Andean tunes, pioneering a new genre, which musicians like Jaime Cuadra, Novalima and Radio Quijada would later take up. Miki left behind the image of a youthful rebel, and by his mid-fifties was focusing on lounge music aimed at tourists and the upper classes. The success of these electronic fusions led them to be used by the Peruvian government for official events and receptions, as well as to be employed in Peruvian TV commercials evoking nationalistic sentiments.⁹⁹ From 2005 onwards, fusion music and fusion gastronomy were used as ways to express a modern identity based on traditional elements of culture and as a means to boost

⁹⁹ Peruvian *Cuzqueña* beer commercial: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NhqNBtCfjR0> (Last accessed 27/10/12).

self-esteem, especially after the internal war and economic crisis. But only a couple of years later, Miki's Electro-Andean fusions were already frequently criticised; he was accused of appropriating and de-contextualising traditional Andean music for the sake of his own financial gain. As the criticism came from *Limeños* with Andean background, discussions of white privilege emerged and even Miki's Spanish nationality was brought up in public debate when discussing his song sampling method and on stage collaborations. Other fusion musicians and parts of the fusion audience also disliked his on stage DJ format, with him in the centre, elevated behind a turntable and his musicians playing and dancing below him. To some, he appeared to be replicating the figure of "the white master and his Indian puppets".¹⁰⁰ His phenotype and origin, which once facilitated his access to restricted spaces of intercultural interaction, were now playing against him.

Each decade of Miki's innovation generated different responses from the *Limeño* public, as they reacted to different historical moments and to the increasing number of *Limeño*-Andeans. In the 1980s, punk and rock Afro fusions protested against terrorism and segregation. In the 1990s Afro/white dialogues, and later Andean/reggae and ska, contributed to promoting inter-ethnic contact and trust, while the internal war was generating the exact opposite. In the 2000s, electronic fusions were used by the Peruvian government (post Fujimori), and later Marca Perú ('Peru brand')¹⁰¹ to build a modern integrationist image of the country; the internal war was over, and optimism was promoted among Peruvians. From 2007 onwards Miki was criticised for replicating hegemonic models in music performance, which indicates that Lima's public is currently more alert to perceiving displays of white superiority. Miki's trajectory as a fusion pioneer

¹⁰⁰ Quote from a mestizo audience member – Barranco Plaza, 2010.

¹⁰¹ Marca Peru was created by PromPeru – *Comision de Promocion del Peru para la Exportacion y el Turismo* ('Peruvian Promotion Commission for the Exportation and Tourism'), part of Mincetur (Peruvian Tourism and External Affairs Ministry) <http://www.promperu.gob.pe/> (Last accessed 21/09/12). It is a country brand that seeks to promote local and international tourism in Peru by highlighting Peruvian cultural icons, such as history, gastronomy, sports and music. Marca Perú website: <http://www.peru.info/languages/spanish-n.html> (Last accessed 21/09/12). See also Marca Perú promotional video featuring music by Jean Pierre Magnet and Dina Paúcar. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8joXlwKMkrk&list=PLAD37C39B571AEEBF&index=4&feature=plcp> (Last accessed 21/09/12).

highlights shifting historical attitudes to fusion and to racial interaction and relations through music making. Furthermore, it illustrates the ambiguity of the meaning of fusion music (as inclusion or marker of cultural difference), as it has repeatedly been reinterpreted by listeners responding within changing historical and socio-political contexts.

2.2.3. Jazz fusions

Let us return to one of the preferred music genres for Lima's upper class musicians in the 1970s and 1980s: Jazz.¹⁰² In 1982 Richie Zellon recorded *Retrato en Blanco y Negro*, a music project promoted as “the first album of Afro-Peruvian Jazz”,¹⁰³ with the collaboration of musicians who previously collaborated with Miki González. He continued producing Afro-jazz, but from the US, where he migrated in search of greater dissemination for his music.¹⁰⁴ Richie Zellon's legacy is important as it consolidated instrumental Afro-jazz, which would later attract young musicians from the upper classes to explore their Peruvian sound. Also, his musical work made room for musicians, such as José Luis Madueño, who would later found Wayruro with Jean Pierre Magnet (Andean-jazz); David Pinto, who would become Susana Baca's music director; and Manuel Miranda, who went on to create instrumental Andean and Afro fusions with jazz and rock. Chocolate Algendones, after collaborating with Miki González, later joined Perú Jazz with Jean Pierre Magnet, Enrique Luna and Manongo Mujica.¹⁰⁵ Perú Jazz

¹⁰² For bibliographical details on Peruvian Jazz fusion musicians please refer to: *Mixtura. Jazz con sabor Peruano* by Jorge Olazo (2002).

¹⁰³ Article: Un landó para los Beatles (15/07/12) by Angel Páez: <http://www.larepublica.pe/node/845373/print> (Last accessed 14/11/12). This topic is controversial, Miki González told me in several interviews, that he recorded the first Afro-Jazz fusion single in Lima in 1979 (*Hermelinda luna llena*). However, artists such as Patricia Saravia and Susana Baca recognise Richie Zellon as the first to record a whole album, promote the genre and continue recording Afro-Jazz albums. Later, in 2005 Gabriel Alegria would become well-known in Lima for his Afro-Jazz compositions, and be branded as pioneer in Afro-Jazz music, as the young fusion audience did not know about Miki's early explorations or Zellon's albums.

¹⁰⁴ From there, he collaborated with José Luis Madueño, Juan Medrano Cotito, David Pinto and Alex Acuña, among others.

¹⁰⁵ In 1987 David Pinto would join replacing Luna.

also portrayed intercultural music dialogue on stage and constituted a space of personal and intercultural discovery for its members.

In all these cases, the search for new relationships with Peruvian music and other musicians with different ethnic and social backgrounds were common triggers for fusion creativity. Furthermore, the fact that many musicians actively involved in Jazz/Afro/Andean fusions were also playing or played for *música criolla* figures also contributed to harmonic, rhythmic and melodic innovation in what was (and still is) considered more traditional music (Yep as quoted in Dodge 2008:40). These innovations were mainly featured in Chabuca Granda's¹⁰⁶ collaborations and developed with Susana Baca into Afro-jazz song; previously Afro-jazz projects were mainly instrumental. Between the early 1980s and mid-1990s, Susana focused on more traditional Afro-Peruvian song. After 1995, and already under the production of David Byrne,¹⁰⁷ Susana would achieve her characteristic minimalistic sound, which she would consolidate throughout the 2000s under the musical direction of David Pinto. Susana would prove a great influence on young white upper class fusion artists, such as Pamela Rodriguez. A second wave of more instrumental young Afro-jazzists emerged after 2005, including Gabriel Alegría, among others. In turn, this brought older generations of jazz fusionistas, such as Manongo, Jean Pierre Magnet and Susana herself, to the forefront and helped them to achieve more dissemination of their music, which was previously hampered by the disapproval of traditionalists and purists.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ White upper class Peruvian composer (1920-1983) who collaborated with Afro-Peruvian musicians to innovate traditional *Limeño criollo* genres, like the valse peruano, by including Afro-Peruvian harmonic and rhythmic elements. Susana Baca was her music protégée.

¹⁰⁷ British musician, founder of the Talking Heads and later world music producer. In 1995 he produced the Afro-Peruvian compilation “The Sounds of the Black Peru” where he included Susana Baca’s Maria Lando. This song was a success in the world music circuit, which allowed Susana to release more albums under Byrne’s label Luaka Bop, produced by Craig Street (Susana Baca, Eco de Sombras, Espiritu Vivo, Seis Poemas, Travesias, Afrodiaspora). According to Susana Baca, her album Eco de Sombras was recorded by the Luaka Bop team in her Lima home accompanied by her usual team of musicians and supported by musicians, such as Marc Ribot. For Espiritu Vivo, Susana and her team were invited to New York to mix their music with Marc Ribot and John Medeski, among others, and experiment with her Afro songs and pop covers (Susana 2011). See also Susana Baca’s biography by Luaka Bop:

http://luakabop.com/photobio/SusanaBaca/susana_baca_bio.htm (Last accessed 16/11/12).

¹⁰⁸ However, apart from Miki González’ work, none of these Afro and Andean-jazz fusions were disseminated in the media, and attracted only a limited number of followers in Lima, mostly from the upper classes.

2.2.4. Fusion diversification – entry of the working and middle classes

Fusion is not exclusively an upper class phenomenon, it has also served as a medium for the working classes to negotiate differences in Lima, and discuss social problems from their own perspective. In 1981 Del Pueblo y del Barrio was founded by Piero Bustos and Ricardo Silva in Matute, an area of La Victoria, one of the most crowded and impoverished districts in Lima. This group created Afro-Andean fusions with rock, but their starting point was Andean and Afro tradition, not rock. So, they recognise the influence of El Polen, but also maintain that their music is more *del pueblo* ('working class') and politically engaged. This was the starting point for many other fusion groups of Andean immigrant working and middle class background, from neighbourhoods such as el Agustino (e.g. La Sonora del Amparo Prodigioso, Los Mojarras and La Sarita). Their lyrics dealt with issues like poverty, migrant lives and social inequality. In the 1990s, Los Mojarras composed soundtracks for several soap operas and television mini-series dealing with social issues. For the first time, lyrics about the lives of migrants were broadcast on prime time television and would reach the upper, middle and working classes (e.g. Anda, Corre y Vuela, Los de Arriba y los de Abajo, Amor Serrano and Sarita Colonia). This was a significant step, in terms of the agency and voice for artists of Andean background. They were composing lyrics and melodies that reached different social strata through mainstream media. However, other musicians of Andean background and some listeners thought that Los Mojarras exploited the struggles of Andean migrants in the capital, victimising themselves and migrants in general.

[Cachuca, leader of Los Mojarras] has sold failure. He is the typical *compadre de barrio* ('brother from the hood') who only wants to show failure, nothing else, and this sells and he knows that it sells. (Juan José Camargo Ayala – founder of Sonora del Amparo Prodigioso, interview, December 2010).

On the other hand, in the late 1990s La Sarita embodied young middle and working class protest against President Alberto Fujimori and later, after 2005,

they also helped fill the national identity gaps of the upper classes. These bands are closely interlinked, as Martin Choy, the guitarist of Los Mojarras, founded La Sarita and invited Julio Perez to be the lead voice. La Sarita, would later diversify, growing into an eleven-piece band with members from the Amazon, the Andes and Lima's upper classes. This band has greatly impacted the fusion circuit and audience (see Chapter 4.3.1).

Another innovating force is the band Uchpa, founded by Fredy Ortiz and Igor Montoya in Andahuaylas in 1993. Fredy was a police officer in Andahuaylas and Ayacucho during the time of the internal war, and they initially sang rock and blues in Quechua with lyrics related to their experiences in the internal war, (see Chapter 5.1.1). Fredy, a self-identified Andean *campesino* and leader of the band, always thought blues and Andean Harawis were structurally and emotionally very similar, so, for him, his music is *rock con sentimiento Andino* ('rock with Andean feeling'). After the internal war, Uchpa started fusing traditional huaynos with heavy rock and blues. Today in 2013, Uchpa, with 20 years of making music in Quechua and with intercultural and interclass members, is an emblematic band of upper class Barranco venues, such as La Noche de Barranco (see Appendix 3). Uchpa was the first fusion band to bring Quechua to the capital, and later to the upper classes, attracting a very mixed audience to its concerts (rockers, Andeans and fusion lovers from different social classes). After Uchpa brought a stigmatised language to the music forefront, other bands, such as La Sarita and later Magaly Solier, would do the same in their own music styles. Quechua would reach the middle and upper classes from an Andean Quechua speaking source, and not in the form of samples, romanticised contexts, or memorised phrases, as is the case of Yma, Miki and even El Polen's music. Fredy also notes Uchpa's influence on Andean contemporary music, beyond the urban fusion scene,

...I didn't find huayno bands doing anything different. After Uchpa, when I started going crazy, huayno bands also started doing crazy things with their rhythms, they even add drum kits to huayno... (Fredy Ortiz – Uchpa, interview, December 2010).

This diversification shows that the current fusion scene is not only constituted by white upper class musicians, but it is formed by Andeans, mestizos and the white upper classes sharing venues, stage and music projects.

2.2.5. Freelance musicians, arrangers and technicians

By 2005 Peruvian fusion had its own circuit and scene, and its legacy was now influencing new fusion projects. All these pioneers made music with a number of freelance musicians, who collaborated with fusion ensembles across the spectrum of fusion styles and messages. Maria Elena Pacheco, Western art music violinist, had, by 2010, played with many different fusion projects: Alborada, La Sarita, Damaris, Kenyara, Magaly Solier, Lucho Quequezana, among others. So, she was recognised in the fusion music circuit as the “fusion violinist”.¹⁰⁹ Juan Carlos Estremadoyro, considers himself “the fusion sound engineer”. Between 1990 and 2004 he acted as sound engineer for Elsa Palao, Julie Freundt, Pilar de la Hoz, Gaytán Castro, Kenyara and Gabriel Alegria. From 2004 he went on to work with La Sarita, Uchpa, Colectivo Circo Band and Magaly Solier. He is also recognised in the music circuit as “the best technician for the fusion sound” (Cali Flores, interview, October 2010); he contributes to creating the Peruvian fusion live sound. The music team is frequently led by Juan Carlos, the venues are the same (La Noche, Jazz Zone, El Dragón, Cocodrilo Verde), the roadies are the same and therefore the microphone setting, sound effects and mixes are kept in Juan Carlos’ style, helping the audience to identify a sound, consolidating a circuit.

The well-known percussionist Cali Flores, identified by several musicians and even the fusion scene audience as the “fusion arranger” and “creative force of fusion” (Juan Carlos Estremadoyro, interview, March 2011), is another key figure. Cali remembers becoming acquainted with Chilean Nueva Canción through a friend in the mid-1960s, and from then on understanding the importance

¹⁰⁹ Maria Elena is a well-known violinist from Lima. She leads the second violins in the National Symphony Orchestra and sometimes plays Concertino. She has also played in James Last’s string big band in Germany since the early 1980s.

of portraying an Andean influence in his music. As of the late 1960s, Nueva Canción, jazz and Andean structures were usually the core of his compositions and arrangements. In the late 1980s he contributed to introducing Peruvian Andean elements in trova songs (*Tiempo Nuevo*, *Sentimiento*), until then the Barranco bohemian upper class trova/criollo scene had not included Andean music elements in its creations. He is also the man behind innovative Andean arrangements for música Ayacuchana.¹¹⁰ He became musical director for the Gaytán Castro brothers in 1997 and, according to Juan Carlos Estremadyro, Cali was the first to introduce a drum kit, bass guitar, electronic keyboards in traditional guitar, charango and Andean wind huayno ensembles (Juan Carlos Estremadyro, interview, March 2011). This was a major fusion innovation in traditional Andean music, which would later spark a fusion trend with William Luna, Max Castro and the folklore huayno norteño divas, such as Dina Paucar.¹¹¹ By 2010 he had explored different fusion styles and subgenres becoming a highly sought-after arranger of fusion projects and a key figure in instrumental Peruvian fusion music. The influence of Cali Flores also transcends the Barranco fusion circuit, implanting fusion elements in other styles outside the Barranco scene (e.g. Gaytán Castro brothers, Gianmarco).

Fusion is not only an idea, but a practice, with a musician circuit, an arranger, a sound engineer, a particular sound, and an audience. This resonates with Howard Becker's argument that artworks are not the creation of isolated individuals, but the result of collaboration between different artists (1984). In this context, a specialised network of freelance musicians, arrangers and technicians contribute to shape the 'fusion sound', activate the circuit and connect it with other music genres contributing to the construction of fusion 'stars'.

¹¹⁰ According to Tucker, música Ayacuchana is "a term for one of the most popular Andean styles in the country, particularly among the urban middle classes of Andean descent. Originally based on a fusion of Ayacuchano musical genres with elements of música latinoamericana" (2005: xv).

¹¹¹ However, as I said previously, even though, huayno ayacuchano and huayno norteño do include fusion arrangements with rock or electronic instruments, they are not included in this research because their audience does not categorise them as fusion; also, they are not part of the Barranco upper class scene.

2.2.6. Sales and fusion boom

In this section I would like to provide more details about the fusion boom (2005). I will explore the perspective of CEOs managing some of the record companies that back fusion musicians, as well as why the audience has pushed fusion music to the very top of the CD sales charts in Peru. It is important to note, that the majority of people associated with the music industry in Lima repeatedly refer to two landmarks in Peruvian history, contributing to the consolidation of different music scenes in Peru. First, nationalist President Velasco's un-official ban on rock concerts and foreign genres in 1968. Second, the twenty-year internal war (1980-2000) (see Chapter 5), which practically left the country without open music venues, money to pay for music, international or local recording companies – as they declared themselves bankrupt or changed business (Universidad de San Martin de Porres 2005:124). This was connected to outrageously high levels of informality, which made Peru king of music piracy among the Andean countries (CAN)¹¹² (Matos 2006: 11-12) with the second highest rate of music piracy in South America (98%) (Moscoso 2005).¹¹³

After the internal war, two record labels: Play Music & Video (2000) and Phantom Music (2002), with CEOs who previously worked for Peruvian pioneer record label IEMPSA and Sony Perú, respectively, opened music stores in Lima, put together catalogues and signed local artists. By 2010 they were the two biggest record labels in Lima, but by no means the only ones, as there were many independent record labels created by performers themselves. I talked to Lalo Ponce, the young white upper class CEO of Phantom Music, and José Luis Cárdenas, CEO of Play Music and Video, about the fusion artists they sign and their sales.

Phantom Music is the exclusive representative of EMI and Sony in Peru, so they distribute material both to their own music stores and other local stores. Furthermore, by 2010 they had also signed three Peruvian performers: Magaly

¹¹² Comunidad Andina (CAN), previously known as Grupo Andino (GRAN).

¹¹³ See online presentation: <http://bvirtual.indecopi.gob.pe/ponenc/2005/200509mmos.pdf> (Last accessed 15/01/13)

Solier, Colectivo Circo Band and Nicole Pillman. According to Lalo they prefer to work with performers with a “story to tell”. This is also what he highlights from their work: Magaly’s fusion music with lyrics that deal with issues, such as the internal war, domestic violence and poverty; Nicole’s successful story of social emergence through her music; and Colectivo Circo Band’s innovative musical take on an ‘inclusive party and multicultural celebration’.

What we are trying to secure is that the artists we work with have something to say to society, as well as the possibility to transcend with what they are going to say with a sort of... idealist vibe of trying to improve society a little. We believe that music, and I think I’ve said this in several interviews... is extremely powerful as a driver for achieving change, it’s extremely powerful as a channel to reach people with things (Lalo Ponce – Phantom Music, interview, November 2010).

Lalo’s idealistic vision also indicates an alternative upper class identity, which in 2002 translated from enjoyment as a member of the audience, into active engagement with the Peruvian music industry. In terms of the fusion message, this demonstrates the multiplier effect of young white upper class individuals with alternative identities filling powerful cultural positions. Fusion music touched Lalo and he, in turn, is contributing to disseminating its message. He is actively seeking out artists with a social message, rather than merely the next pop star.

José Luis Cárdenas, CEO of Play Music & Video, gave me an extensive list of Peruvian artists produced or distributed by his label, among them were fusion artists: Susana Baca, Jean Paul Strauss, Miki González, Jaime Cuadra, Pamela Rodriguez, Bareto, La Sarita and Lucho Quequezana. Even musicians signed to other record labels were featured by Play Music & Video in compilations that became major sales successes.

José Luis and Lalo both highlighted the importance of fusion music in Lima “in 2007 and 2008 sales, going by the rankings of the 25 bestselling CDs, almost all of it was fusion” (José Luis Cárdenas, interview, November 2010). For Lalo Ponce, the fusion music boom in 2005 helped Peruvian music to top the charts, “previously [before 2005] it was rare to find local CDs leading the charts, now [2010] over 50% of the 10 bestselling ones are always local (Lalo Ponce, interview, November 2010).

Also, both CEOs said that 2005 was when Peruvian fusion music first boomed in Lima after the internal war;¹¹⁴ acknowledging Miki González' *Café Inkaterra* Andean/electronic fusion CD released in 2004 by Hotel Inkaterra in Cuzco.¹¹⁵ “After *Café Inkaterra*, Jaime Cuadra broke through, Novalima broke through, Pamela Rodríguez, Pilar de la Hoz, they all broke through” (José Luis Cárdenas, interview, November 2010). For two years (2004 and 2005), *Café Inkaterra* was the best selling album in Lima, slowly changing *Limeños*' prejudice towards Peruvian music production and Andean music. Lalo Ponce also provided me with Phantom's charts of Peruvian CD sales between 2005 and 2010, which according to him represent 50% or 60% of the formal music business in Lima, the remaining percentage is in the hands of Play Music & Video. Regrettably José Luis Cárdenas did not share this data with me in spite of repeated requests.

Phantom Store Chart – Top 30 best selling albums in Lima between 2005 and 2010 ¹¹⁶		
Rank••	Performer and Title	CD units
1	Juan Diego Flores (Sentimiento Latino)	7054
2	Lo mejor de la música criolla 2	6690
3	Gianmarco (Desde adentro)	5975
4	Miki González (Café Inkaterra/ Inka Beats)•	5300
5	Bareto (Cumbia)•	4647
6	Jaime Cuadra (Cholo Soy)•	3313
10	Miki González (Etnotronics)•	2579
14	Grupo 5 (A gozar y bailar)	2319
20	Magaly Solier (Warmi)•	1846
25	Miki González (Lando por Bulerias)•	1793
28	Los guardianes de la música criolla	1736

• Fusion albums.

•• Official ranking, the numbers omitted are foreign releases.

¹¹⁴ For some in the fusion scene, the first fusion boom took place during the internal conflict in the late 1990s with bands considered ‘underground’ at the time, such as La Sarita, Los Mojarras and Uchpa. However, I consider this boom as an underground scene / Andean rock peak and not necessarily a boom of diverse manifestations of fusion music.

¹¹⁵ In 2006 the CD was renamed Inka Beats to avoid conflict by using the name of the hotel (Inkaterra).

¹¹⁶ This list documents the eleven top Peruvian CD sales.

According to the Phantom Store charts, Magaly Solier's *Warmi* was the best-selling album in 2009, making it the first CD in Quechua to top the national charts. In 2010 Jaime Cuadra's *Latino* and Miki González' *Landó por Bulerías* led the charts, while Lucho Quequezana broke sale records with his CD *Kuntur* in 2011 and 2012, overtaking Miki González' success in 2005-2006 with a more hybrid music product. These successes led to the Peruvian fusion music boom (2012), this time with more fluid Andean fusions (Quequezana, Los Últimos Incas), more diverse bands and new releases (Novalima, Nueva Invasion, La Inédita, Dengue Dengue Dengue, Nación Combi) and more lyrics on social issues by already established bands (Bareto, La Sarita, La Mente).¹¹⁷ By the end of my fieldwork in Lima in 2011, the fusion genre was hailed as 'the sound of the new Peru' by many in the scene and the audience.

These fusion booms were closely linked to the political context. The first fusion boom (2005) was partly incited by governmental use of fusion at political events and receptions, especially music by Miki González. The second fusion boom (2012) was used by PromPeru in the creation of Marca Perú. Yet, some perceive these initiatives as manipulative and inconsistent with how the Peruvian government deals with social conflicts, especially in the regions they seem to praise in the brand campaigns (Andes and Amazon). This also generates ambivalence among musicians and audience with regards to fusion as a term and concept, as well as scepticism about its potential to lead to social inclusion (see Chapter 3).

2.2.7. Consumers or fans?

Although not all upper class interviewees expressed the same views on fusion music sales, two main categories emerged. In discussing these, I will draw on how Tulloch and Jenkins categorise fans according to their knowledge and social identity into *fans* and *followers*. Fandom is always performative, it is "an identity which is (dis-)claimed and which performs cultural work" (Hills 2002:

¹¹⁷ These three iconic fusion bands released new albums in 2012.

xi). However, in order to differentiate between audience collaborators' opinions according to the two trends observed, I will use their terminology.

Fans, in this case, would be upper class individuals, who frequently participate in individual and communal fusion music activities and who see the fusion circuit as a space in which to live out a different lifestyle (particularly alternatives). They state that they buy fusion music in order to learn the lyrics, listen to it whenever they feel like hearing music, instead of tuning in to the radio, and contribute to the dissemination of the inclusive message.

I buy originals, I like fusion, I go to La Noche when I can, feel that the message of La Sarita, Uchpa, Bareto speaks directly to me... and, if I like all this, can't I buy the CD? That the message is commercialised? The bands live off music, or at least they want to, I'm sure. The radio is all cumbia and rock in English, if I buy the CD, I choose what to hear in my car, at the beach, at home, at the same time I support the bands and help disseminate the message, right? (Jaime 26, focus group, March 2011).

What better way to learn the lyrics than by listening to this music everywhere? I listen to it in the gym, the club, the car and I sing along. I'm not going to listen to what the radios want me to hear, I dance cumbia... but I get bored just listening to that... so it's better just to have the music myself, and not just for me, I buy it and give it away to other *pitucos* like me, but the *pitucos* who go to Aura, of course [traditional white upper classes]... to see whether they learn anything about culture (laughter) (Xaviera 26, focus group, March 2011).

According to Matt Hills (2002), there are many contradictions in the meaning of fandom, people see fans as 'ideal consumers', yet, many of these fans hold anti-commercial beliefs. So, Hills states that fandom cannot be easily bifurcated into good (as a way to resist the markets) and bad (as commoditisation) (2002: 30). These contradictions, or 'moral dualisms', as Hills calls them, were also evident when talking to the *Limeño* white upper classes

Now it turns out that being a fusion fan and buying the CDs, the posters, the 'Faite' t-shirts is believing in the 'naïve and pernicious Marca Perú'... come on, I agree with boosting our self-esteem and supporting local industry, and that doesn't make me a naïve idiot, or a henchman of pernicious capitalism. I like the music and I buy it... people just love to complicate things (Max 32, focus group, March 2011).

A lot of people think that we buy the music and the t-shirts, because we're *blanquitos pitucos platudos* ['loaded posh whities'], who have the money to buy 'other people's culture'... come on, give us some credit. I don't buy the t-shirt, because 'everyone's got it', nor do I listen to La Sarita, because 'everybody is doing it'... actually, not many of my friends listen to La Sarita or Uchpa. Nor do I do it because I want to steal other people's culture. I do it because I like it,

because I like listening to them with others who like them too, regardless of whether they are *blanquitos o negritos o cholitos* ['white or black or cholo']. In any case, I like sharing culture, feeling that it's mine too. I'm not European, I'm *peruanaza* ['Peruvian through and through], but, well, I turned out white... I can't feel a huayno, a festejo, a cumbia either. It's a matter of taste, it's believing the lyrics, but, damn it's hard to believe a *pituco!* Right? (Vanessa 24, focus group, March 2011).

This last quote reminds me of Bourdieu's discussion of distinction through the acquisition of cultural capital. In this case, we cannot argue that the owners of cultural capital are the upper classes, as Bourdieu does. However, how about cultural capital in an anthropological sense? Alternative interviewees state they feel and are Peruvians, even though they are aware of their disconnection from provincial or even wider *Limeño* traditions. Their connection with fusion music stems from a process of personal reflection and communal enjoyment. For them, singing with La Sarita and buying their CD is a way to acquire the cultural capital that their class limits access too (see Chapter 1). This longing for cultural capital is an expression of a longing for identification with the majority of Peruvians in Lima. It differs from 'hip' consumption of 'cool music that is in fashion now', or buying the CD because "I like to dance this when I am drunk, as it is kind of ridiculous.... but fun too". These are opinions expressed by some of those whom I categorise as the white upper class *followers* of fusion, people who go to a few concerts and buy the music as a souvenir, an icon of a passing fad.

Among the alternatives there are also *followers* of fusion. However, the numerous interviews I conducted during fieldwork demonstrated that there were significantly more fusion *fans* among the alternatives than in any other segment of the white upper classes.

Conclusion

"Peruvian fusion music" is the term used by the upper classes to refer to blends of any music considered traditional with foreign genres. The scene is small (Barranco) and the venues few. Its aesthetic sound might appear diverse; however, there are many commonalities regarding its history, purpose and musicians' motivations (e.g. intercultural dialogue, self-inclusion). The fusion scene was not

only built by the fusion stars, many freelance musicians, arrangers and technicians contributed to the creation of the fusion sound. Many were involved in shaping the shift from exotic aesthetics from abroad (Yma Sumac) to a more politically engaged scene, which helped to develop critical and political awareness of racism, discrimination, exclusion and misrepresentation of Afro-Peruvians and Andeans among Lima's public.

Peruvian fusion music is rooted in the past, as is upper class involvement in fusion. This involvement is interlinked with the socio-political context, which creates the framework for fusion musicians' stated reasons to fuse and diverse audience interpretations of the fusion message (e.g. political protest, intercultural dialogue, fad, appropriation). Did the pioneers change the nation? They certainly helped to construct a scene in which foreign genres, such as rock and jazz, were blended with more Peruvian sounds. Perhaps some would have enjoyed greater success in disseminating their music had the socio-political context of their time been more conducive to their success (e.g. end of Velasco's Presidency, internal war, Fujimori Presidency). Even though fusion music is broadly recognised as 'the sound of Peru or the sound of the new Peru' and has had two booms (2005 and 2012), its dissemination remains limited in the media and its sales are small compared to sales of other genres (e.g. cumbia and huayno con arpa) in informal music circuits (piracy). It is not a million-dollar business, yet formal consumption of this music is on the rise. Upper class *fans* and *followers* are the main consumers of fusion music. However, while fusion *followers* engage with fusion erratically and inconsistently as a temporary fad or marker of their 'coolness', fusion *fans* engage not only with fusion aesthetics, but also, and principally, with the message and ideals of fusion which I will discuss further in the next chapter.

In the next chapter, I will analyse fusion music as a tool of social inclusion and, in this way, explore the social impact of this music. For this, I will examine the ways in which fusion music is practiced, negotiated and described by white upper class musicians. I seek to discuss the meaning of fusion music beyond limiting interpretative frameworks of appropriation and exoticisation, in order to study the mechanisms of how fusion music enables intercultural dialogue,

convivencia, political awareness and a white upper class rapprochement with the self.

Chapter 3: Fusion, whose inclusion?

During fieldwork in Lima I worked with thirty-nine performers who my upper class respondents (in surveys, interviews and focus groups) categorised as ‘fusion musicians’. Several of these musicians were from the upper classes themselves and most bands were ‘mixed-class’. Some self-identified as fusionists, others thought of fusion as a term variously describing cold, exotic or fabricated music dialogues, yet others insisted in interviews that they were not making fusion music, even though they would promote their music as such in practice. I will illustrate these ambivalences with an example. The vast majority of the fusion music audience members I interviewed categorised La Sarita as the most iconic Lima fusion group. When talking informally with some of La Sarita’s musicians about the music they made, the word fusion came up time and again, as it did in concert flyers and media interviews. However, in recorded one-on-one interviews with La Sarita’s members, they described their music as rock, echoing their band catch-phrase featured on their website: “The rock of the new Peru”. But, what is the new Peru? La Sarita’s musicians described it as a “Peru based on intercultural dialogue and understanding due to Andean/Amazonian migration to Lima” (Renato Briones, interview, September 2010). A Peru that is “fused, mixed, and which celebrates its cultural diversity” (Julio Pérez, interview, July 2010). And there it is again, fusion.

In the first section of this chapter, I will examine the reasons why fusion musicians’ are ambivalent when defining their music as fusion, as the term carries negative appropriative and exotic connotations. I will discuss the contradictory discourses of white upper class musicians’ when describing their own music, as well as the issues they highlight as important to address through their intercultural projects. In the second section, grounded in broader literature on World Music, I will examine the potential of fusion music as a means to enable interclass and interethnic interactions, in which the young white upper classes seek to recreate ‘the self’ and their inclusion in their own country. In addition, grounded on Mario de Andrade’s research in Brazil, I will explore how integrationist music attempts

can reshape attitudes towards certain music genres normalising changed attitudes. Finally, I will document how fusion musicians challenge upper class social perceptions and imaginaries through their creative music dialogues. For this, I will offer a five-path model of musicians' creative loops as a way to describe their journey through difference in order to find themselves. Hopefully this chapter in particular, in conjunction with the others, will provide a critical assessment showing how fusion music can sometimes be closely associated with inclusive projects, but also how it can easily veer towards exoticism and appropriation.

For some scholars, the notion of intercultural fusion music reinforces difference, rather than celebrating diversity. In addition, it contributes to the idea of *mestizaje* as assimilation of the Andean, and, thus, the disappearance of traditional culture; in other words “the hybrid can be hegemonic” (Ritter 2011). For other academics and some *Limeños*, fusion music validates a naive and transient white upper class idea, almost a delusion, of interclass togetherness. However, drawing on arguments from the previous chapter and first section of this one, and focusing on musicians' motivations, I will give evidence of how the *Limeño* fusion genre is becoming a form of political resistance and protest against class and ethnic segregation, discrimination, abuse of power and social inequality. In other words, ‘the hybrid can also be *anti-hegemonic*’.

3.1 Fusion musician dilemma

Most of the fusion musicians I talked to were clear about their own reasons to fuse and about their own creative processes and impact. But they really struggled when it came to identifying their own music as fusion, or when trying to define the fusion circuit, displaying contradictions and even discomfort with the term. Many also showed a defensive attitude when addressed as fusionists, and tried to ‘defend’ their music, telling me over and over that they do not like exotica, do not commercialise with music, and do not appropriate. They were also

very critical of what might appear as consumer fads or temporary market trends (see second quote),

What do I think of fusion? Wow, I don't know... I couldn't say. What I can tell you is that the music I want to make, well, I want it to go beyond exoticism, because then I could... just take an element of one thing and that's it... fusion! No, come on, no I can't. (...) I'm interested in the experience... (Rafael Fusa Miranda – Bareto, Tawa Sax, interview, August 2010).

Vargas Llosa had to win the Nobel Prize for everyone to celebrate him the way he deserves, right? and that happens to us too, right now when it is mediatised [Peruvian cultural consumption], right now when it is economically profitable, right now when it's something you can be proud of, now that it's packaged in such a way that it can be bought in Asia [upper class beach resort] or Larcomar [luxury entertainment and shopping centre], now it's valuable... (Nicolás Duarte – La Mente, interview, November 2010).

Many of these fusion musicians were aware of the global critique of hybridity. These critiques present fusion as half-digested notions of culture, representation and authenticity (e.g. Hutnyk 2000), which explain these musicians' reactions to the term and how keen they are to clarify that their intentions are good. The upper classes' role in the manipulation of the lower classes by inventing traditions for political purposes (c.f. Hobsbawm et. al. 1983), or in appropriating popular entertainment to turn it into something exclusive (Storey 2003: 34-37), has been widely documented. Yet, these scholars do so using arguments that focus on the action of stealing or exploiting the lower classes or subaltern communities. I argue, based on Michelle Bigenho's research of Andean music in Japan (2012) and Zoila Mendoza's research on mestizo and indigenous Andean music collaborations (2008), that the act of appropriating is much more than a simplistic hybridity interpretative framework, but it is rather a two-way process where interactions, dialogues and mutual borrowings take place (see Section 3.2). Most of the case studies in this thesis offer clear evidence of this two-way process, and arguably are not 'appropriative' in the negative discursive sense. I am aware of the term's negative connotations in popular discourse, which make it problematic, open-ended and ambiguous (certainly in the Lima fusion scene). From a theoretical perspective (Bigenho 2012, Mendoza 2008), I have chosen to focus on the interactions and relationships among people that engage in multidirectional 'appropriations', and for this I have attempted to treat the term

‘appropriation’ as value neutral. I am aware that appropriations concern many issues such as power, authorship, cultural degradation, politics, among others, and that, in many cases, an appropriation can turn into misappropriation (Ziff and Rao 1997). Moreover, I am conscious that these kinds of cultural borrowings always take place in the real world where there is no such thing as a value neutral relationship. However, I argue that the focus on the interactions and dialogues forged with an ambiguous array of ‘appropriative’ settings allow me to explore the individual and collective outcomes of such encounters, which in some cases contribute in generating curiosity and discussions among fusion musicians and the public about power, ethics, impact and agency.

Furthermore, there are also many musical and cultural appropriations and mimicry by Andeans, but this seems to be overlooked and accepted due to the power hierarchy of the individuals mimicking.¹¹⁸ This is reflected in Mark Rogers’ arguments in his discussion of the folklorisation and politics of identity in Ecuadorian white and Andean beauty pageants,

Whereas in most cases the contestants in indigenous pageants are not asked to mimic white women in the same way that they themselves are mimicked by participants in the white pageants, the presence of evening gown and even swimsuit competitions in some lowland pageants might serve as the basis for an interpretation that parallels my reading of the white pageant. Of course, the ideological implications of mimicry are different when the imitators are at the bottom rather than the top of the ethnic/power hierarchy (Rogers in Gutman et. al. 2003: 357 Note 13).

Upper class appropriations, imitations and borrowings tend to be read as vertical exploitation, hegemonic influence, imposition and co-optation, whereas Andean appropriations are usually seen as ‘cultural pollution’ due to modernity. Such portrayals might be seen to limit music creativity, presenting Andeans as static authentic cultural bearers, who should maintain national traditions, and upper class white musicians as restricted to foreign genres, with transgressions into traditional music resulting in criticism (see Chapter 5). Again, in Lima even the musicians opposing the use of the term fusion to characterise their music, or

¹¹⁸ I am aware that some might argue that instead of cultural appropriations, these are assimilations or even impositions where elements from the dominant class are adopted in an attempt to raise class status (c.f. Turino 1984). Although this is a valid argument, reducing all appropriations by Andeans to assimilation also seems rather simplistic and paternalistic.

who associate the term with exploitation or commoditisation, still recognise that their work *is* fusion and even use this term when publicising their work (e.g. Bareto,¹¹⁹ Novalima,¹²⁰ La Mente¹²¹). Moreover, although many of the musicians I interviewed were anxious about the term fusion, when I asked them if they would classify their music as fusion, only five out of thirty seven musicians refuted the idea and tried to avoid the term. Instead, these musicians described their work as: rock with Andean feeling, rock of the new Peru, Peruvian contemporary music or new Afro-Peruvian music. Some also asserted that the mixing in their music was something “natural”, even expected as part of Lima’s social development, as the word ‘new’ also seemed to indicate.

Now, what is natural about Peruvian fusion music? Almost half of the musicians interviewed highlighted Peru’s multiculturality, and presented Lima as a melting pot of Peruvians from different cultural and social backgrounds, leading to the creation of ‘fused people’. Nicolás Duarte from La Mente observed: “When you can’t do anything else [creatively] and what comes out is fusion, it’s not that you’re making fusion, but that you *are* fusion”. That is one of the main reasons why many musicians think this is not a created genre, but a spontaneous one, and therefore, assign value to non-prefabricated and non-commercial mixes. Musicians, who believe they represent ‘natural’ fusion due to their background and context, do not usually highlight intercultural collaboration during their performances, as they believe their music is a reflection of their own ‘fused’ identity and intercultural life experience. For example, Damaris, who was born in the Andes and now lives in Lima, believes her music is a natural product of her

¹¹⁹ On their previous website (2010), Bareto usually combined the band’s name with the word fusion, even leading their audience to believe that their name was Bareto Fusion, instead of just Bareto.

¹²⁰ “On their 2009 album, *Coba Coba*, Novalima expanded on the critically-acclaimed formula they developed with their two previous recordings, while taking their inspiring fusion in new and exciting directions.” (Extract of Novalimas’ band information in their official Facebook page). <https://www.facebook.com/novalima.official/info> (Last accessed 14/09/12).

¹²¹ “The sax melodies walk hand in hand with the keyboards, classical and modern, like in an Andean procession crossing the tropics, and the electronic sequences are even more frugal and intelligent than on the previous album. On this album, the sound and general approach of this fusion (even if the word hurts) of primeval music and futuristic sound” (Excerpt from the article Se le Salió el Indio by Descabellado Discos del Peru, music recording study and production company founded by La Mente’s members. Uploaded 10/02/10) <http://descabelladodiscos.blogspot.be/> (Last accessed 14/09/12).

dual identity ('fused identity'). The same goes for Lucho Quequezana, who was born in Lima but spent a few of his childhood years in the Andes. They are proud of their mixed identity and do not feel the need to project cultural difference, as they believe Lima *is* so diverse that in the end 'we are *all the same*', this resonates with Mario de Andrade's idea (1928) of achieving national unity through music, where the black, the white and the Indian overcome ethnic differences (Stokes 1994:14).

Not only do performers of mixed identity send a message of unity and equality, white upper class members of bands like Bareto, La Mente and Colectivo Circo Band, through their lyrics, performance and intercultural aesthetics contest ideas of white upper class superiority and taste. Although intercultural collaboration may not be highlighted on stage, intercultural and interclass contact is sought and indexed through the genre played (cumbia, huayno), the backgrounds of band members, the use of guest performers, and the diversity of audiences addressed. This goes hand in hand with the opinion that fusion is the musical product of *vivencias, conocimiento de las culturas y dialogo real* ('life experience, cultural knowledge and real dialogue'), which, for some musicians, has to be expressed on stage,

In our work music has to reflect *convivencia* ['shared experience'], this isn't desk music, it's not fashionable to make this music, it's not music we are going to analyse first and then feel, this springs fully from shared experience. First you make a group of friends, they get to know each other, visit each other, live together, understand each other (...) so our work basically began by getting to know each other, visiting each other, for example, we went to the scissors dancers fiestas, to understand what the scissor dance is. We don't only mix music with the scissor dance because it's pretty and cool... no... [we do it] because we feel something, there's something that moves us, something that draws us to that music [scissor dance melodies], its energy, because music is energy... (Julio Pérez – La Sarita, interview, July 2010).

Not all musicians base their fusions on coexistence or human intercultural dialogue; some highlight an aesthetic dialogue and engagement with different sonorities, but not necessarily with the people producing them. For many fusionists who engage primarily in a search for coexistence and intercultural collaboration, rather than different music aesthetics, this kind of fusion is 'not the real thing', but just superficial 'pretty' and 'exotic' attempts. Still, these are a

way of making Andean aesthetics visible and current in upper class circuits (c.f. Slobin 1993: 19-21).

I'm doing this with a lot of sincerity, trying to make it striking and beautiful and the music I'm making now comes straight from the heart with a Peruvian objective, so this fusion comes from me, because so far I'm mixing what I know. I was telling you about these funds to attend all the Andean *fiestas* and sit in the middle, which I have done in Huancayo, I sat in the midst of these bands and my brain was filled with those sonorities, but I've only gone to Huancayo and I want to attend more *fiestas* to identify with these different sounds and include them in my sound resources and store them in my brain for when I compose (Jean Pierre Magnet, interview, October 2010).¹²²

For many of the Lima fusion musicians with whom I spoke, human interaction was seen as key in order to avoid the exoticisation and romanticisation of ‘the other’. However, there are some contradictions in this discourse, as some of them also actively romanticise the Andes in their performances. For example, Jean Pierre Magnet, who wants to bring Andean music to Lima’s ears and then to the world, told me about his experiences in the Andes, where he tried to go to *fiestas* to hear ‘real’ Andean sounds, in order to be able to create fusion respectfully,

... just imagine, Serenata de los Andes from Perú, I have to invent a universally understandable term right now, it could be ‘the mystery of the Andes’ or ‘the music of the mystery of the Andes’ (...) I could start with a projection of a shaman, in black speaking Quechua [he imitates the sound of Quechua, which he clearly doesn’t speak] and there we start with the first song [he hums the first track from his album]. There is great potential in Peru for colour, mystery, ruins, I mean, that’s why it’s full of tourists, because of the mystery of Peru (Jean Pierre Magnet, interview, October 2010).

Jean Pierre is portraying the Andes as mysterious, mystic and exotic, perhaps reflecting his own imaginary idea of what the Andes are. At the same time, he is trying to turn Andean fusion music into a tourist market product, which was severely criticised by many fusion musicians to whom I spoke. However, these aesthetic blends are part of the fusion scene, and other fusion musicians and some members of the fusion audience do enjoy this music as a temporary aesthetic experience. On the other hand, fusion music by Bareto, La Sarita, Uchpa, among others, who portray, sing and enact intercultural dialogue

¹²² I am aware this raises questions about authorship; however, I will not be discussing these issues in this thesis.

and coexistence, would generally attract a different audience, an audience that feels politically active through music celebrating interculturality.

Nicolás Duarte from La Mente, a politically active group who dislikes the term fusion and its use as a marketing tool, seemed confused while discussing their collaborations with vernacular Andean artist Laurita Pacheco and a troupe of sikuris. While discussing the satisfaction of showing their public such an important artist as Laurita Pacheco, who, for him, “made the public feel through evocation of their childhood, their country a connection” (Nicolás Duarte, interview, November 2010), he also said,

... what we did start with La Mente was to make new and different things. The idea was also to offer people a show that was different, we didn't just have sikuris, we also had... we had a guy who would dress up as Alf and come out on stage to dance, people don't remember that, because it isn't relevant to this period of *revalorizacion cultural* ['cultural revaluation'], but they do remember Laurita Pacheco and the sikuris, but the don't remember Alf, they don't remember Freddy Krueger, characters we brought in to dance on stage, because they are part of our experiences... When I was little I would watch Alf, I would watch The A-Team, when you look at La Mente's adverts you see that they are based on [television] series and characters from that time, like Knight Rider, Small Wonder, sikuris and Laurita Pacheco (Nicolás Duarte – La Mente, interview, November 2010).

This example of Andean musicians ‘used’ in performances as fictional ornamental TV characters such as Alf (an alien), Freddy Krueger (a half-burnt zombie) and Small Wonder (a robot), could be seen as incoherent or disrespectful towards collaborations (and collaborators). It could also be seen as an inclusion of a range of elements that these performers like and which have caught their imagination, especially during their childhood. These are musicians, who are constantly trying to understand their country from their privileged position, and this path is riddled with inconsistencies and contradictions, which they themselves try to overcome. However, these contradictions do not only stem from upper class musicians, one freelance Andean musician told me,

Chamba es chamba [work is work], I like to create fusions even though I sometimes feel I am disappointing the elders, you know, I should remain playing only the tradition. But, how can't I do this [fusion] if I see tall white people doing this? If they can do it, why can't I? I think it gives as good exposure to be playing with whites, they validate us, we play something cool now, we have more work. They feel they are doing us a favour, when we are in fact kind of using them (Sergio, informal communication, Lince, August 2010).

This testimony resonates with Spivak's discussion on strategic essentialisms, a term referring to the 'essentialist' strategy used by minority groups to empower themselves using their ethnic identity in order to achieve certain goals (Spivak 1987, Zorn 2005:159-178). Who decides whether something is exotic or not? Are we not all exotic and deploy this strategic essentialism at one point or another? As Anna's testimony as a Canadian singer in Ayacucho exemplifies,

I am loving Ayacucho, I came here to do volunteer work but missed singing as I used to sing at home. Through some friends, I got into a small traditional band and yes, I am the exotic tall blonde girl who sings in Quechua. But, being exotic has opened many doors in the music scene! (Anna, e-mail communication, March 2011).

I would also like to focus on the phrase "they feel they are doing us a favour", this might refer to the discourse of 'vindication and cultural rescue' that some fusion musicians have used while promoting and presenting their work. Some of them do think their contribution is rescuing traditions from oblivion. However, as many Andean musicians told me, Andean music does not need to be rescued or vindicated (see also Chapter 4). So, the question really is, for whom are they rescuing tradition from oblivion?

NOBODY [of the musicians working at upper classes venues] invites Laurita Pacheco to play at their concerts, so it's useful for us, because it's original, it vindicates her in front of a group of people who hadn't paid her the attention she deserves, but she doesn't need to be vindicated by that audience, on the contrary, she existed and lived and fills, much more successfully, venues much larger than those we play at ... (Nicolás Duarte – La Mente, interview, November 2010).

Nicolás acknowledges the fact that bringing Laurita Pacheco to upper class circuits is an original way for La Mente to show her art to the upper classes, vindicating her music in this context. However, this does not mean that La Mente is rescuing vernacular tradition; they are simply showcasing it in front of an audience who does not see the value of this massively accepted tradition. This opens spaces of upper class education and contact with previously stigmatised genres. But Laurita does not need the upper class circuit as much as the upper classes need her to feel included through the recreation of their taste.

This exoticism debate goes hand in hand with the accusation that the white upper classes take advantage of their ethnic and social status to make money with whichever music they want, while the traditional musicians starve to death. These accusations are not only made by the lower and middle classes, but also by the upper classes and upper class fusion musicians in relation to other fusion bands. However, Andean and mestizo musicians are getting more music exposure and more gigs in Lima due to this “new cachet” for “Indian” music:

As a Bolivian living in Japan told me: “When El Gringo [Favre] stepped out... it was something revolutionary... The quena was dressed in gala clothes! A gringo played it! So the people said, “listen, if a gringo plays it we can play it.’ That’s how it was at that time.” With this comment, the musician referred to the ongoing racism in Bolivia that continued to discredit “Indian things” until foreigners gave these instruments and expressions new cachet” (Bigenho 2007: 254).

I argue that this “new cachet” as Bigenho calls it, is not only advantageous for Andean musicians in Lima. Playing fusion with Andean musicians gives the white upper class musicians a new cachet too, as this gives them the opportunity to perceive themselves as part of a more inclusive country, becoming more respected and less antagonised through the recreation of a new identity.

The practice of stealing music or sounds by not giving credit to the composers or instrumentalists is widely condemned by fusion artists. In this regard, the most controversial fusions are, not surprisingly, electronic fusions using samples. Yet even here not all is clear-cut, as sampled musicians to whom I spoke insisted that they had contracts and received payment for studio sessions and royalties. However, none of them wanted to discuss the subject further when asked. Miki González, who pioneered the genre, has stated: “When I steal, I say who I stole from” (Miki González, interview, June 2011). Moreover, Miki’s Andean collaborators seemed to respect Miki for his passion and love of Peruvian music. This is illustrated in the opinion of Dimitri Manga, a well-known mestizo performer of Andean music, who is regularly hired by Miki and other fusion groups (e.g. El Polen),

I, from a more personal point of view, do see that he [Miki] cares much more than other people about understanding what is going on, and I know that he appreciates the music. Now, I don’t think he is going to start playing the mandolin or developing a style, because it isn’t his role either, it isn’t. But I, who know him a bit more... I remember (...) that someone organised a programme

about Peruvianess [on television]. Several of the musicians invited were completely clueless, but Miki had his ideas straight, right? He said, look, this is the contribution of music, just as it is. In my view, he contributed much more than all the rest of them who were on about identity, our society... all that chatter, it's empty in the end, right? Now... why does he have to do anything for music or for the [indigenous] communities? That is to say, at any rate, any one of us should do something to save someone and that is not the way it is (Dimitri Manga, interview, July 2010).

Dimitri makes an interesting point regarding fusion musicians' role as 'saviours'. For Dimitri, this 'vindication discourse' is just empty chatter, so he admires Miki's honest straight forwardness in comparison with people who discuss music as identity and national pride; a discourse Dimitri doubts is completely honest. Furthermore, in online discussions, Miki's music work is praised for his love of Peru, but he is also criticised for what it is perceived as Spanish hegemonic creations and on stage dynamics. Can we claim there is theft if the rural and mestizo musicians agree with Miki's work? Or if, in fact, his musicians are well paid? Of course, I am aware that I have talked to musicians who worked on several of Miki's music projects, and that, if I spoke with Andean musicians not selected to work with him, perhaps the opinions would be quite different. However, Andean, Afro and mestizo collaborators in electronic fusions (e.g. Jaime Cuadra, Novalima) are quite content with their collaborations, creations and work opportunities, so I cannot help but wonder whether this image of electronic fusion musicians as business minded people who commercialise with culture and perpetuate hegemony is a discourse created from abroad and reinforced by local historical colonial antagonisms.

These discourses are not exclusive to Peruvian hybirdty, other scholars have discussed global appropriation phenomena and blatant cultural theft such as French duo Deep Forest (Feld 2000b, 1996: 24-26, Stokes 2004: 57-58) and German based group Enigma (Stokes 2004: 56, Hesmondhalgh 2000, Taylor 2003). However, I argue that global (and perhaps local) exploitative appropriation dynamics of electro fusions are not the norm in Lima's fusion scene, far from it. In the next section and Chapters 4 and 5 I will explore fusion music's current potential to showcase subaltern agency and equalitarian dialogue, making

hybridity a political inclusion tool and even an ally in fighting exploitative appropriations.

3.2 Beyond appropriations

As seen before, for most current fusion musicians I talked to, fusion music connotes encounter: aesthetic or social, transitory or continuous, either by dialogue or appropriation. However, beyond these negotiations with the personal and social perceptions of the term fusion, lie the musicians' stated reasons to seek encounters. In order to discuss these motivations, we need to look further than mere hybridity talk, and appropriation and exoticisation interpretations and maybe focus more on what hybridity creates socially and why. This section is an attempt to answer these questions; which I hope will become evident as the section progresses. John Storey, in his book *Inventing Pop Culture*, suggests:

...what is needed is not just an understanding of how production produces a repertoire of commodities for consumption, but also understanding of the many ways in which people appropriate, make meaningful, and use these commodities, make them into culture in the lived practices of everyday life (2003: 55).

Steven Feld in *Sweet Lullaby for World Music* (2000a.) discussed anxious and celebratory discourses about World music hybridity and stated that even though these discourses stress different issues, such as commoditisation and dialogue respectively, both “embrace musical plurality as a dialectical necessity” (Feld 2000a.). Celebratory discourses, such as those of George Lipsitz and Mark Slobin, have been criticised for “overstating the relative cultural power and visibility of music and neglect[ing] the extent to which they [power and visibility] are structured by an increasingly global and flexible industrial complex” (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000: 27). I am aware of the global market forces at play in local musics, but I argue that such forces do not impact local culture vertically, but rather as an ongoing bilateral process of music glocalisation, where musicians can be cosmopolitans (Stokes 2007), where fusionists and Andean performers can

‘cannibalise’ the foreign and make it local (c.f. Moehn 2012). How do these processes relate to the performer’s personal motivations in the light of identity politics? And in the particular context of this thesis, how do these intercultural interactions become meaningful and later constitute local culture? Are we witnessing an upper class desire for “intercultural intimacy” through music? An ‘intimate distance’? (Bigenho 2012). I here borrow Bigenho’s excellent illustrative term, which describes the attraction of desire towards difference while maintaining a ‘natural’ distance and embodying the ‘other’ (*ibid.* 2012) (see also Chapter 4).

In this section, I will examine the potential of fusion music as a mechanism to hear, see and interact with ‘others’ as a tool to recreate the ‘self’. Furthermore, I will explore, using case studies, the reasons for engaging in intercultural music, through appropriations and collaborations. For this I will draw on Michelle Bigenho’s arguments about intimate distances of individuals performing ‘someone else’s music’ (2012), Zoila Mendoza’s view of music appropriations as two-way contributions and interactions (2008), and Martin Hopenhayn’s theory of identity self-recreation through the interaction with the ‘other’ (2000). This section also links to Chapter 5, where I will explore how this self-recreation impacts on the white upper class audiences politically.

It is important to highlight that even though I deal here with intercultural music hybrids and refer to literature on World Music, my research focuses on cases of hybridity and representation within the same country, with people who, even though they belong to different culture groups, all ‘feel Peruvian’, which generates complex discussions on race, ethnicity, representation, national imaginaries and wealth that can not be reduced to simplistic dichotomies of West/the rest, empire/colonies or even white/indigenous.

3.2.1 Rapprochement with the ‘other’, rapprochement with the self

For Peruvian anthropologist Efraín Rozas, in Peruvian fusion projects “...there is an explicit intention on the part of the artist to seek a rapprochement

with the ‘other’ on the inter-subjective level, through art, through creation” (2007:41). As evidenced previously, how this rapprochement is sought differs from group to group. Sometimes, though, a rapprochement with the ‘other’ is not the main purpose of the music, but rather the “self-recreation of oneself through the interaction with the ‘other’” (Hopenhayn 2000:25) and this is the case for many upper class fusion musicians. This is why such musicians state that their motivation to create fusion is to answer questions many of them have in common: Who am I? Where do I fit in this city, and in this country? What is my role here? What is mine, what is ‘ours’? (see Chapter 4). Fusion music offers them a platform where they can engage with music that does not ‘match’ their phenotype and social status, and therefore is not ‘supposed to be theirs’ (see Chapter 4), a platform enabling them to organise intercultural music making, interact with different socioeconomic audiences, and feel like ‘everybody else’ in Lima (see Chapter 1).

Through this intercultural contact and friendship, young upper class musicians explore their Peruvianess outside the fixed trappings of race and social class. Playing genres that are not associated with their class and phenotype is a way to rebel against their own social class frameworks, as well as a strategy to reconstruct a new identity and even a new race. Phrases such as: “I’m white, but I’m black inside” (Miki González), “I love huaynos, I ought to have Andean blood somewhere” (Pepita García-Miró), “I’m a proud *cholo* and white *chichero*” (Joaquín Mariátegui) are often heard when white fusionists describe their engagement with more traditional music. Furthermore, the fact that some fusionist do not only play at exclusive venues, but rather at massive popular events in parks and provinces, also allows them to transgress the small exclusive circuits of the high class and reach a bigger audience. They are also able to interact with these larger audiences with a closeness and affection, that some told me they miss among the upper classes, where interactions are meant to be distant. This reflects the mechanisms of identity self-recreation and hints at what Arellano called an “inverse aspiration process” (see Chapter 1.3), where white upper classes reject social distance and aspire to interact directly with the rest and feel socially

included in the city. In order to exemplify the use of fusion music as a ‘self-recreating tool’, I will examine the case of Bareto’s white upper class lead guitarist and music director, Joaquín Mariátegui, and his reasons for engaging with fusion music.

Bareto was formed in 2003 as a reggae, ska and rock cover band; they would perform at parties or in pubs in Barranco. In September 2008 Bareto released their second CD entitled *Cumbia*, a tribute album mainly covering songs by Juaneco y su combo, an Amazonian cumbia band from the late 1960s. Members of the band and of their audience state that the band did not explicitly set out to affect the upper classes politically or to promote a change in mentality at the beginning of their *Cumbia* period. Nevertheless, the band started to be recognised as the ‘most democratic’ band in Lima, because its music was heard by most Peruvians, regardless of ethnicity and social class. Bareto’s social impact was documented as “the band that united Peru through music” or “the band that broke down social barriers in Peru”.¹²³ Jorge Olazo, percussionist and core member of the band told me: “There was a point when it occurred to me that our music was really a novelty (...) but I never thought it would take off the way it did” (Jorge Olazo – Bareto, interview, August 2010).

I interviewed Joaquín Mariátegui at his home in leafy Miraflores; he was willing to discuss music and social issues, always citing personal examples from the context of his family and friends. During our chat, he often referred to himself as *colorao* (‘red’, an euphemism for white, so as to avoid *blanco*) and made clear that he was an alternative wealthy person: “even though I’m a *pituco*... I’ve never gone to parties at the exclusive clubs, nor hung out with the in crowd”. When Bareto released its album in 2008, cumbia was already popular, even with the elites (see Chapter 4.1), but was played by provincial musicians who, as such, were not as well received as the music they were making. I was interested in knowing what makes a white and wealthy rock musician like Joaquín gather

¹²³ Examples from Bareto’s interviews: *Sonidos del Mundo*, conducted by Mabela Martinez (15/02/2009). <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-GFQbBHkB-g&feature=related> (Last accessed 11/02/12). *Cuarto poder* (25/01/09). <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IzFWQ28zktg> (Last accessed 11/02/12). Some more interviews can be seen at Bareto’s YouTube channel: <http://www.youtube.com/user/baretotv> (Last accessed 02/03/12).

together musicians from different social backgrounds to form a band that clashed with what people imagined a cumbia band should be like,

What the HELL are we? (...) I'm telling you... I listened to reggae, I listened to jazz, and I listened to rock, I listened to funk, I listened... [long pause] That's not from here you idiot! I mean, I was walking down the street and the combi [bus] has no relation with James Brown, you understand? I mean, a knife sharpener has no relation with Myles Davis, right? (...) That's when I composed *El calor*, which is a kind of jungle cumbia mixed with reggae, inspired by a song by Rossy War (see Chapter 4) (Joaquín Mariátegui -Bareto, interview, September 2010).

Joaquín clearly felt the clash between his musical taste and his reality. He was already a musician and was already playing reggae, ska and rock, but it was not 'real' to him, that was not what Peru was about. Being wealthy and being raised surrounded by exclusivity in a poor country can generate personal conflict.

... I would love to know and speak Quechua and, damn, play *yaravies* the way Manuelcha Prado does, right? Again, I'm not Manuelcha Prado, I mean, I'm a *colorao*, I was born in San Isidro, I'm the son of a diplomat, of an ambassador... I mean, don't be ridiculous! I'm not Manuelcha... I'm not a liar, you get me? I'm not Manuelcha Prado, but, damn, I'm not Eric Clapton either, you get me? I'm not Bob Marley either... shit... where am I, WHO AM I? I think that for me music has become a way of finding myself on the map, basically, music for me is like a compass and it tells me who I am... (Joaquín Mariátegui – Bareto, interview, September 2010).

Joaquín experiences are Peruvian, but how do you feel Peruvian when your identity is often racialised and does not fit with the image you have of yourself? Through music Joaquín 'finds himself on the map'. Fusion music then becomes the tool he needs in order to discover himself and later reconstruct himself as an alternative wealthy *chichero* musician. His love and respect for Andean and Amazonian music often came up in our conversation, a constant indication of his desire to belong to a culture so near to his reality as a *Limeño*, yet so distant from his life as the son of a diplomat. Even though Michelle Bigenho's intimate distance concept is used when discussing the intercultural nexus of Japanese nationals and Bolivian music, it helps me here to shed light on Joaquín's negotiations of intimacy, friendship, love and admiration in contrast with what is expected of him by his class and family, his social context and race. For Joaquín, playing cumbia was a way to join in a broader Peruvian experience, through the music 'everybody listens to'.

"EVERYONE listens to cumbia and listens to chicha, EVERYONE...in Ayacucho they don't listen to festejo, but they do listen to huayno, in Cañete [a more Afro-Peruvian community] they listen to festejo, but they don't listen to huayno, but both dudes listen to chicha." (Joaquín Mariátegui, interview September 2010).

Joaquín also recognises other bands' efforts to fit in and find their place; one of them is salsa band Sabor y Control, founded by Bruno Macher, who is also part of the white upper classes.¹²⁴ "Bruno has a story to tell, because Bruno was raised in a certain way, Bruno is a guy who has read books. Bruno is a guy who like me is also looking for his place" (Joaquín Mariátegui – Bareto, interview September 2010). In this search for a 'place' and wanting to pay tribute to the group that inspired them, Bareto invited Wilindoro Cacique (75 years old), the original Juaneco y su Combo front man to sing with them on the CD *Cumbia*.¹²⁵ Thanks to Bareto's great success with *Cumbia*, a series of concerts featuring Wilindoro Cacique were organised at upper class and exclusive venues in Lima. Wilindoro and a re-formed Juaneco y su Combo were also invited to give concerts at some Lima venues. It was surprising that in Lima Bareto were singing an Amazonian genre and Juaneco y su Combo were playing again forty years after the band's creation, but it was even more striking that the music of the Amazon region, which is frequently completely overlooked in Lima's cultural context, gained prominence from 2008 on and started to compete with other traditional

¹²⁴ Sabor y Control is not a fusion band. This was made clear several times in interviews and personal communications with an obviously upset Bruno Macher: "With Sabor y Control we have always been very respectful of the tradition and we have never liked or made fusion" (Bruno Macher, e-mail, November 2010). However, following this band's concerts and talking to their upper class audience, I confirmed that for some people, Sabor y Control was fusion. Not because of the genre, but because it is an 'atypical band' lead by a white upper class man, playing salsa dura at exclusive venues, such as Jazz Zone or Cocodrilo Verde. A reaction similar to the one experienced by Pepita García Miró with huaynos (see Chapter 4.3). For many salsa fans from the upper classes Sabor y Control enables them to 'recreate' the feeling of how a salsa dura should be danced and enjoyed in the popular *barrios* of Callao or La Victoria, but in exclusive Miraflores. Sabor y Control, however, plays at venues in affluent and poor districts, disseminating their music democratically to an audience from a broad spectrum of class and ethnic backgrounds.

¹²⁵ Most of the members of the original Juaneco y su Combo died in an airplane crash in 1976, but Wilindoro and a few other members were not on the airplane. For more on Juaneco y su combo revival: YouTube: El regreso de Juaneco (29/04.08). <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uRMBnI2kmf4&feature=related>. (Last accessed 11/05/11).

Andean and Coastal genres (see Figure 10).¹²⁶ By 2008 not only were cumbia norteña and chicha part of the *Limeño* elites' popular culture, Amazonian cumbia, a genre older than chicha, was now also part of their musical universe.¹²⁷



Figure 10: Joaquín Mariátegui and Wilindoro Cacique. Source: Bareto. Photographer: Alonso Molina. Used with permission from Joaquín Mariátegui, Jorge Olazo and Alonso Molina.

Several respondents gave Bareto the credit for bringing *cumbia* to exclusive venues and making the elites feel they had the right to dance it too, thereby helping the audiences to find themselves on the Peruvian map too. For some of them it was a way to express their Peruvianness, their connection with the popular classes, once out of reach and suddenly now legitimised by new *Limeño* bands. Bareto reaped massive success, but also drew harsh criticism from people who were used to listening to chicha and Amazonian cumbia. They accused them

¹²⁶ Lima is on the coast, the Andes are iconic due to the legacy of the Inca past, but the Amazon has historically been exploited by *Costeños* (coastal people) and Andeans alike (See Greene 2007, 2009:56).

¹²⁷ In 2009 Wilindoro suffered a stroke and Bareto and other *cumbia* bands organised concerts to help his family financially. Joaquín Mariátegui and Jorge Olazo (drummer and co-founder of Bareto) feel strongly about their commitment to the Amazon and to Wilindoro and to Juaneco y su Combo.

of appropriation, opportunism, destroying the real cumbia and turning it into *cumbia pituca* ('posh cumbia') fashioning it for *blanquitos* ('whities').¹²⁸

Peru is just unbelievable, if these clowns weren't sort of white, and I say sort of white, because they're not 100% white, I'm sure they wouldn't get as much attention from Peruvians, who always pay more attention to those who look more like the colonisers, or foreigners... (checopette, YouTube posted May 2010).¹²⁹

Joshua Tucker analyses the consumption of cumbia by the Peruvian upper classes as a hipster fad, an intentionally hollow and apolitical consumption (Tucker 2012),¹³⁰ which would contradict the apparent aim of social inclusion. To me, 'hipster' is rather imprecise term, which takes acts of consumption as a starting point for assessing attitudes and ideas. One person consuming cumbia music at a wealthy venue may do so, because it is 'cool' without further reflection, yet dismissing everyone at such a venue as a hollow apolitical consumer of subalternity would be denying each individual's attitudes, ideas and actions outside the venue, simply because they could afford the entrance fee. This perspective does not allow us to move beyond traditional interpretative frameworks of hybridity, class and race, in other words, it feeds the prejudice and suspicion that a rich white person only engages with subaltern music as a superficial act. I argue that even though there may be upper class individuals who fit into Tucker's hipster category, there are many others who are genuinely moved, politically involved and have made fusion music a marker of their 'alternative wealthy' identity. Of course, it does not enable them to erase their class status or the social categories of their race and phenotype. But that does not mean that they should be essentialised or disbelieved a-priori.

For many, this case study will be reminiscent of Buena Vista Social Club, which has been heavily criticised as a romantic portrayal of a heroic white attempt to 'save' forgotten pre-Revolutionary Cuban music and musicians, a kind of "Columbus effect" (Valentin Escobar 2000). How do we juxtapose the dynamics of promoting an album with the human motivations of engaging in dialogue? Is

¹²⁸ A pejorative term referring to white people.

¹²⁹ YouTube: Bareto – De rockeros a *cumbiamberos* @ Panorama 2/3. Uploaded by BaretoTV (03/09/08). <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iv8BYinMGwk>. (Last accessed 11/05/11).

¹³⁰ Paper given while sharing a panel on Peru, music and identity at the Latin American Studies Association – San Francisco (May 2012).

the act of heroic self-proclamation internalised, believed or a manipulation strategy to sell nostalgia? I found myself asking these questions when faced with Bareto's engagement with Juaneco. Although Bareto were hailed in the press as 'heroes or saviours', their own discourse contradicted this. I encountered in Bareto a band who set out to play a genre they had admired for many years and, as noted in the CD liner notes of their album, subsequently created an album to "document the process". On the same sheet, they also narrate the first time they played for members of Juaneco, because: "... we wanted to show them [Juaneco] our way of feeling their music: songs that were theirs to the very core, but also, mysteriously, belonged to us" (Bareto 2008). The album became a tribute to cumbia and, in particular the band Juaneco (six Juaneco songs are featured on it), and Bareto even managed to play a couple of concerts with Juaneco front man Wilindoro Cacique, this allowed them to experience "a popular feeling of *el rincón barrio*" (Joaquín Mariátegui, interview, September 2010) and of "finding themselves on the Peruvian map" (*ibid.* September 2010). Even though there is mention of 'vindication' in that same album's liner notes, it sits alongside an open acknowledgement of how it is only a vindication for that separate sphere upper class *Limeños* live in. Bareto sought to play *for* and *with* their idols, to learn, but perhaps also to receive some form of approval for their version of this iconic Peruvian genre and, judging from Joaquin's words, perhaps of their own Peruvianness. So who is saving whom? What I found in the collaboration between Bareto and Wilindoro was a shared project, more a mentor playing with his mentees than white upper class impresarios exploiting an exotic jungle fad. White upper class performers were performing with their idols; while Amazonian performers from lower down the social hierarchy were showing more agency than is usually acknowledged (see also other examples in Chapter 4).

One could also argue, as some have, that Latin American *indigenista* ghosts haunt high-class fusion musicians' discourse of rescue, revival and vindication of traditional music. However, Zoila Mendoza (2008) reminds us that these processes are not unidirectional, even in the case of *Indigenismo*'s romantic appropriations; the process is bidirectional, a complex two-way interaction.

In order to understand the complexity of what was taking place in Cuzco society at the level of the proposals for a regional, national, and American identity, we need to get inside the social experience of the actors, to understand what they thought and how they felt when they were united in the common purpose of "creating our own" (Mendoza 2008: 181).

Jonathan Ritter observes that hybrid music is allied with dominant discourses of mestizaje or even whitening, denying in this way "the ongoing reality of discrimination against those who do not fit the mestizo nationalist mold" (2011). However, as evidenced in this section, fusion also contributes to a twist in mestizaje from a whitening assimilationist national project to a search for a *choledad perdida* ('lost choloness'),¹³¹ especially among the white upper classes. *Limeño* mestizaje today is more about the Andean subject and background than the less Andean and whitened individual. Furthermore, as Peter Wade argues while studying Colombia Costeño music, it is possible to inscribe diversity at the same time as envisaging unity (Wade 1998: 13), as in his view, "homogenisation exists in a complex and ambivalent relationship with the construction of difference by the same nationalist forces that create homogeneity" (Wade 1998: 1). This ambivalence is also illustrated by Mario de Andrade's desire to integrate Brazil through exploring the country's diversity (Reily 1994: 83).

As argued previously, interculturality generates 'broken middles', and evidences difference. Martin Stokes has noted that music does not unite diverse people, it makes them approach each other, but in a tense and uncomfortable approach (1994: 10). In other words, music practices can be tense and segregationist. I think of these 'broken middles' discoveries as an initial process of acknowledgement of difference, understanding, interaction and finally self-inclusion, a moment where personal and social tensions can be negotiated and transformed, as seen in Joaquín's case.

¹³¹ *Choledad* represents a non-assimilative mestizaje; a fusion of cultural traits between the Andes and the Coast, which creates a different *cholo* identity.

3.2.2 A process of intercultural understanding and political awareness?

Upper class fusion musicians seek a musical rapprochement with ‘the other’ in order to ‘find themselves’. However, there are other fusion musicians, not necessarily from upper class backgrounds, who together with upper class musicians present their intercultural dialogues to an upper class audience. This is the case of musicians and bands, such as La Sarita, Magaly Solier, Uchpa, who actively seek to communicate their vision of intercultural unity and promote diversity and understanding. Efforts to purposely achieve unity through awareness of traditional music among the middle and upper classes have already been made in Latin America, notably in the work of researcher Mario De Andrade in Brazil and *Música Popular Brasileira* (MPB) (1900-1930). Mario De Andrade wanted to use music as a bridge to unite the metropolis with the regions, alerting urbanites to the richness of Brazilian rural traditional music (Stroud 2008: 141). De Andrade started to map Brazilian traditional music in order to create a bank of ‘authentic’ Brazilian traditional sounds to enrich Brazilian popular music. He thought that Brazilian popular music should be rooted in ‘pure Brazilian’ tradition and not in urban music, which he considered vulgar (Stroud 2008: 142). Later, his work was continued by Marcus Pereira. For Stroud, Pereira changed the way the Brazilian public perceived regional music, as it motivated them to explore regional music in their compositions and removed the social stigma previously associated with rural music (Stroud 2008: 155-156).

If Mario de Andrade had laid the foundations for the cultural bridge between the regions and the metropolis, then Marcus Pereira went ahead and built the bridge – a musical bridge that was designed to enable Brazilians to discover the ‘forgotten part of the country, that doesn’t appear on television and that you never hear on the radio’. (Mauricio Kubrusly as quoted in Stroud 2008: 156).¹³²

There is no doubt that Mario de Andrade’s vision was protectionist and was based on ideas of musical purity and authenticity. Furthermore, his vision

¹³² ‘A Heranca de um Brasileiro’, SomTres, no 28, 1981, pg 98.

consisted in the unidirectional use of rural music by middle and upper class musicians and audiences. For Suzel Reily, De Andrade was:

...trapped by the contradictions of his own project: the desire for cultural autonomy to be achieved thorough the construction of a national (individualistic) high art based on folk motives, and a determination to combat the structures sustaining the country's social inequalities, which would ultimately eliminate the popular (collective) base of his nationalist project (Reily 1994: 75).

Even though De Andrade's vision caused controversy, other musicians and researchers conducted less protectionist music projects based on De Andrade's ideas of social unity through music blending (e.g. Hermano Vianna). Sean Stroud in the conclusion of his book *The defence of tradition in Brazilian popular music* observes,

Nevertheless, even those projects that have been less successful in this respect have acted as timely reminders of the continuing existence and importance of regional popular music, and they have highlighted the significant cultural role that this music plays in the lives of millions outside the major Brazilian cities. Equally importantly, all of these projects have attempted to present an alternative view of what constitutes Brazilian popular music by challenging orthodox attitudes and prejudices (2008: 177).

These projects in Brazil are important as they show how perceptions, thoughts and stigmas can be challenged, changed and later normalised through music. Many anthropologists and ethnomusicologists insist on highlighting the hegemonic and racist normalisation in Latin America; which I acknowledge exists, I myself also discuss these hegemonic structures in Lima. However, here I prefer to highlight evidence of the potential of music to normalise different attitudes and perceptions among musicians and audiences. I agree with Peter Wade that "hegemonic values do not just continue in an automatic, self-propelling way. People make choices that do not conform to them, although they are informed by them" (Wade 2000: 237). I find it useful to highlight these choices as expressions of individual agency, which, ultimately, also shape social systems, that may appear completely rigid.

Now, how do Peruvian fusion musicians challenge upper class social perceptions, ideas and stigmas in order to promote change? How does fusion music contribute socially as a process of intercultural understanding? A frequent strategy is fusing Andean/Amazonian traditional and urban aesthetics, thereby

valuing previously stigmatised genres and musicians, alongside their respective cosmologies and languages (e.g. Quechua). During fieldwork I observed how fusion musicians' creative music processes and outputs came together to influence their audiences, which allowed me to create a five-path model of creative loops: Field encounters, musical dialogues, lyrics, performance and beyond performance.

Field encounters are what fusion musicians do to understand the music languages they want to mix, before they even start composing their music. This is not necessarily achieved by only understanding the music, but also through engaging culturally with the respective societies. In some cases this understanding is achieved through planned ethnographic trips (e.g. El Polen, Miki González, Manongo Mujica, La Sarita, Jean Pierre Magnet, etc), whereas in other cases it is the result of chance encounters (e.g. Bareto, La Mente). A smaller number of musicians have chosen a more theoretical approach by methodically studying the music structures of the tradition (e.g. Leslie Patten, Pamela Rodriguez). Some fusion musicians are first, second or third generation Andean migrants, so they maintain Andean traditions and have encountered rock and electronics through listening to foreign musics (e.g. Uchpa, Damaris, Magaly Solier), this experience is similar to that of Afro-Peruvians (e.g. Susana Baca). Busking in Europe has also been a source of music encounters (e.g. Ricardo Silva DPDB, Chano Díaz Limaco, Shenike). It is common for fusion musicians to engage with the genres they are about to mix through face-to-face interaction and methodical study before mixing them:

I feel that at this point in my life, well, I know this and I know that, I know it and I can make fusion! I can give myself that license... I tell young people, if you want to make fusion, you have to know. Study hard! (...) you want to make electronic music with afro roots, get to know the afro root and master the possibilities of electronic music (Susana Baca, interview, March 2011).

I make sure I know all about how it is lived, the history of it, the institutional part, the musical part and I analyse each style musically. Why was it created, at what time, under what circumstances? Then, once I feel fully satisfied from all this, I say 'now, this has become mine' (Hugo Alcazar, interview, December 2010).

For some fusionists field encounters constitute initial musical and cultural encounters, which enable the creation of strong bonds through participation in *musical dialogues* (e.g. Manongo Mujica, La Sarita, Del Pueblo y del Barrio),

which give rise to horizontal collaborative music making between performers rooted in different cultures, who meet each other half-way to create something new,

...while this work was underway [dialogue between Chocolate Algendones and Manongo], in parallel a third force was being created, which was no longer mine or his, because if two people *truly* listen to each other, if I start truly listening to you and you start truly listening to me, there will be a third element, which is no longer yours or mine, and that is where the magic happens (Manongo Mujica, interview, September 2010).

This brings to mind Homi Bhabha's notion of hybridity as a "third space" (Bhabha 1994), "which enables other positions to emerge" (Bhabha as quoted by Rutherford 1990: 211), a space out of reach of the performers dialoguing, an independent force. Manongo here is not only talking about dialogues, already fusions, new languages and music concepts are emerging in this third space. Ricardo Silva highlights exchange and mutual learning,

... the thing is that in El Pueblo y el Barrio there really is capacity and camaraderie... folklorists came to improvise in El Pueblo, criollos came to love huayno, the Afro-Peruvians to love huayno and vice versa, the Andeans came to learn festejo and the rock musicians to learn Peruvian music and those who play Peruvian music had a chance to play rock 'n roll... (Ricardo Silva, interview, December 2010).

These statements illustrate why I argue that broken middles can be fixed. Music reflects tension and fusion musicians work these through "a third element" (Manongo Mujica, interview, September 2010), achieving creative camaraderie. In light of the existent segregation in Lima as a city (see Chapter 1), this camaraderie should not be dismissed as a marketing cliché; it does represent a musical negotiation of difference and a space for inclusion. For example, bringing together musicians educated in the Western Art tradition with rural Andean musicians, who did not know how to read notation, gave rise to alternative ways of composing music in La Sarita. Initially the electric band would follow and embellish the Andean structures brought by Andean violinist Marino Marcacuzco and, in time, Marino would also start to improvise over rock or punk sequences. There are also upper class musicians adapting their performance aesthetic and language to Andean traditions. For example, Maria Elena Pacheco accommodates her classical violin technique and positions to produce Andean violin sounds and

corrects her Quechua singing style under the direction of Magaly Solier during rehearsals (see Chapter 4.3.1), Colectivo Circo Band also uses saxophone timbres which aim to capture the aesthetics of *Banda Patronal* and *Orquesta Tipica* from Central Peru.¹³³

Fusion music seems to project the musicians' search for dialogue and personal connection, which is important because ideal relationships are made visible, in which different musicians with different ethnicities, social backgrounds and class come together to create something new beyond normalised discriminatory hierarchies. In many cases, this personal connection is celebrated and shared in *lyrics*.

Lyrics are the crystallisation of musicians' ideals, imagined possibilities (see more about this in Chapter 5.3), which trigger audience reactions, as they participate seeking the same ideal. Seventy five percent of the fusion musicians interviewed use lyrics in their compositions. Sixty percent of the seventy five percent who use lyrics in their music, deal with social issues in their songs, this clearly indicates that there is a political side to Peruvian fusion (this political side will be further examined in Chapter 4).

When discussing fusion as a process of intercultural understanding, it is important to mention the lyrics of fusion pioneers like Miki González, Del Pueblo y del Barrio and Los Mojarras, especially during the 1990s. Their lyrics reflected social reality and portrayed the music dialogues explored by these musicians, for example:

<p><i>Cuando aprendí a tocar guitarra, un viejo amigo me presentó al gran maestro del zapateo, el se llamaba Don Amador [Don Amador: ese soy yo],</i></p> <p><i>En un pueblito llamado El Carmen, al sur de Lima en el Perú, yo le pedí que a mí me enseñara y un buen día el aceptó</i></p> <p><i>Las enseñanzas de mi maestro,</i></p>	<p><i>When I learnt to play the guitar, an old friend introduced me to the great master of zapateo his name was Don Amador [Don Amador: that's me],</i></p> <p><i>In a village called El Carmen, south of Lima in Peru, I asked him to teach me and one fine day he said yes</i></p> <p><i>The teachings of my mentor,</i></p>
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¹³³ For further reading on *Orquesta Tipica* and *Banda Patronal*, see Romero 2001.

<p><i>me hicieron ser un hombre mejor, si quiere ser algo en esta vida hay que luchar dijo Amador.</i></p>	<p><i>made me a better man, if you want to be something in life you have to fight said Amador</i></p>
<p><i>Y hoy estamos tocando juntos, no me lo creo es un honor, estar al lado de este gigante y con tremenda reputación.</i></p>	<p><i>And today we're playing together I can't believe it, it's an honour, to stand next to this giant with such a great reputation.</i></p>
<p><i>Y así luchando por muchos años, nuestra amistad se fortaleció y hoy estamos tocando juntos trayendo un ritmo muy sabrozo.</i></p>	<p><i>And so fighting for many years our friendship grew stronger and today we're playing together bringing a swinging rhythm</i></p>
<p><i>Aquí están unos de sus hijos, con quienes hago este bacilón con esta música muy sabroza que sale dentro del Corazón</i></p>	<p><i>Some of his children are here, with whom I'm having this fun/making this party with this swinging music which comes from the heart</i></p>
<p><i>A gozar sabroso. Miki González (Akundún 1992)</i></p>	

Miki González' music and lyrics are especially important, as he was the first white upper class popular musician discussing the politics of intercultural and interclass unity using music. His portrayals of Andeanness may have been romantic, yet his lyrics and music videos show a white man in search of friendship, knowledge and self-discovery; this was not overlooked by his audience and opened the musical minds of many other white upper class youths, who would, for the first time, become acquainted with traditional artists, the Ballumbrosio family, Rosita del Cusco, and their music (see Chapter 2).

In that period [1980s – 1990s] I remember we were thinking about ourselves, it was a very selfish time. He comes with his protest rock and his Akundún and then his more Andean blends... he made us forget a little about all the shit surrounding us, and in that way stop fearing the Andeans, the blacks, he made us listen to them, dance with them, even care about them, and precisely at the time when the differences were hurting us the most. We were there hating each other and discriminating against each other, while Miki was celebrating the differences, a decent nutter (Miguel 30, personal communication, Barranco – November 2010).

In their early songs, *Del Pueblo y del Barrio* and *Los Mojarras* described the struggles of poverty, crime, and pride from their own experiences. Their political message was very conspicuous, and, in the case of *Los Mojarras*, they took it to prime time TV and radio. Still, *Lima del presente* ('Lima of the present') was reluctant to listen to them, as *Los Mojarras'* presaged the growth of an

Andean migrant Lima, an ominous prospect for the traditional middle and upper classes.

<p><i>No somos Limeños de sangre, mas tenemos su cultura, no hemos nacido en provincia, mas es nuestra sangre.</i></p> <p><i>Nostalgia provinciana, en busca de oportunidad, Ahora ha pasado el tiempo, ahora somos mucho más La dura vida urbana, eso de ser marginal, Hizo de nuestra raza, acero de superación Lima Limeña, Lima Provinciana, Lima del presente, somos tu futuro.</i></p> <p><i>En tus calles como ambulantes, en tus Mercados como comerciantes, en tus edificios, en tus pueblos jóvenes, desde el obrero hasta el empresario.</i></p> <p>Excerpt from <i>Nostalgia Provinciana</i> – Los Mojarras (Ruidos en la ciudad 1994). Composer Hernán Condori.</p>	<p><i>We're not Limeños by blood, but we have it's culture, we weren't born in the province, but it's our blood.</i></p> <p><i>Provincial nostalgia, looking for opportunity, Now time has passed, now there are many more of us The tough urban life, this life on the margins Forged our race into steel of aspiration Limeño Lima, Provincial Lima Lima of the present, we are your future.</i></p> <p><i>In your streets as hawkers, in your markets as traders, in your buildings, in your shanty towns, from the worker to the businessman.</i></p>
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However, all these efforts to sing Lima's intercultural shift, from the late 1980s and 1990s would later yield their fruits, with fusion bands such as La Sarita. La Sarita's lyrics denounced the political system (*Más Poder* 1999), poverty, class difference, media manipulation (*Danza la Raza* 2003) and became the emblematic Barranco fusion band in 2009 with their album *Mamacha Simona*.

Today such lyrics are not only sung by Andean migrant or popular classes, as was the case with Los Mojarras in the 1990s. Upper class *Limeños* also sing loudly and with emotion at venues, such as La Noche. Fusion music and strong political lyrics have transcended the world of the Andean migrant to permeate allowed spaces and, to showcase issues like migration, poverty, identity, social inclusion and interculturality.

<p><i>Admiración, fascinación, por el pasado y presente andino, pueblo que sobrevivió al exterminio taky unquy, resistencia al dominio. A pesar de la adversidad su gran ingenio les hizo prosperar, fortaleza y sabiduría Pachamama no murió,</i></p>	<p><i>Admiration, fascination for the Andean past and present, people who survived the taky unquy extermination, resisting domination. In spite of the adversity, their great ingenuity made them prosper, strength and wisdom Pachamama didn't</i></p>
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<p><i>fe que se guarda hasta hoy día.</i></p> <p><i>Despojados, expulsados dejaron la tierra de sus antepasados migración, violencia oficial abuso y desprecio que aún no ha cesado. Partieron, llegaron y conquistaron la tierra que Dios nunca les prometió, sedujeron al arenal y forjaron así una nueva nación.</i></p> <p><i>Taky unquytas takimuni</i> <i>(Dicen que canto la canción enferma)</i> <i>waqay takitas takimuni</i> <i>(canciones que lloran dicen que canto)</i> <i>apunchiskuna rikch'ariqtin</i> <i>(cuando despierten nuestras montañas sagradas)</i> <i>wamanikuna hatariqtinz</i> <i>(cuando se levanten los espíritus de nuestros dioses)</i></p> <p><i>Mama Simona, tu bendición danos la fuerza, danos tu amor danos aliento para seguir cantando juntos esta canción.</i></p> <p><i>Canto enfermo – La Sarita (Mamacha Simona 2009). Composer Julio Pérez Luyo</i></p>	<p><i>die, faith preserved till this day.</i></p> <p><i>Despoiled, expelled, they left their ancestral land migration, abuse by official violence and contempt which hasn't ended. They left, they came and they conquered the land God never promised them, they seduced the desert sand¹³⁴ forging a new nation.</i></p> <p><i>Taky unquytas takimuni</i> <i>(They say I sing the sick song)</i> <i>waqay takitas takimuni</i> <i>(songs that cry they say I sing)</i> <i>apunchiskuna rikch'ariqtin</i> <i>(when our sacred mountains awaken)</i> <i>wamanikuna hatariqtinz</i> <i>(when the spirits of our gods rise)</i></p> <p><i>Mother Simona, your blessing give us strength, give us your love give us breath to keep on singing this song together.</i></p>
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I argue that all these examples, by no means the only ones in the fusion scene, have little by little exposed young upper classes to Andean traditional music and musicians, helping them to discover this music in their own allowed spaces. One of the common critiques of hybridity is that it feeds a ‘delusional idea’ that everything is ok, that people embrace interculturality and respect differences, that lower and higher classes can coexist and admire each other. Delusional or idealistic, this is what most fusion musicians themselves say they want to achieve with their music: a real unity in diversity, real intercultural understanding. With their music they portray and directly discuss serious social issues within a class shielded from Lima’s political and social reality. Some white upper class bands have gone even further directly denouncing their own class and its notions of exclusivity (see Chapter 5.2)

¹³⁴ Lima is in the desert.

Most fusion music then not only celebrates difference, highlighting assimilation or mestizaje, but also shows the existence of it. In Lipsitz words when writing on hybridity: “it [hybrids] provides a vantage point from where to see in more than one direction”, a “crossroad” (1997). This enables and motivates the audiences to choose a path revealed in music. Several of the fusionists I interviewed, invite their audiences (rich and not rich) to actively work towards erasing these differences. Since 2005 most fusion musicians have been looking beyond superficial aesthetic blends and friendship intimacies of intercultural music discovery, not only to portray intercultural unity, but also to become a critical and rebellious intercultural force for reflection. For this, fusion musicians had to build the genre’s circuit, shape it from exotic blends (Yma Sumac), intercultural curiosity (El Polen, Miki González), aesthetic exploration (Richie Zellon, Manongo, Jean Pierre Magnet), to an intimate embodiment of difference, a reenactment and reconstruction of identities and social roles. Difference is not only portrayed and then overcome through intercultural music performance, but it is assumed, embodied, experienced and offered to the audience. Though, not as difference, but as a new ‘sameness’, as if asking ‘would you like to join us like ‘everybody else’?

All this is reinforced by the visual aspect of fusion *performance*, which is crucial given that popular music is not only about what we hear, but also what we see (Katz 2004:20, Curt Sachs as quoted in Théberge, 1997:18). Fusion *performances* are flooded with nationalistic symbols. Non-lyric fusion usually uses projections of natural landscapes and Peruvian dances (e.g. Manuel Miranda). Jean Pierre Magnet and Serenata de los Andes often play in the well-known Huacca Puccllana, a pre Inca ruin in San Isidro – Lima, which seems to offer a “journey to the majestic Andes” (Jean Pierre Magnet, interview, October 2010). Many fusionists use traditional dancers in their performances, creating hybrid steps to hybrid music (e.g. Miki González, Jean Paul Strauss, Jean Pierre Magnet, Novalima, Damaris, among others). For other musicians, their inherent interculturality is part of the performance (La Sarita, Uchpa) as they make constant remarks about this onstage, between songs, when presenting native

instruments or Andean genres and introducing the members of the band. For them, it is not about enacting difference, but about showing their intercultural dialogue as friendship, admiration and respect.

Costume is also central to the image and message artists project in performance. Andeanness is showcased in outfits. Magaly Solier, for example, wears modern designs with Andean icons (a belt, a hair piece, a modern pollera¹³⁵); Marino Marcacuzco and Raúl Curo (La Sarita) wear Ayacuchean rural outfits stating that it is the way they would dress in Ayacucho, and therefore it is the dress they choose to wear while playing their tradition (Marcacuzco and Curo, interview, September 2010). Damaris chooses to reflect her fused identity in fused traditional outfits. These Andean musicians perform indigeneity in different ways and by individual choice, complementing their ideas of fusion music and collaboration with their choice of outfits. I have not found a single upper class or mestizo fusion musician who would don full Andean attire for the sake of performance. However, some non-Andean musicians chose to show tokens of Andeanness in their outfits (a *chullo*,¹³⁶ a vest, a belt). Others, such as Julio Pérez (La Sarita), and Fredy Ortiz (Uchpa) wear colourful hybrids of indigenous culture (hats, gloves, shoes, masks), with jeans and regular t-shirts. Yet others, like Bareto and La Mente have opted for a standard urban men's look (t-shirts and jeans), in La Mente's case, t-shirts that may look standard, but are often loaded with political messages such as "*El indio de... La Mente*" (The Indian of... La Mente) (see Figure 11), clearly an allusion to the colloquial pejorative insult phrase: *Indio de mierda* ('Bloody Indian'), or a portrait of Alan Garcia, former President of Peru as the devil. La Mente's members are often seen wearing t-shirts from particular designers "*Lacraza*" and "*Faite*",¹³⁷ this last one founded by two upper class designers and an economist: Germán Quino Ganoza (Cherman), José Carlos Carcelén and Samuel Gutiérrez. Their brand sells "t-shirts with Peruvian feeling":

¹³⁵ Skirt commonly worn by Andean peasant women. In some traditions multiple *polleras* are worn in layers.

¹³⁶ A knitted cap with earflaps commonly worn by Andean peasant men.

¹³⁷ Peruvian slang from the English word 'fighter', originated in Peruvian prisons as a term for an aggressive person looking for trouble.

Our thing is local design; we select a symbol from our society and turn it into the heart of a garment (Cherman 2010).¹³⁸



Figure 11: La Mente's t-shirts. Design Martín Yepez (Lacraza). Source: Live and Stuff Lima 2011.

Maria Paz Lezcano http://www.liveandstuff.com/2011_10_01_archive.html

Used with permission from Nicolás Duarte and Maria Paz Lezcano.

It is important to note that *Faite* is only available at two stores in Barranco and Miraflores and they cost between 50 and 100 soles (between 15 and 30 pounds).¹³⁹ The t-shirts' popularity signals a 'Peruvian feeling' among the upper classes, who go to fusion concerts and who dream of being from *el barrio* ('the hood') and portray this desire of belonging to Lima's popular culture via wearing chicha coloured¹⁴⁰ t-shirts with images of Sarita Colonia¹⁴¹ and Hector Lavoe.¹⁴² This is indicative of fusion's audience impact, which is achieved through the four

¹³⁸ Article: *Polos con sentimiento* in Gestión (03/03/10) <http://gestion.pe/noticia/422387/polos-sentimiento-peruano> (Last accessed 09/11/12).

¹³⁹ *Faite* stores' website: <http://www.madeinhermany.com/> (Last accessed 13/08/13).

¹⁴⁰ "Chicha aesthetics is characterised by the iconography, styles, and vibrant colours found in Andean textiles, as well as other Andean motifs and musical genres, which are mixed with various stylistic elements, both local and global. Broadly this constitutes a formal appropriation of a migrant aesthetic as a means to connect with an emergent lower middle class market and as a novel source of cultural resources to devise new marketing strategies" (Denegri-Knott et. al. 2012) See paper in <http://chichacultures.wordpress.com/2012/07/16/chicha-aesthetics-as-marketing-aesthetic/> (Last accessed 13/08/13).

¹⁴¹ Andean girl who is venerated by working classes in Lima and Callao as a popular saint.

¹⁴² Puerto Rican salsa singer praised as one of the most important figures in salsa dura.

loops discussed. The fifth loop was only hinted at, but it entails fusion artists' social and political involvement off-stage *beyond performance*, which will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

Conclusion

Fusion means different things to different people. Therefore, there are many ambiguous discourses around it. Fusion can mean commercialising with tradition as well as looking for inclusion so many musicians avoid defining their music as fusion, although they use the term in practice. Fusion music projects can be appropriative or collaborative. However, even the most appropriative ones can be interpreted as two-way interactions. I found it useful to move beyond interpretative frameworks of music appropriation and exoticisation to focus more on the process in which fusion became part of everyday life and a tool for the upper classes to find themselves in the Peruvian map.

Regarding fusion as a process, for most of the fusion musicians I interviewed, fusion is a product of life experience, cultural knowledge/exploration and real human dialogue. Furthermore, human interaction is key to avoiding exoticisation and romanticisation of Andean, Amazonian and Afro traditions. Yet, sometimes this intercultural interaction is still romantic and exoticised. This generates contradictions, as there is a strong discourse of upper class musicians' cultural rescue and vindication of subaltern genres. However, there are musicians who question their own discourse: For whom are we really 'rescuing' tradition from oblivion? It seems that the upper classes in Lima *need* the Andean musicians to keep the 'nation's traditions', to learn what are supposed to be the traditions of their own country and, ultimately, to recreate their taste and identity.

For musicians and alternative audiences fusion music is a tool for self-recreation as they approach 'the other' to 'find and reconstruct themselves'. It is also interpreted as a way to enact, participate, discuss and achieve intercultural understanding and political awareness. All this is part of a process of acting on a young upper class desire to engage in intercultural dialogues and spaces,

attempting in this way to change historical roles and imaginaries of class and race. In the next chapter, I will deal with music racialisation. For this, I will provide an historical account of the early space transgressions and mainstream success of provincial musicians in Lima, outlining their slow incursion into white upper class circuits. This will serve as a background for discussing how race and phenotype can limit or facilitate music dialogue, fusing music or simply freely performing any specific music genre. In particular I will discuss ethnographic cases of mestizo and white upper class fusion performers. Finally, I will explore how this music racialisation and hierarchisation is being challenged by current fusion performers, who in this way are changing the audiences' imaginaries of race and class.

Chapter 4: Who has the right to mix?

As discussed in previous chapters, for some in the white upper classes fusion music is a tool of social self-inclusion and identity self-recreation. They use it in an attempt to subvert their own racialisation in Lima by negotiating their whiteness. But how did white upper class musicians from a class historically self-secluded in exclusivity manage to become familiar with, and in fusion make theirs, the musical expressions of people perceived as subaltern?

Jo Haynes, in her book *Music, difference and the residue of race*, identifies evidence of “race [as] an aesthetic resource used to structure and interpret music knowledge, taste and affinities, albeit in contradictory and uneven ways” (2013:145). Here, aesthetics are key to contemporary forms of racialisation. Sociologist Bethany Bryson notes “negative attitudes toward social groups result in negative attitudes towards the types of music associated with that group” (2002: 113). This indicates the role of race, ethnicity and culture in the social value and acceptance of music. For centuries Andean or provincial musical expressions (be these rural, urban, migrant or simply *Limeño* representations of the provinces), would have been categorised as music of poor taste and only for poor people by traditional *Limeños*. In essence, this was a negative reaction to strangers, a phenomenon Bauman (1993: 168) describes as proteophobia, one of two possible affective responses to emotional ambivalence when encountering difference. For Bauman, Proteophobia is the rejection of difference and Proteophilia, the admiration and consumption of difference. Haynes uses Bauman’s theoretical tropes as she believes that they “provide a useful framing of the relationship between the discursive and affective dimensions of racialisation” (Haynes 2013:23), and so do I. However, Haynes discusses Bauman’s reduction of the acceptance of difference to a mere consumer fad and hints that patterns of taste and distaste indicate that aesthetic enjoyment is shaped by knowledge (*ibid.* 2013:29). Haynes argues that interpretations of “racial difference [that] are deemed aesthetically desirable (...) have the potential to foster understanding and create bonds even though they are based on problematic essentialist thinking.”

Though, she is not convinced that these understanding and bonds lead to political transformation and non-racist attitudes (*ibid.* 2013: 29). During fieldwork in Lima, I documented the transformation of white upper class music taste and its impact on racialising behaviours, tracing these white upper class individual's journey from proteophobia to proteophilia through intercultural fusion music playing and listening, proving not only the flexibility of people's reactions towards difference, but also documenting their knowledge, understanding, new relationships and finally observing their political and personal transformation (see Chapter 5). Music makes audiences "assume a subjective and collective identity" (Frith 1996: 109), giving people an opportunity to "build a self-in-process" (*ibid.* 1996: 109).

This chapter offers evidence of the racial self-in-process. For this, I will first provide a brief historical account of the slow incursion of stigmatised Andean and Amazonian music and musicians into Lima's mainstream music circuits and their reception among the upper classes (Section 4.1). Following this account, I will then return to the current fusion scene and analyse how race and phenotype are perceived as, and effectively constitute, social barriers to creativity, musician mobility and the democratic dissemination of music (Section 4.2, 4.3), and how this is being challenged and subverted by contemporary fusionistas (Section 4.4).

Finally, playing the music of a group racialised as 'the other', through mixing genres, brings issues of participation and agency into discussion. Who has the right to play a particular genre? Does discrimination and exclusion only affect Andeans? Who really has the right to mix, to make the music they want, to express their identity, to discover themselves? In this chapter I will repeatedly refer to labels used in Lima to categorise and sometimes qualify people, such as mestizo, *cholo*, *indigena*, Andean, white, which are ambiguous, subjective and problematic (Canessa 2005:24, Garcia 2005:16, De la Cadena 2001), as are mestizo/indigenous binaries (Mendoza 2008). However, they are crucial to understanding contemporary upper class imaginaries, discourse and assumptions, as they are widely and constantly used.

4.1 Historical space transgressions: *Cholos igualados*¹⁴³

During the 1980s, the gruesome internal war between the State and the Shining Path forced thousands of Andeans to migrate to Lima.¹⁴⁴ They made their homes in the city's peripheries (or *conos*), a phenomenon dubbed as *desborde popular* ('popular sector spill-over') by Matos Mar (1984). Chicha music is the product of migration, as Andeans in Lima mixed their traditional music with tropical rhythms from Colombia and a new genre of popular music emerged (Romero 1985, Turino 1988, Hurtado 1995, Quispe 1993, Alfaro 2010). However, traditional Lima rejected it associating it with marginality, *serranos* ('highlanders') and bad taste (Romero 2007:31, Bailón 2004: 58-59, Ramos-García 2003:201).¹⁴⁵ Some perceived it as a subaltern Andean popular genre from a vulgar "chicha culture" (see Chapter 1). Nevertheless, chicha music artists became well known in Andean Lima and abroad: Los Shapis, a chicha band founded by Jaime Moreira and Julio Simeón¹⁴⁶ became a cult band in countries like Argentina, Chile and the US; Lorenzo Palacios Quispe, best known as Chacalón, was considered one of the foremost exponents of this genre and has been revered by his followers as a *santo popular* ('popular saint') since his death in 1994.

¹⁴³ *Igualado*, loosely literally translated would mean 'considering yourself someone's equal'. It is usually only heard in conjunction with racial terms, such as *cholo* or *negro*, and is used derogatively to communicate the interlocutor's feeling of superiority. Hence '*igualado*' could be considered to express roughly the same sentiment as the, now quaint, English word 'uppity'. I choose this title to communicate the sentiment that was widely expressed among upper and middle class *Limeños* when provincial artists entered the Lima music circuit in the 1990s.

¹⁴⁴ This was not the first wave of internal migration. There was a peak in migration in the 1940s and later in the 1960s driven by Velasco's agrarian reform (see Chapter 1).

¹⁴⁵ Chicha was not the only Andean migrant music genre disfavoured by the *criollo* middle and upper classes. Andean rock, a sub-genre of Peruvian fusion music as defined in this thesis, was also treated as inferior, as illustrated by Cachuca, leader of Los Mojarras, (see Appendix 2): "When I've gone to the beaches to play, I've seen how one of the bands was driven away because it was a band that seemed excellent, but the people said no, they aren't real whites/Creoles, they're highlanders [indigenous]...[When you appear on the stage]...you topple the structure of their dreams about traditional rock stars... When we travelled to Tacna and got off of the plane, the people that had come to greet us, with posters and everything, they didn't recognise us, behind us came some whites and foreigners, and the people began to applaud them, believing that they were us: look how Peru thinks...They only see the fat one, the ugly one, the *chicherros*, the *cholos*, the *serranos*. That's how it goes" (Ramos-García in Aparicio, et. al. 2003: 201).

¹⁴⁶ Also known as *Chapulin el dulce*.

Not of Andean origin, but often perceived to be, Rossy War,¹⁴⁷ from the Amazon (Madre de Dios) region, brought technocumbia to *Limeños* in the early 1990s, a new hybrid genre that mixed elements of tex-mex, ranchera style, pop and chicha (Romero 2007: 36-40). Alongside technocumbia, huayno con arpa – widely considered Andean contemporary music *par excellence* – peaked with renewed popularity in Lima in the late 1990s. Glamorous huayno divas, such as Dina Paúcar and Sonia Morales, performed and continue to perform, in massive concerts often to audiences of more than fifteen thousand (Ferrier 2010), as did contemporary huayno Ayacuchano artists, like Hermanos Gaitán Castro and William Luna, later in the 2000s (Tucker 2005). All these genres brought together migrants, the so-called ‘popular classes’ in massive concerts, where love, hardship and community building were celebrated and lamented through dance and music. The commercial success and visibility of these genres was highlighted to me by Chano Díaz Límaco, Ayacuchean music producer:

... contemporary Andean music where you find Max Castro, Antología and William Luna, fill stadiums the way Gianmarco, Pedro Suárez could only wish for.¹⁴⁸ EVERY week in ALL of Peru. William Luna fills stadiums with eighteen thousand people and Castro, I think he has a house in Ecuador and spends two weeks a month playing there, he goes to Bolivia, right now he is Mexico (...) In Lima Gianmarco gets platinum for 10 thousand copies; William Luna, for whom I have produced 4 albums, the highest selling one was 120 thousand, the *Niñachay* álbum, between 100 and 120 thousand. So, William really has multi platinums (Chano Díaz Límaco, interview, October 2010).

For Chano, when we spoke in 2010, contemporary Andean music was “more alive than ever” (*ibid.* October 2010). There was a whole ‘Andean’ music industry: specialist producers, distributors, sound engineers, and studios all dedicated to the vast body of Andean musics. Yet, in spite of these genres’ commercial success and visibility outside Lima’s traditional criollo centre, for some, they are still subaltern genres, associated with backwardness, drunkenness, choloness and bad taste. Its success by no means guaranteed respect and appreciation from traditional middle and upper classes.

¹⁴⁷ Her artistic name Rossy War, is a direct English translation from her real name Rosa Guerra.

¹⁴⁸ Gianmarco and Pedro Suárez Vertiz are white upper class rock and pop mainstream singers.

Of all the previously mentioned genres, technocumbia and huayno Ayacuchano were the only two Andean hybrid genres, which transgressed the migrant audience and achieved notable popularity among the middle and upper classes in Lima. These latter classes are reluctant to attend massive concerts of popular Andean genres, which would mean transgressing their allowed spaces. In the early 1990s, Rossy War ‘broke the rules’ and took her music to the most exclusive homes in Lima. Many musicians acknowledged Rossy War as the first cumbia musician to transcend socio-economic class and ethnic barriers, it was not easy, I myself remember how people used to laugh at Rossy’s outfits.¹⁴⁹ It was also common to hear middle and upper class *Limeños* saying *que se cree esta chola* ('who does this *chola* think she is?') or *otra chichera más* ('just another *chichera*'), even though Rossy was from the Amazonian region, not from the Andes. Chicha, and by extension technocumbia, were widely perceived to be *cholo* and therefore, through this racialised view, rejected and discriminated against.

Rossy mentions that part of the reason for her success among the upper classes is that her vocal timbre is very similar to that of Ana Gabriel, a very popular Mexican singer.

I think it has to do with them mistaking me for Ana Gabriel, which is what they called me on the radio. Initially, I said “Who is Ana Gabriel?” (...) I checked out who she was and said “wow, I love her, wow, do I really sing like that? (...) But she is a great artist and, well, it is an honour that they compare me to her (...) When we started out in Mexico, the record company in Mexico that recorded a production for us, bought the production and launched it there. They took the CD and they brought us to promote it. Because pirates there had already launched *Nunca pensé llorar* [I never thought I’d cry], but they had dubbed it “*Ana G’s cumbia*”, so everyone was saying Ana Gabriel’s cumbia (...) I suppose that has something to do with it. Suddenly some *pipiris* [posh people] must have said, if it’s popular there... (Rossy War, interview March 2011).

¹⁴⁹ Rossy War was influenced by Mexican *Rancheras* and Tex-Mex. Her usual outfits were long boots, hot pants, tight short top, long gloves and a hat; very similar to Selena, a very well-known and loved Tex-Mex star. See Figure 11. For more information on Rossy War’s biography and style see Popular music and the global city: Huayno, chicha and technocumbia in Lima by Raúl Romero (2002: 234-237).



Figure 12: Rossy War classic outfit. Source: Rossy War and Tito Mauri.

Photographer: Vanessa Guerrero

Rossy implies that when a product is successful in foreign markets it then becomes more attractive to the Lima upper classes. She was not heard on Peruvian radio until her music became popular abroad; neither did she receive upper class acceptance until people started to identify the sound of her voice with that of Ana Gabriel. People even called her *la ronquita de la canción Peruana* ('the raspy voice of Peruvian song') or *la ronquita de la technocumbia* ('the raspy voice of technocumbia'); a clear allusion to Ana Gabriel's artistic nickname of *la ronquita* ('the raspy voice').¹⁵⁰ Other groups and soloists followed her lead, and today, nearly two decades later, Rossy War's recordings still remain in several Lima upper class CD collections.

¹⁵⁰ Name featured in several media interviews, pirate VCD's and current YouTube comments.

Huayno Ayacuchano also transgressed its migrant context. Even though the white upper classes considered this genre of better taste and ‘more decent’ than other forms of huayno and chicha, traditional Lima did not listen to it before its boom between 2000-2002. Joshua Tucker, who has studied this genre, writes:¹⁵¹

On a visit to Lima in 2002, I attended a concert by the Gaitán Castro brothers that was billed as a tenth-anniversary event. The show had piqued my interest when it was written up in Peru's foremost daily periodical, *El Comercio*, a rarity for Andean music. My curiosity was further aroused when I saw an advertisement that stated the show's price of entry and its location: S/30 nuevos soles, or roughly \$8.00 US at the exclusive club La Estación de Barranco [aprox 5.50 GBP]. This was a surprising amount of money (...) The performance space was perhaps even more surprising. A club that is nationally recognised as a tony center of Lima's criollo elite (and presented as such in the Lonely Planet guidebook), La Estación catered to those who traditionally have had little use for Andean cultural manifestations, if not remaining outwardly hostile toward them. (...) Inside, the assembled audience displayed clear signs of the wealth that allowed them to attend. Elegant jewelry, high-priced dye jobs (red hair was especially fashionable among Lima's elites). American cigarettes (instead of more noxious Peruvian brands), and a general consumption of cocktails instead of beer all bespoke luxury that was rarely on display at música ayacuchana shows in the city center (Tucker 2005: 385).

In other words, once a subaltern genre was popular abroad and became available in their allowed spaces, then the white upper class paid attention to it, even though it was negatively racialised. Haynes, discussing world music audiences in the UK, argues that white upper class cosmopolitanism constitutes valuable cultural capital helping this group to distinguish itself from people who only listen to the same music [or genre] (2013:154). In Lima, upper class cosmopolitanism is also reflected in the consumption of previously stigmatised genres, as the examples show. I argue that *Limeño* upper class cosmopolitanism is not only triggered by international fads, another factor also contributing to their construction is the individual migratory experience of young people in the upper classes during the internal war (see Chapters 1 and 5). Living abroad they had to negotiate their status and social role as a diaspora, nostalgically consuming national cultural products as emigrants.

¹⁵¹ Joshua Tucker's doctoral thesis: *Sounding out a New Peru: Music, media, and the emergent Andean Public* (2005).

Political dynamics also contributed to these space transgressions, particularly electoral dynamics, as Peruvian presidents influenced the consumption of these genres intertwining them with the political context. In the 1990s, Alberto Fujimori chose technocumbia as the soundtrack for his multiple campaigns (see Romero 2002: 217). Rossy War became Fujimori's favourite artist and was often invited to sing at official events. Later, the Hermanos Gaitán Castro song *Amor amor* ('My love, my love') became President Toledo's emblematic song catapulting the Gaitán Castro brothers into different class contexts. In time, these genres and performers disappeared from the middle and upper class public eye, once their political promoters were out of office, giving way to other political leaders and, with them, other popular genres.¹⁵²

Another performer who has successfully transgressed racialised spaces is Abelardo Gutiérrez Alanya ('Tongo'), a witty character and *chichero* from Huancayo; his bravado, sense of humour and entrepreneurial skills have opened doors for him in diverse social classes and venues. He has been on the music scene since 2000, but it was in 2007 when he released his song *La Pituca* ('the posh girl') that Tongo became a public figure. Tongo approaches the upper classes playing the role of a provincial *chichero* with 'bad taste'; he also translates his songs (badly) into English and sings them with barely intelligible pronunciation.¹⁵³ However, he has sung at very exclusive venues in Miraflores and Asia, attracting the attention of several news programmes in Lima.¹⁵⁴

I have a Pituca who loves me a lot
She's been all night cry
She's been all night suffer
Why Pituca loves me?

¹⁵² More recently, for the presidential elections of 2011, Dina Paúcar was chosen by Keiko Fujimori, daughter of former president Alberto Fujimori, to be the artist of her political campaign, which caused a backlash from Dina Paúcar's followers. Alan García, during his first mandate (1985-1990) did the same with chicha music, using the band Los Shapis as political propaganda (Turino 1988: 139); later, for his second mandate (2006-2011), Alan García chose cumbia norteña for the same purpose, and perhaps, contributed to the revival of Peruvian cumbia among Lima's middle and upper classes.

¹⁵³ He also sings *La Pituca* in Italian, Quechua and German, among other languages.

¹⁵⁴ Reportaje Semanal: Tongo en Asia (03/01/11)

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_IIXu2Cuh1I&feature=related (Last accessed 02/08/11)

If I just a chichero no mas (Tongo – La Pituca)¹⁵⁵

During fieldwork in Lima, several people from the upper classes told me they saw a buffoon in Tongo and that it was fun to watch him as an “exotic ridiculous character” (Stefano 22, informal communication – Asia 2011). But others said that he was nice, his concerts were always fun and they genuinely liked him. What I find interesting is that Tongo seems quite comfortable acting out the upper classes’ negative stereotypes of mestizo Andeans. If they already think that chicha music is of bad taste, why not confront them with the witty character of Tongo and make them dance the music they ‘hate’? I wonder who is making fun of whom. In the end, Tongo makes a living from his role and the upper classes have an excuse to dance the music other Peruvians dance.

In today’s Lima, Andean culture is increasingly mainstream due to Lima’s *cholificación* (Quijano 1980) and “the conquest of Peru by the Indian” (Méndez 1996: 225). Artists like Rossy War, the Hermanos Gaitán Castro and Tongo have played an important role in making ‘the racial other’ visible, not only in what people imagine to be ‘their place’, but also at exclusive upper class venues, associated with a white phenotype and thus, seen as off limits for Andeans. These transgressions, perhaps without any deliberate integrationist agendas, paved the way for other Andean performers to move more freely and challenge their persona and genre racialisation. Cumbia norteña benefited from this.

In 2007, cumbia norteña, another well-known genre among the popular classes, experienced a boom among the middle and upper classes in Lima.¹⁵⁶ Cumbia norteña uses brass instruments and gives more sonic presence to synthesizers and minor percussion, relegating the characteristic lead guitar sound of chicha and cumbia amazónica. The genre is not new, bands from northern Peru (Piura and Lambayeque) were already popular in the late 1990s. However, in 2007, not even the wealthiest *Limeño* could resist it and DJ’s at exclusive dance

¹⁵⁵ Original Tongo lyrics.

¹⁵⁶ While the popularity of cumbia and chicha music has waxed and waned in Lima, these genres have remained a hit with the popular classes in most of Peru.

venues and weddings included cumbia songs in their playlists (Dj Villacorta, interview, March 2011).

Cumbia's most recent revival among the upper classes was its biggest yet, with bands such as Grupo 5 and Hermanos Yaipén and many others.¹⁵⁷ Once again, the trend seems spurred from abroad. In 2007 a CD was released in the United States *Roots of chicha. Psychedelic cumbias from Peru*; it was the first-ever compilation of cumbia amazónica released outside Peru.¹⁵⁸ It achieved cult status in the U.S. and soon reached Lima. Several media articles were published about the popularity of Peruvian cumbia abroad. Music lovers and musicians from the upper classes also discovered it, learning to like a previously ignored and rejected genre. It is likely that technocumbia's earlier success in Lima, the popularity of *Roots of Chicha* abroad, the tragic death of the much loved chicha band Grupo Nectar in Argentina,¹⁵⁹ and the promotion of cumbia by President Alan Garcia's second regime (2006-2011), all contributed to the revival of cumbia norteña and chicha among the elites. Other possible factors include the empowerment of the alternative young upper classes (within the upper class), post-war peace, and increasing social diversity in education as growing numbers of students from the emerging classes study alongside the children of the traditional upper classes. The revival of cumbia norteña and chicha peaked in 2008 and the associated stigma faded as it became socially acceptable for the Lima upper classes to enjoy these genres.¹⁶⁰ This trend was also reinforced by white upper class musicians exploring cumbia covers in their fusion productions and concerts (e.g. Bareto, La Mente).

¹⁵⁷ El Grupo 5 was founded by Elmer Yaipén and Victor Yaipén (senior) in 1973 in Monsefu (Northern Peru); Hermanos Yaipén was founded by Walter and Javier Yaipén in 2000. For more information about both bands, Grupo 5: <http://elgrupo5.com/> and Hermanos Yaipén: <http://www.orquestahnosYaipén.com/#/historia> (Last accessed 11/05/11).

¹⁵⁸ Barbes Records: *The Roots of Chicha: Psychedelic Cumbias of Peru* <http://www.barbesrecords.com/rootsofchicha.html> (Last accessed 12/05/11).

¹⁵⁹ Terra: Hasta el momento 4 de los 13 cuerpos del grupo Nectar han sido identificados (14/05/07). <http://www.terra.com.pe/noticias/articulo/html/act835481.htm> (Last accessed 10/05/11).

¹⁶⁰ It is interesting to note that even though the two most successful cumbia norteña bands were founded in 1973 (Grupo 5) and 2000 (Hermanos Yaipén), it was not until 2007 that both bands reached massive popularity in Lima, particularly among the elites.

Already in 1980, referring to the outcomes of Andean migration to Lima, Anibal Quijano writes: “new cultural values of the dominated groups begin to invade the subculture of the young groups in the upper and middle sectors, who are not always capable of clearly perceiving what is happening to them in this area...” (1980: 39). This insertion of Andean cultural values in ‘traditional’ Lima was a process that started with Andean migration and slowly continued to socially affect, not only *criollo* middle class families, but also the white traditional upper and high classes. By 2007, many of them were dancing cumbia norteña and chicha, but only in their allowed spaces, exclusive weddings, corporative private concerts, parties and at their favourite exclusive venues. Few went to see Grupo 5 or Hermanos Yaipén live at any venue they considered ‘popular or crowded’. This was mostly a transgression in space, as the provincial musicians were still playing the music they would usually play in the more Andean peripheries of Lima. However, I argue that these early subaltern space transgressions (1990s, 2000s) constitute a slow process of Andean, and Amazonian visibility achieved by themselves through the popular music scene; a critical initial process triggering upper class curiosity and exploration, in some cases leading to the internalisation of a new music taste, encouraging the upper classes to ‘follow the music’ and later motivating them to play these genres (see intercultural visibility arguments Slobin 1993: 19-21) (see Chapter 3).

4.2 Racialised limitations of space transgressions

4.2.1 Mestizas alienadas¹⁶¹

In this section, I will discuss the experiences of Damaris and Angela Moreira, two self-defined mestizo fusion musicians who attempted to create

¹⁶¹ In Lima, the word ‘alienation’ is used to signify a process in which a person or group transform themselves into something, which contradicts what is expected of their racial and social condition. I chose this title as it denotes some of the middle and upper class sentiments related to Andean mestizaje.

Andean-afro-electronic rock and electro-chicha, respectively, and performed for a broad audience, which included the upper classes. In these case studies, it seems that the performers' appearance and music genre situate them in 'the middle', in a sort of ethnicity and authenticity 'limbo', where they do not represent the 'authentic indian' –idealised and romanticised, nor the 'authentic migrant *cholo chichero or huaynero*' – discussed in the previous section. These two performers were raised in Lima and created new electronic fusion sounds blending their Andean background with their Lima lives, in an attempt to make huayno and chicha aesthetically appealing to a *Limeño* audience and invert negative stereotypes towards the genres they loved. However, as we shall see, many of my upper class interviewees viewed their creative agency as alienated, because their music did not match their phenotype or background.

Even though, Damaris and Angela are racially perceived as mestizos, just like the musicians referred to in the previous section (e.g. Rossy War, Tongo, Hermanos Gaitán Castro), the upper classes react differently to them. The public seems to distinguish between performers of subaltern genres who initially target audiences in their own spaces, and only later transgress, and performers perceived as subaltern who set out to conquer the middle and upper classes. Damaris and Angela started to perform directly to middle and upper class Lima audiences, apparently breaking with the place and audience assigned to them in the upper class' racial and social imaginary. They are also daughters of Andean migrant parents and have primarily performed and released music in Lima, where they grew up. These circumstances along with their fusion of electronic sounds with already mixed Andean genres, such as chicha or música latinoamericana, has led many to view their music as "inauthentic and alienated". In focus groups and virtual surveys (2010-2011), upper class collaborators assumed that these artists' mestizaje was a product of an internal desire to be less Indian, assimilate to Lima, and reject their Andean roots. Nonetheless, to me, they explicitly expressed pride in their Andean background and in their fusions they see a natural expression of their dual identity (see Chapter 3).

Damaris Mallma was born in Huancayo and came to Lima when she was six years old. Her mother, Saywa, is a well-known vernacular singer from Ayacucho, so Damaris as many other Andeans, regularly travels between the Andes and Lima, as she often performs with her mother in Peruvian provinces. She feels *Huancaina*, loves Ayacucho, the land of her family, but also considers herself *Limeña*.

In 2008 Damaris won first place for best folkloric song at the Chilean *Festival de la Canción de Viña del Mar* 2008 ('Viña del Mar Song Festival 2008') with the song *Tusuykusun* ('Let's dance'), a fusion between Andean, Afro and electronic music.¹⁶² Since that international success, Damaris has mainly been singing at middle and upper class private events and promoting her music through a television programme.¹⁶³ Damaris told me that with her music she seeks to build a bridge between the Andes and Peruvians who do not know the Andes, because she has witnessed and felt the divides between the Andes and Lima. Damaris studied for four years at TUC (Catholic University Theatre) where she interacted with people from the upper classes:

...it was a shock to face people my age whose customs are different to mine, right? But they are good people. Because I feel a lot of resentment from the Andes towards the city, the *pitucos* ['posh'], well, the way there is supposedly marginalisation, I think there is a marginalisation from us towards them too. TUC enabled me to share with those people and *rescatar lo mejor* ['see the best in them'], right? Because you grow up in an environment where, *ay, le dan con palo a esas personas* ['they really slate these people'], but, no! My friend allowed me to understand that (...) it's not her fault that her family never put on a huayno for her, right? I mean, she didn't, she simply didn't have the opportunity I did to be born [in the Andes] (Damaris, interview, September 2010).

This illustrates Damaris' empathy with her upper class friend. She also acknowledges that marginalisation occurs from different sides of the racial and ethnic spectrum, which is perhaps why she wants to with her music show upper

¹⁶² Prior to this, she had only enjoyed moderate success with her second música latinoamericana album *Mil Caminos* (2007). With this album, Damaris started to explore fusing Andean and Afro genres.

¹⁶³ Damaris and her mother Saywa hosts *Misky Takiy*, a TV programme, which, for over a decade, has been dedicated to the dissemination of traditional Peruvian Andean music, and which is very popular among various generations of Andean migrants in Lima. For more information on *Misky Takiy* see: <http://www.tvperu.gob.pe/miski-takiy.html> (Last accessed 14/03/12). The music programme she hosts not only features what is seen as authentic rural and urban Andean folklore, but also urban *Limeño* fusions like La Sarita and Uchpa.

class youths a more current image of the Andean world. However, among the young upper classes, I observed a tendency towards a clearly racialised vision of what a mestizo woman can artistically attempt:

I like Damaris, but she is not unique. She is not authentic like Magaly Solier or her mother [Saywa], and not cool like Miki González or La Sarita. She needs to find her identity in order to be more popular. This doesn't mean she needs to play cumbia, but maybe be less assimilated to Lima. It seems as if she wants to fit in, but she can't (Vanessa 25, December 2010).



Figure 13: Damaris. Source: Damaris website.

Used with permission from Damaris Mallma

For some in the upper classes, being Andean involves maintaining a static ethnicity and identity (see Montero Diaz forthcoming). Perhaps this is why Damaris and Angela are labelled ‘alienated, *agringadas*, westernised, or non authentic’.¹⁶⁴ Damaris and Angela’s case studies illustrate some of the limitations in mestizo Andean self-representation. Being in the middle is not always easy, because people seem to believe that the middle is a transitory or temporal space, as if you are ‘there’ just waiting to decide and identify yourself with one side or the other. But, what if your identity incorporates elements of both while belonging to neither? This notion of displaced identity also seems destabilising for some mestizos, as was the case of writer José María Arguedas. Many perceive him as a

¹⁶⁴ Gender issues may also be at play here, as women are ‘supposed to be’ and are still perceived as ‘more indian’ (De la Cadena 1995, Van Vleet in Canessa 2005: 113). However, gender issues do not form a primary focus of this study.

key representative of a troubled dual identity, but he was a staunch defender of mestizaje. One year before committing suicide (1968), Arguedas was given the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega award for his lifetime contribution to Peruvian literature, accepting this prize, he delivered his famous speech “*No soy un aculturado*” (‘I am not an acculturated man’):¹⁶⁵

...the fence could be and had to be destroyed; the riches of the two nations could and should be united. And the path did not have to be, nor could it be solely the one demanded by the rule of pillaging victors, meaning that the vanquished nation renounce its soul, even if it were just in appearance, in form, and take that of the victors, in other words, that it become acculturated. I am not an acculturated man; I am a Peruvian who proudly, like a happy demon, speaks in Christian and Indian, in Spanish and in Quechua... (Arguedas 1968).¹⁶⁶

Arguedas is a contemporary symbol of a mestizo Andean dual identity, a non-acculturated identity inhabiting the ‘middle’ not as a temporary space, but as the space where “the current of two nations unite” (*ibid.* 1968), neither dominant. Is it possible to feel belonging to a country like Peru, if you are constantly trying to unite two nations: the Andean and the Hispanic Creole (Lima)? Josué Méndez, an *emergente* upper class Peruvian movie director with an Andean background said:

That has been my problem, the sense of belonging. It must be one of the elements that made me a filmmaker. When I was at school I had one foot in Markham [an exclusive British school in Miraflores-Lima], but the other in family get-togethers, which are middle-class. I went to a cousin’s birthday party in Breña and at school *me daba roche decirlo* [‘I was ashamed of saying it’]; in Breña [a lower middle class neighbourhood in Central Lima] I was ashamed to tell them about things from school. Later, when I finished school, I went to Yale, I also had one foot in the US and the other in Peru. You aren’t a gringo, but you’re not a typical Peruvian either. That is why I have this *rollo* [‘problem’] about being and not being. I’m always asking myself who I am. In that sense I’m screwed (Méndez 2008: 202-203).

The internal conflict expressed by Josué Méndez, leads me to the case of Angela Moreira. Angela is the daughter of Jaime Moreira, guitarist and leader of legendary chicha band Los Shapis (see Section 4.1). Angela recognises that her father’s music brought economic wealth to her family, and afforded her a private

¹⁶⁵ Coincidentally, Inca Garcilazo de la Vega is recognised as one of the earliest self-identified mestizos (De la Cadena 2005: 263-264).

¹⁶⁶ This speech was included in the prologue to his novel *El Zorro de Arriba y el zorro de abajo* (1983). Translated by Marita Thomsen.

education. But, from her school years Angela remembers mockery and discrimination because of that same music:

...I would be at school and a girl would come and say to me, this was primary school, I think we were in first grade and she said “*ay* your dad is a *chichero* and...” [long pause]. I think my brothers had a worse time, for example, my brother, the second youngest, is called Jaime like my dad and he wanted people to call him Jairo to avoid misunderstandings [sad pause], so it wasn’t that he was ashamed of my dad, but it was as if those around didn’t understand, had we gone to a *popular* school or a state one it would have been much easier...(Angela Moreira, interview, September 2010).

Angela’s recollections illustrate that racialised discourses associated with music are present from an early age (six years old). She also speculates that it might have been easier if she had attended a ‘working class’ school. The private school was outside chicha’s allowed space and being a *chichero*’s daughter was transgressive. Angela is proud of her origins and actively promotes contemporary chicha. She has performed in the provinces and Lima’s peripheries with her father for many years, while her family home is in San Isidro, one of the most exclusive districts of Lima. This constant exposure to different Peruvian and *Limeño* realities constitutes a challenge for Angela, a challenge that resonate with Arguedas’ identity duality,

Hay algo en mi chip ['there is something in my head'] that makes me feel that I have too much, that I’m too lucky and that there are so many people who have so little. Having seen those two sides, those two worlds, makes me feel as though I have too much and that it isn’t fair. So this perhaps led me to sort of build a bubble for myself and build my own world and it led me to isolate myself, to an isolation, which I really just broke a couple of years ago, precisely with Electrochicha (Angela Moreira interview, September 2010).

Angela tried to overcome the challenge with fusion music making experimenting until she eventually came up with Electrochicha, a fusion between electronic music and chicha. She wanted to reinvent first cumbia and then chicha, changing people’s stereotype of a “drunken, fat, dirty people’s genre” (Moreira 2010). With Walter Alvarez, Angela first decided to merge two concepts: Angela’s chicha and Walter’s latin/pop/rock boy band Almas Indias ('Indian souls'). In Angela’s words: these *agraciados* ('handsome'), *claritos* ('fair') musicians could help her vindicate chicha’s image. Angela racialised her fellow band members in order to change chicha’s image and enter upper class circuits.



Figure 14: Angel Electrochicha. Source: Angela Moreira. Photographer: Dersy Olivera

However, Angela's father and the more popular chicha audience reproached her for her "posh choice" (Angela Moreira, interview, September 2010) and did not fully accept her association with what they perceived as a more urban upper class look, band and choice of venues for concerts. Angela felt more accepted when playing alone at her father's concerts than with her own band, "they [chicha audiences] don't feel they [her musicians] belong to their world" she said (*ibid.* September 2010). Barranco and Miraflores audiences did not take to her style either and concert attendance was poor, even though the band became a duo emphasising fusion more. Unfortunately, I could not secure a good sample of white upper class people who had attended her concerts, as the band is relatively unknown among the upper classes and since mid-2010 Angela is not playing concerts in upper class venues anymore. However, some people who knew her music concept said:

Angela is a pretty girl and has an excellent voice, but she seems to be pushing it. She will need more than a group of white cool boys to enter the upper class circuit. The sound is still too chicha for an upper class taste and she seems to be a wannabe. She might not be one, but then, why surround yourself with non-Andean people? Why not be in a group with more people like you? (José 25, focus group, October 2010).

Once again, the notion of alienation is associated with mestizo performers wanting to modernise or vindicate already fused genres or playing with what musicians perceived as non-Andean people. For some in the white upper classes, this indicates cultural pollution. Perhaps Damaris and Angela are inevitably associated with their ‘more Andean’ parents or the stereotypes of their music genre: “they have everything to keep doing what their parents are doing” (Lucia 22, focus group, October 2010). But, the fact is that they don’t have the same experiences, background or taste as their parents, they live in ‘dual’ worlds, which they try to reconcile every day through music.

...it [music] is a good instrument to communicate, integrate above all, I believe and have blind faith in music. If I’m still in this game, it’s because I feel that a change can be achieved. I feel it’s possible to integrate a nation, not just a nation, but I feel the world can be integrated only with music (Angela Moreira, interview 2, September 2010).

For Damaris, music is a bridge that can unite her Andean world and her Lima life and audiences. For Angela, music is a vital tool for individual and social integration. For both, fusion music is a way to reconcile their dual identities and represent themselves as they are. However, some of the upper class audiences, view these attempts as alienated manifestations of assimilation. Why are chicha and cumbia mestizo bands accepted by the upper classes, but performers like Damaris and Angela thought to be ‘pushing it’ because they innovate?

Unlike Brazil, Mexico and Colombia where notions of mestizaje were, and in some cases remain, positive features of tolerance and integration (Reily 1994: 80, Eakin 2007: 264, Canessa 2005: 13, Wade 1998:5), the concept of mestizaje in Peru is problematic. From early on, researchers and intellectuals in Peru have described mestizaje as an assimilation process in which an Indian person becomes more ‘white’ or ‘urban’. For some indigenistas, mestizaje was the easiest way to “evolve” towards the “white man’s type of civilisation” (Mariátegui 1970: 343). For some contemporary researchers it is a way of “becoming less Indian” (Mendoza, 2000:235), in most cases so as to avoid discrimination in the cities (Gandolfo 2009: 199, Turino 1993: 239); for others, a mestizo identity does not erase Indian identity, but constitutes an expansive and inclusive identity that contains indigenous practices (De la Cadena 2000). Zoila Mendoza reminds us

that academics (anthropologists and ethnomusicologists), in their search for the ‘authentic Indian’, have neglected mestizo identities (Mendoza 2000: 232), and I would also add white identities. In addition, several studies on indigenous migration in Peru, like most of the previously mentioned, highlight the transition of an indigenous person to the category of mestizo through migration, which includes acquiring more education, speaking Spanish, wearing *Costeño* clothes (e.g. jeans, t-shirts), and leaving Andean traditions aside in order to adapt to the city. The abundance of media commentaries on such studies has lifted some of their main ideas into the mainstream. Once in the popular realm, however, they are subject to limited, simplistic interpretations that reinforce the imaginary of the Andean migrant as someone alienated seeking only total assimilation. Inadvertently, academic research seems to be contributing to cementing the image of Lima Andean mestizos as people who reject and ‘pollute’ their culture at will, not necessarily as a result of social pressure, in order to gain acceptance and access in Lima; the latter being, in actual fact, what most of the academics conclude.

I agree with Marisol De la Cadena who presents mestizaje as a flexible, inclusive identity, where someone can be ‘indigenous mestizo’ and contain both worlds’ practices (De la Cadena 2000, De la Cadena and Starn 2007), but not all Peruvians share this perception of mestizaje. This combined with normalised racism in Lima towards people with Andean phenotype, makes it difficult for individuals who self-identify as mestizos to show pride in their mixed identity, and to freely fuse the music they want, as evidenced in this section.

4.2.2 Gringos *igualados*¹⁶⁷

Several scholars have noted the potential of hybridity for social and political transformation (e.g. Lipsitz 1997), and as an innovative alternative to a culturally formatted world (Friedman 1997). However, one of the main critiques of hybridity, as discussed by Haynes (2013), is the way it is seen to reinforce

¹⁶⁷ See Section 4.1 for a definition

dichotomist perceptions of ‘Western and Primitive cultures’. Some people are still viewed as “natural biological bearers of culture”, and therefore predisposed to play certain genres better (as ‘primitives’) (*ibid.* 2013: 51-52). For Haynes, this reinforces essentialist notions of cultural identity as something “pure and authentic” (*ibid* 2013: 51-52). Haynes’ reflections provide a framework for the discussion in this section, as I will explore the experiences of white performers from the upper classes, who do not fit the performer stereotype of the genre they choose to compose or sing, examining issues of decision-making, agency and exclusion. I argue that discrimination, exclusion and racism in Lima are systemic and complex and should therefore be examined for the whole ethnic spectrum. I will focus on three case studies, three soloists who perform afro-jazz, criollo-fusion and huaynos from Ayacucho, respectively, in a style they perceive as elegant, refined and of good taste. However, even though the genres are not cumbias, chichas or ‘working class’ Andean styles, these musicians are perceived by some in the middle and lower classes as naive, spoiled, appropriators commercialising the music of ‘others’ and as less Peruvian or not Peruvian at all. One could argue that in these cases the music they perform is less of an issue than the way they look (Bigenho 2002, 2012), as evidenced in case studies in the previous section. Their struggles are not only with *Limeño* audiences’ imaginaries and ideas of what they ‘should’ be doing or performing, but also concern their relationships with fellow musicians, the scene, and academics. These multiple pressures have forced these three musicians to change genres, bands and even rethink their music careers.

As evidenced in Chapter 1, according to several studies (Bruce 2007:70-73; Drzewieniecki 2004:13-17; Portocarrero 1993:218) a white person is situated at the top of the imagined social pyramid and is often associated with favourable stereotypes. Yet these exist in parallel with the stereotype of the white *pituco* ('posh person') and many other derogatory stereotypes of the white wealthy elites.¹⁶⁸ All this is found within the historical framework of colonial repression of

¹⁶⁸ This is brilliantly exemplified by Liuba Kogan’s book on the elites entitled *Regias y conservadores. Mujeres y hombres de clase alta en la Lima de los noventa* (2009) (Fabulous and conservative, High class women and men in 1990s Lima).

the indigenous and the imaginary association of bronze skin with subaltern citizens. A few scholars have touched on, though not sufficiently in my opinion, historical or contemporary anti-white racism, (Bruce 2007:43, Degregori 2000: 31, 33), and white stereotypes in Peru (Turino 1993: 192, 237). I consider this an important gap in Peruvian studies.

Contemporary manifestations of this type of discrimination and stereotyping include the award-winning film *Dioses* (2008), which unflatteringly portrays the director's vision of emptiness and emotional struggles among the Lima upper classes. However, unlike movies with indigenous Andean themes, such as *Madeinusa* or Oscar nominated *Milk of Sorrow* (*La Teta Asustada*), *Dioses* was not attacked by bloggers or anthropologists for its racist content.¹⁶⁹ When this was pointed out to the film's director, Josué Méndez, he commented:

...what happens in the Andean world causes more controversy. The high class is not that important, and the elites don't care about seeing themselves portrayed. Maybe they will only think: Why am I going to worry about this little movie? However, there will always be the Andes protectors who think they know what is right for the poor. I don't think there will be much controversy in the high class; it would be great if there were!" (Josué Méndez, interview, 2007).¹⁷⁰

In *Dioses*, Josué wanted to portray:

...a high class that is not well known in Lima because it is very hermetic, they live in closed zones and very few people interact with them. People create an image of them that has nothing to do with real life, you become disappointed because you think they are intellectuals when they only talk rubbish (...) they only talk about flowers and don't worry about problems" (Josué Méndez interview, 2008).¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ Movies like *Madeinusa* or *La Teta Asustada* ('Milk of Sorrow'), regardless of their many prizes around the world, including the Berlin International Film Festival or Berlinale in 2009 (See: <http://www.berlinale.de/en/HomePage.html> (Last accessed 10/09/11), and that they made Magaly Solier, an Andean girl from Ayacucho, the most famous Peruvian actress have been attacked in many blogs and academic mailing lists. The Llosa/Solier relationship has been portrayed as white/indigenous with the white once again taking advantage of an Indian and appropriating her and her world so as to inaccurately portray a racist image of the Andean world (As an example see Blog Peruanista: <http://peruanista.blogspot.com/2009/02/la-teta-asustada-de-claudia-llosa.html>) (Last accessed 08/08/11). Jorge Bruce comments on the different reactions to the movie *Madeinusa*. Some fans liked it because of its fictional components, its critics say that it is "a documentary which reinforces a series of racist stereotypes" (Bruce 2007: 63).

¹⁷⁰ Cobos and Vilchez (2007) <http://lacinefilianoespatriota.blogspot.com/2007/02/dioses-la-segunda-pelcula-de-josu-mndez.html> (Last accessed 10/02/12).

¹⁷¹ El Comercio. Article: "Josué Méndez cuestiona a la clase alta del Perú" (23/09/08). <http://elcomercio.pe/ediciononline/html/2008-09-23/josue-mendez-cuestiona-clase-alta-peru.html>. (Last accessed 12/08/11).

These quotes portray the upper classes as distant, cold, indifferent to their own social image, an ‘empty’ group unconcerned with the visibility of their whiteness or how their experience and identities are racialised (c.f. Byrne 2006, Garner 2007), and who “only talk rubbish” (Méndez 2008). This is evidence of what Drzewieniecki has discussed as “resistance to the idea that discrimination against or mistreatment of “*blancos*” was worth considering” in her paper ‘Peruvian youth and racism’ (2004). Racialisation, prejudice and discrimination against the white upper classes is also evident on the music scene. This resonates with how some of Haynes informants portray white Europeans who listen to world music “I don’t mean it as an insult but there is a lot of nothingness there” (Anton in Haynes 2013: 132). Yet, as seen in chapters two and three, the alternative young upper classes in Lima are in fact quite concerned with their own social image, articulation and racialisation, and for them making fusion music is a way to negotiate their own whiteness, cultural engagement and role in society, but in some cases, race has proved a limitation on their personal music journeys.

Pamela Rodriguez is a 27-year-old *Limeña* singer and composer from a family of musicians. With Chabuca Granda and Susana Baca as her main influences, Pamela chose Afro-Peruvian and criollo music as her genres. Like many other upper class musicians, Pamela felt the need to explore her Peruvianness in music. She too highlighted seclusion and the lack of direct contact with ‘Peruvianness’.

I explored Peruvianness *en lo Afro* [‘in the Afro’] *y lo Andino* [‘and the Andean’]. I started studying a great deal with my university studies as a starting point, I began to learn the *landó*, *zamacueca*, *marinera* in terms of rhythm, harmony, melody. I mean, I really broke it all down on a theoretical level, because, of course, I hadn’t grown up in *peñas* and that was my frustration at one point, right? Why didn’t I grow up in those cultural centres and why didn’t my family take me to that? Why have I been living listening to a type of music, which is awesome, yes, but why haven’t I experienced Peruvianness the way, say, the people in casa Breña have or the Porifiro Vásquez family has? La Victoria, why didn’t they take me there? [now a deprived Lima district associated with Afro-Peruvian music] In spite of my grandfather working at the Mayor’s Office of La Victoria they never took me... [in an indignant tone] (Pamela Rodríguez, interview, March 2011)

At 23 years old she was nominated for a Latin Grammy for her afro-jazz production *Perú Blue* (2006). But shortly after, Pamela abandoned her university music studies in Texas and returned to Peru to explore Peruvian genres in more

depth mixing them with jazz music structures. In Afro-Peruvian music she found her Peruvianness and several afro-jazz pieces emerged.

I returned [from Texas], I went to the peñas every day... EVERY day and I danced in the streets, because I was born a *jaranera* (party girl)... My parents repressed me to a certain point, but of course, in spite of growing up in an environment where people listened to high-brow music... I grew up in a family of girls from San Silvestre [exclusive private school], with parents who are all that... when I could step out of the box, I did and from then on I lived by my own rules (...) I have always been irritated by the inflexibility of the Lima upper class, I'm really sick of it... (Pamela Rodríguez, interview, March 2011).

Pamela describes her class background as repressive and makes it clear that class-based constraints do not work for her, distancing herself from the exclusive traditional white upper class lifestyle. But there are few white female performers in the Afro scene, most Afro-Peruvian singers are black or *mulatas* (Susana Baca, Eva Ayllon, Bartola, Lucia de la Cruz, among others). Given that this scene is predominantly black, Pamela usually performed with well-known black musicians. She states that being blonde and white in an Afro-Peruvian scene complicated things; she faced problems with some performers, composers and even academics,

you are the silly blonde daddy's girl who doesn't fight for anything [pause]. But you know what? It stopped hurting, 'cause I got street smart [laugh]. Now it has stopped hurting; I used to cry for three whole days, even had to see a psychologist... (Pamela Rodriguez, interview, March 2011).

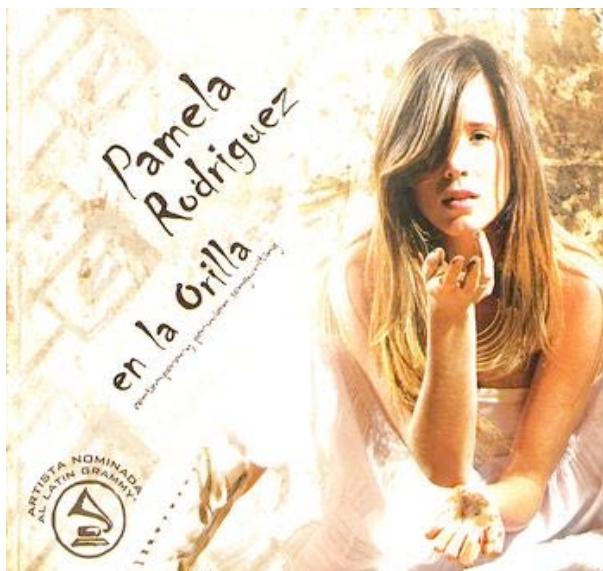


Figure 15: Pamela Rodriguez' album cover *En la Orilla* (2008- IEMPSA).

Used with permission from Pamela Rodriguez

One of the preferred themes in criollo music is the tribute to Peru; it is perceived as a nationalist genre, especially Peruvian valses (Turino 2003:198). There are hundreds of songs about Peru, pride in being Peruvian, nostalgia when abroad, songs about the beauty of particular places in Barranco or Lima's old city centre and unity among Peruvians. After what she describes as a passionate conversation about Peru's diversity, multiculturalism and integration with some influential upper class friends in Lima, Pamela composed *Peru a Voces* expressing her optimism for social change in Lima:

<p><i>El Perú que me canta, con sus voces me encanta, es el coro de color multicolor, viva la voz de la igualdad, canta la libertad Un país de confluencias, de sangre bellas y diversas, gente que con tolerancia, olvido sus diferencias El Perú que me canta, con sus voces me encanta, es el coro de color multicolor, voz dispuestas a sonar, heridas que van a sanar.</i></p>	<p><i>The Peru that sings to me, with its voices charms me, is the choir of multicolour colour Long live the voice of equality, freedom sings. A country made of confluences, of beautiful and diverse bloodlines, people that with tolerance, forgot their differences. The Peru that sings to me, with its voices charms me, is the choir of multicolour colour, Voices ready to dream, wounds that will heal.</i></p>
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The composition was criticised by other composers and academics arguing that Pamela was naïve and ignored all the poverty and suffering in Peru. Coincidentally, other high-class fusion performers have also been described as ‘naïve’, a term commonly associated with not being street smart, lacking a ‘popular’ background, or being distant from *la gente* (‘the people’). This is particularly interesting, as most contemporary white upper class fusion performers contest this stereotype by playing genres associated with being street smart, being from *el barrio* (‘the hood’) and *knowing* the people, though they may *not be part* of the people; all as a way to legitimise their performances. However, as Cepeda discusses through the examination of Carlos Vives, a white upper class Colombian performer of Vallenato, an Afro-Colombian genre,

...upon defending his place in the genre, Vives swiftly falls into the type of vallenato posturing that is based on one's knowledge of certain people and (...)

thereby to some extent engaging in the same superficial tests of authenticity as his detractors... (2010: 129).

Similarly, Pamela also legitimises her performance by reinforcing the racialised notion that some performers *belong* to ‘the people’, while others have to settle for *becoming acquainted* with ‘the people’, a kind of music self-racialisation of ‘limiting whiteness’.

Leslie Patten, a young fusion percussionist who often collaborates with fusion bands, also felt *encajonada* (‘pigeonholed’) by upper class stereotypes, she was branded by a composer as *la blanquita de la percusión* (‘the little white girl of percussion’)

It happened to me a whole lot, with my own album too, I mean, what is this little white girl doing playing black stuff or what is a woman doing playing the *cajon*? (...) or what is this kid doing recording an album? (Leslie Patten, interview, November 2010).

On several occasions Leslie felt discriminated against and stereotyped; this caused her to stop playing in certain bands. Strikingly, this discrimination not only came from people considered ‘inside’ a tradition, but also from upper class fusion musicians themselves in their efforts to acquire this ‘street smart’, ‘from the barrio’ image and sound. For them, Leslie lacked *calle* (‘street-cred’), as they thought a percussionist should contribute to building a ‘popular’ feel and ‘physical presence’, through movements, audience interaction and the choice of rhythmic patterns. Leslie was considered *muy exacta* (‘too accurate’), *muy pituca* (‘too posh’), *muy tiesa* (‘too stiff’) to play Peruvian genres that ‘the people’ enjoyed.

Jean Paul Strauss a well-known romantic pop singer in the 1990s and a reinvented criollo-fusion singer, said, while describing his recent fusion project *Vibra Perú*:

...initially the criticism was much milder than I had expected, right? It was like criticism, but affectionate, merciful... “*ese blanquito* [‘that whitey’], what is he doing singing Peruvian music? Poor guy, perhaps he thinks he’ll get a hit like that” (...). I’m lucky enough to be a well-loved whitey in Peru, but the truth is that not all whiteys are loved, and that racism is keenly felt nowadays, because Peru belongs to the *cholos*, it is a country of *cholos* and mestizos (Jean Paul Strauss, interview March 2011).

Jean Paul highlights the public's racialised reactions to his change of genre from pop to traditional music, he reacts by, in turn, racialising his own position as a white minority in Lima. These three fusion performers acknowledge the change in Lima's music scene, where high-class musicians and audiences are turning things around and starting to enjoy and embrace Andean and Peruvian tradition. However, Pamela Rodriguez has since changed to pop, leaving Afro-Peruvian music aside. Describing her new album *ReconoceR* (2011), she writes: "there is nothing more valuable and beautiful than being yourself, loving yourself on your own terms and accepting yourself the way you are", which is tacitly revealing. For Pamela, this genre is her "mother tongue, and Afro-Peruvian music her second language" (Pamela Rodriguez 2012).¹⁷² Leslie Patten was only actively collaborating with one fusion band in 2011, and was mainly focussing on her own music projects and her music school for children *Kalimbá*. Jean Paul Strauss's shows with *Vibra Perú* were mainly performed abroad (mostly for the Peruvian diaspora in the United States) and at private or corporate venues. This suggests that stereotyping and discrimination may have led these performers to change and re-think how they engage with genres, musicians, venues and audiences. So, do white upper class performers have full agency in their music making?

Interestingly some white upper class musicians who do not sing nor perform fusion music are immediately associated with fusion by the audiences due to their phenotype and race. This is the case of Pepita García-Miró, a white singer from one of the most affluent and powerful families in Peru. She defines her music as "contemporary Peruvian music with strong traditional roots". Pepita has been on the music scene since the 1990s and is married to a well-known Peruvian fusion musician, Manongo Mujica (see Appendix 2). In December 2009, Pepita García-Miró and Jaime Guardia, a prominent Andean charango player, released a CD named *Encantos Andinos* ('Andean charms'), in conjunction with Cernícalo Productions, a music production company founded by Pepita herself.

¹⁷² Pamela Rodriguez column <http://lamula.pe/2012/01/24/pamela-rodriguez-en-crudo-y-en-directo/lamula> (Last accessed 12/03/12).

The CD was a compilation of traditional huaynos and yaravíes from Ayacucho.¹⁷³ This CD was awarded a Golden Record due to its sales.¹⁷⁴

In 2010 they organised a series of concerts, which seemed to attract several people from the Lima upper classes, including the alternatives. When talking to them, I was intrigued by their categorization of the event as a fusion concert, even though Pepita herself describes and promotes her music as ‘traditional and cultural rescue’. Several people coincided in stating that it was fusion because a “blonde white singer from a high strata was singing huaynos as an Andean would and together with Andean musicians” (Javier 28, focus group, October 2010). Some even mentioned they noticed a slightly lyrical singing style in Pepita and that, in an Andean song, created fusion.

People see it as fusion because of the fact that they see a *gringa* singing in Quechua. I don’t like that album at all, but for me the album is extremely important. She doesn’t pronounce Quechua well, she doesn’t have the voice (...) but that she is the niece of the Miró Quesada family¹⁷⁵ (...) I think that is important, because it is obvious that she has done it with love, so it will make other people listen to Andean music and in the more traditional version, and that is important (Chano Díaz, interview, October 2010).

The exotic here was the white, blonde performer singing in Quechua, showing again that anyone can play the exotic role (see Chapter 3). Being exoticised is not synonymous with having less agency, as exemplified by Pepita’s case. She may be exoticised, but she is still the Director of the production company that promotes her CDs and gigs; this, alongside her contacts and own investments, have enabled her to promote traditional Andean song and performers among the upper classes in Lima. However, this does not mean that stereotyping, segregation and discrimination against white upper class performers in Lima do not affect them, their context and their motivation, while limiting music innovation, exploration and creativity.

¹⁷³ Most of the songs featured were compilations, arrangements and a couple of compositions by Jaime Guardia. Pepita sang these songs together with Jaime and his charango, Jaime’s son José Guardia on the guitar, Chimango Lares on the violin and Gregorio Condori on the Andean harp.

¹⁷⁴ Awarded on October 25, 2010 by Cernícalo productions and Juan Ossio, then Minister of Culture.

¹⁷⁵ One of the “three most traditional families of the Peruvian economic elite” (Gilbert 1982). This family also runs what it is considered as the most important newspaper in Peru: El Comercio.



Figure 16: *Encantos Andinos* concert flyer. Source: Pepita García-Miró (centre of the picture).

Photographer: Renzo Giraldo

Some upper class musicians are discriminated against, segregated and ‘pigeonholed’ in a genre, mainly foreign, a fact that is often played down, even by performers struggling with these issues. This reminded me of Josué Méndez words,

...the high class has a titanium shell, nothing affects them, they don’t take it personally. It’s very difficult to reach the soul, because they don’t feel affected at all (Méndez 2008:214).

While I am not trying to present white performers as victims, noting two-way tensions of racial segregation is essential. That most white upper class refrain from discussing their journey through Peruvianess and segregation publicly does not mean that they are not affected, as Méndez seems to imply. Some of them choose not to, because they will be further racialised, antagonised and belittled, which could be detrimental to their careers. One could argue that the racial discrimination that white upper class musicians experience is not systematic, and therefore should not be categorised as racism. However, I argue that such discrimination maintains inequality and reinforces resentment and a *discurso revanchista* ('vindictive discourse'), thus creating more racial tension.

Looking at the very different, but similarly racialised music making experiences of mestizo and white upper class musicians, shows us how imaginaries of race play a limiting role in music making and relationship building. It highlights the need to address racism, segregation, exclusion and stereotyping from all angles, without discriminating against anyone's experience.

4.3 Turning things around?

In the previous section, I examined case studies of musicians whose music creativity and space transgressions were limited by racialisation. I will now explore four case studies of musicians evidencing a process of 'turning things around' through challenging upper class racialised imaginaries of Andeanness, agency and representation. Here the five-path model of musicians' creative loops proves useful once again, as I explore encounters, creative dialogues, *convivencia*, intercultural friendship and collaborations preceding performance, in performance and beyond performance (see Chapter 3.2.2). With this I hope to illustrate the ways in which fusion musicians contest historical imaginaries, social divides and racialisation through music.

4.3.1 Blurring race and ethnic difference?

One very common discursive phrase in Lima that appears in heated discussions when referring to people considered inferior in the racial and social hierarchy is '*cada uno en su sitio*' ('each in their own place'). As evidenced in this chapter, *Limeños* place people in little boxes, immediately and unconsciously and these imaginary categories are established according to race, ethnicity and class. For many, it is inconceivable to transgress allowed spaces, and this applies to the whole ethnic and socio-economic spectrum.

As race and class are very sensitive issues, in 2010 I decided to use the Internet to conduct an anonymous virtual survey linked to YouTube among the upper classes in order to explore this class' relationship with Andean music (be this traditional, contemporary or fusion), their ideas of *el andino* ('Andean person') and the articulation of people from different ethnic, racial and socio-economic backgrounds through music (see Introduction). For this I presented them with three models of indigeneity expressed in YouTube music videos, in order to determine which resonates most with the upper class imaginary and why. Respondents were asked for their impressions of music videos by three different fusion artists, which could be characterised as follows:¹⁷⁶

1. Miki González (Hoja verde de la coca) – a romantic and idealised version of the Andes and Andean music with people who appear to be 'authentic *indios*' participating in an 'authentic ritual' (Song in Spanish).
2. Damaris Mallma (Tusuy Kusun) – a mixture of faces, languages (the song is in Quechua and Spanish), urban locations and music genres that suggest a multicultural Peru.
3. Magaly Solier (Citaray) – a collage of pictures that show Magaly in Huanta working the land, in movies and accepting prizes at European festivals; which could be interpreted as 'modern indigeneity' (Song is in Quechua).

Respondents were asked to choose the music video that best represented the indigenous Andean. 54% of respondents chose Miki's video, 32% Magaly's, and 10% Damaris'. Most respondents' image of indigenous Andeans emerged as idealised and romanticised, people who continue to live in the Andes, working the fields, without money, education or rapport with the western world therefore physically far away from Lima and them. However, this hyper-real Indian (Ramos 1994) possesses rich cultural capital and traditions, which was seen as iconic of Peru as a whole and fundamental to respondents' own Peruvianess. In the words of one respondent:

¹⁷⁶ Participants were asked to view YouTube videos by fusionists: Miki González, Damaris Mallma and Magaly Solier. For more information see Montero, Diaz forthcoming.

it will be very difficult to change the stereotype we have of the indigenous Andean, because deep down we don't want to loose our identity and our roots (Survey respondent 2010).

I received several similar responses and they seem to reflect respondents' admittance of an Andean stereotype coupled with insecurity about their own identity. Andeans appear tasked with maintaining the roots of the nation and by extension, the identity of those who do not share their culture, but who see their own Peruvianess reflected in Andeanness. Furthermore, it hints at their feeling of cultural disadvantage, as they themselves know they are not representative of the culture they seem to associate with their country.

However, despite respondents' racialised categorisations, survey responses and their choice of Miki's idealised and essentialist music video clip as the most representative of indigenous Andeans, some respondents recognised that things are changing in Peru and hoped that they continue to change. Some cited Magaly as a good model for the future of the indigenous Andean and some respondents even recognised that essentialising *lo andino* ('the Andean') is a way to force indigenous Andeans to remain distant reminders of their iconic past:

I imagine them totally evolved, jazzed (if that is how you say it), so that more places, like the Cocodrilo Verde, take an interest in Andean fusions with other music genres. I imagine them fused, because the vast majority of them are aiming to go global... (survey respondent 1 2010).

.... I'm not one of those selfish people who want to keep native communities in the Stone Age if they don't want it, just because *I* want them to remain like that, so that *I* can go see them from time to time. If they want to change their way of life, they are fully entitled to do so and we cannot criticise them. The world changes, everything is dynamic. We must not make stereotypes of people or places (survey respondent 2 2010)

This was exactly the thought that was spreading from 2005, supported by the fusion scene as it challenged the upper class imaginary of fixed indigeneity. In this section, I would like to discuss the work of fusion musician Lucho Quequezana and the impact his music has on the upper classes, who seem to have difficulties racialising him. Why is that?

Lucho is a charismatic, outgoing musician and composer, with an extensive social network. He belongs to the Lima upper class, yet he would not be categorised by *Limeños* as white nor *cholo*. I often heard the word *trigueño*

(‘wheat-like colour’) in reference to him, which is a “version of *Limeño* blurred whiteness” (De la Cadena 2001:8), a ‘polite’ way to acknowledge someone in the middle of the racial spectrum, but high up on the socio-economic ladder. In other words, if Lucho were working class, he would have been branded as *cholo* or mestizo, which brings us back to the linkage between race and class in Lima (see Chapter 1.1).

I first interviewed Lucho in 2006, before he had much of a following in Lima. He was very successful abroad, made concerts and documentaries, but in Lima was mainly known as publicist and owner of the recording studio: Cabina Libre. In 2003, he recorded his first album: *Kuntur*, mostly as a demo of his Andean fusion works. In 2005 he won a Unesco Scholarship to organise a musical project in Canada, *Sonidos Vivos* (‘Live Sounds’), where he taught several international and intercultural musicians to play Peruvian Andean and Afro rhythms. However, people in Lima only discovered his music in 2010, when someone nominated him in a public online contest organised by the bank Interbank: *Historias de Tiempo*.¹⁷⁷ The theme was ‘time is worth more than money’ and the entrants from all walks of life were asked to tell their life-story of leaving paid jobs to pursue a passion. Lucho told his story exactly how he relayed it to me when we first met in 2006.¹⁷⁸

When I was a boy, my brother got asthma and the whole family had to move to Huancayo, at that time it was a radical change for me. In school, the strangest thing was that in recess all the children played the *zampoña*, and at that time I didn’t like music, but one day a friend gave me a *zampoña* and like that, playing it in all the recesses I fell completely in love with Peruvian music. Later, when we returned to Lima, for my family’s sake I studied administration and communication. Then I set up a business with my brother and worked as a university teacher at the same time. I had a calm, secure life, with that comfort we all seek at some point, but a childhood passion was still with me, always making me dream. Until, one day, I decided to follow my dream, I grabbed my suitcases, my instruments and travelled abroad to start a project, which nobody understood; it was teaching Peruvian music to musicians from all over the world (...). Now the music I love is recognised in the whole world, and for each concert we play, more people want to learn Peruvian music... (Lucho Quequezana’s Interbank contest entry 2010).

¹⁷⁷ Mi amigo Lucho Quequezana (Contest entry)

http://www.historiasdetiempo.com/mi_amigo.html (Last accessed 18/04/12).

¹⁷⁸ De Peru para el mundo – Lucho Quequezana <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E3IJWpzznF8> Uploaded 26/11/10. (Last accessed 24/01/13).

Lucho promoted his entry through his personal website and Facebook account, where he had almost three thousand friends. Eventually, he won with nearly eight thousand votes. At this point Lucho relaunched his CD Kuntur, promoting it through his website and Facebook.¹⁷⁹ As discussed in Chapter 2.1.3, given the lack of radio coverage of fusion music, fusionists consider social networking sites and YouTube vital for music dissemination, so using online media was probably an obvious choice for Lucho and it certainly worked, Kuntur became the best-sold album in Lima in 2011 and 2012.

Lucho had several media interviews, gave presentations on Andean music at universities and schools, played a number of concerts in Lima and abroad, became a Marca Perú ambassador (see Chapter 2.2.6), was invited to give a speech for TED (Technology, Entertainment and Design),¹⁸⁰ and was even invited to play his Andean instrument compositions with Peru's National Symphony Orchestra. For many in the upper classes (alternatives and non-alternatives), this last event united two worlds: The upper class tradition of classical music and Andean Peruvian instruments (e.g. *zampoñas*, *quenas*, *quenachos*, *charango*). In the 2010 survey, it was clear that for the upper classes there is a strong link between Andean indigeneity and music, any music played with what they associate with Andean instruments (e.g. *zampoñas*, *quenas*, *bombo*, *charango*) is considered indigenous. Rural indigenous instruments are not even part of their imaginary, neither are rural Andean communities.

¹⁷⁹ This also shows that the Internet and the promotion of music via social networks linked to YouTube is a great dissemination tool today and used as a tool could contribute to the fusion genre even better than radio and TV. When comparing the opinions of this research collaborators about national radio and TV and the ones they had about Internet radios, Facebook and YouTube. It was impossible not to notice the trust, emotion and time they invest on the Internet consuming music. I myself witnessed this relationship by the time I spent chatting and sharing music videos with musicians and audience members. Facebook and YouTube was indeed a compulsory methodological tool for this research.

¹⁸⁰ Lucho Quequezana's TED speech: <http://tedxtalks.ted.com/video/TEDxTukuy-2011-Lucho-Quequezana> (Last accessed 18/04/12).



Figure 17: Lucho Quequezana with the Peruvian Symphony Orchestra. Source: Lucho Quequezana. Photographer: Beatriz Torres

Lucho has not been criticised or branded as a *pituco engreido* ('spoiled snob') nor *blanquito ladrón* ('thieving whitey') as many other white upper class fusionistas. On the contrary, he is loved and respected in the music scene by musicians of all backgrounds. Has Lucho climbed out of his box? I mentioned that for most in the upper classes their national identity relies on indigenous Andeans 'maintaining their traditions' and therefore, they insist on keeping their romanticised vision of the Andean. Is the fact that Lucho as an upper class musician is embracing previously rejected Andean instruments contributing to de-essentialise upper classes imaginaries of Andeanness?

In 2011 Lucho topped Peru's charts ahead of artists like Justin Bieber and One Direction. This was highlighted by the press, which often stated that Lucho's CD was the "first Andean fusion instrumental album to top the national charts" (90 Segundos news programme),¹⁸¹ although this is not accurate as Miki González

¹⁸¹ Lucho Quequezana ha vendido más discos que Justin Bieber. News programme: *90 segundos*. Uploaded 25/02/12 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TdT7BmaiQLY> (03.05) (Last accessed 24/01/13).

did it first with his electronic/Andean fusion material in 2006. Still, Lucho's album *Kuntur*, in contrast with *Miki's Inka Beats*, is the first album where Andean instruments are the predominant element of fusion and where an upper class musician composes original works and plays Andean instruments. It is a matter of perspective, while Miki's electronic fusions are considered lounge/chillout fusion, Luchos's fusion is considered Andean, even though it contains elements of jazz, soul and Afro-Peruvian music.

Chano Diaz Límaco, an Andean producer, told me that Andean music sells very well among Andeans and tourists (see Section 4.1). However, neither his own sales successes nor those of his productions (e.g. William Luna, Manuelcha Prado) are acknowledged by the media or middle and upper class *Limeño* audiences. Lucho's sales success promotes and makes visible in the mainstream what many people knew in Andean circuits. Andean music is appreciated and it can expand, as it is doing now with the middle and upper classes. Lucho's presence as a non-Andean upper class Andes ambassador speaks of his role in challenging white upper class romantic imaginaries of class, race and representation.

He is not *enacting* Andeanness through concert dress or performance style, nor is he *sampling* Andeans playing their traditions. He is seen as an upper class *trigueño*, who went through a process of Andinisation and self-recreated his identity, freeing himself from racial constraints, climbing out of his box. I think the fact that the people I interviewed could not categorise him as white, *cholo* or even mestizo speaks of the success of Lucho in blurring imaginary paradigms of race. Thus, he is also motivating upper class youths to explore and internalise a new music taste, encouraging them to follow the music and motivating them to play Andean instruments, a way to demolish racialised music making boxes, which equate white musicians with foreign genres and Andean musicians with traditional music.

Well, it's cool, I loved Miki's fusions, but didn't have them on my IPod, but I do have Keke's [short for Quequezana], all of them, and I never miss his concerts at La Noche. And, actually, my family would laugh at me, because I wanted to play the quena, my friends also called me *cholo* [*me choleaban*], "the gringo has gone *cholo*", they'd say. Now that Lucho sells more than Bieber and One Direction, I flip out my quena, damn it, I'm cooler than those gringos. I could well be the next

Quequezana... nah, at least I play what I want to play, without anyone bugging me, at the slightest mockery I give them *Kuntur* [Quequezana's album] (Alessio 23, personal communication, March 2012).

It could be argued that Lucho's music is pan-Andean neo-folkloric in style, which has long been accepted in Europe and by part of the upper classes in other South American countries with strong links to Nueva Canción or protest songs. However, in Lima, groups like Los Kjarkas (Bolivia) and Inti illimani (Chile) have not enjoyed popularity among the white upper classes, and Andean instruments, such as the charango, zampoñas and quenas, were not commonly played by white upper class *Limeño* children. This is why Lucho Quequezana is recognised as the first *Limeño* upper class popular musician to embrace, perform and represent Andeanness onstage.

I would argue that flexibilising the upper classes' essentialist imaginaries of Andeanness, and for some indigeneity, and at the same time challenging the imaginaries of the upper classes as exclusive and distant, narrows the broad gap between the Andean Lima and the upper classes. This is what happens when fusionists shake up the imaginary segregated boxes and merge them through music in order to blur racialised allowed spaces.

4.3.2 From white fusion stars with Andean flavour to Andean fusion stars with white appeal

In Lucho's case, I highlighted his influence on upper class imaginaries of Andeanness, even though Lucho is not Andean and the instruments he plays are not played in the same way in the Andes. In this section I will explore agency and representation of Andean and indigenous performers in contemporary fusion music consumed by the upper classes and their process of gaining independence, visibility and their own voice and agency. For this, I focus on three case studies: Miki González, La Sarita and Magaly Solier, stressing the progression from Miki – an older white fusion star who hires Andean musicians, to La Sarita – an intercultural Andean rock band striving to strike a balance between the urban and

the Andean, to Magaly – a young Andean film star and singer who hires white musicians.

As discussed in chapter two, Miki views himself as a pioneer in fusing rock and jazz with Afro-Peruvian music (Feldman 2006:204), as well as Andean tradition with electronic music. When talking about his music and Andean musicians, he takes pride in how authentic he feels they are,

Carlos Enciso who is the specialist in *altiplano*¹⁸² music brought Johny Rodriguez who is from Socca (...) I have the privilege of having an authentic guy from the *altiplano*, you get me? And he adapts and he laughs his ass off. I have a Ballumbrosio, the Ballumbrosios are authentic, the way they were brought up, let's say, since they were born, they've had contact with me and thousands of other things (...) But they're authentic, they're authentic Afro-Peruvians, so that's what I have in the band (Miki González, interview, July 2008).

This notion of authenticity is also reflected in some of Miki's early video clips where he portrays the Andean world as iconic, romantic and mystic (Montero Diaz forthcoming).¹⁸³ In the 1990s, during the internal war, he played an important role in making Andeanness – albeit folklorised and romanticised – visible to a mainstream and upper class young audience. Later, Miki's Andean-electronic fusions made traditional Andean music 'cool' for the upper classes. Peruvian musicologist Chalena Vásquez says:

Well, a friend (...) told me that she worked at the Recoleta [upper-class secondary school in Lima] (...) she told me that Miki González' music was a bridge for her, that before showing them a huayno the way it is, she would show them Miki. So they would start to accept, or some dance so that they would get to dancing one with the traditional music. It was a bridge. And in some way it can fulfil that, that role. Well, if you want to cross the bridge, because if you don't, you just stay where you are. I'm fine on this side of the river! Right? (Chalena Vásquez, interview, August 2010).

But, if this music is being used as a 'bridge', is it just another middle and upper class representation of Andeanness?, a phenomenon that Turino criticises severely while examining Andean representation in Lima (1993: 229). Which role do the Andeans themselves play in this music process? As seen in chapter two, Miki's current onstage DJ format has been severely criticised by other fusion

¹⁸² High plateau in South America, it occupies part of Southern Peru, Western Bolivia and Northern Chile and Argentina. Puno is the Peruvian department in the *altiplano*.

¹⁸³ I have previously analysed Miki González' video Hoja Verde de la Coca and its impact on the Lima upper class audience.

performers and audience. Furthermore, Miki takes sole credit for creating his fusions, even though the recording process is a collaboration between Miki and the musicians. Miki's creative process involves having a musician in the studio, recording him playing the 'authentic' song and then reconfiguring everything the musician played, which means that the Andean music performer has to relearn his traditional song in a new electronic configuration before the performance. This is very difficult even for the savviest musician. Miguel Molina, one of Miki's musicians, when referring to this process would say: *duro para el campesino* ('hard on the peasant'). Dimitri Manga says,

In Miki's music, even in the fusion bands, the instruments often add a touch of colour or support, (...) their entire aesthetics, adapt to the framework and with this to the sound context of the whole band, so we are not on equal footing in some way, so we will always paint, add color or support in some way, but we will not play a lead role (Dimitri Manga, interview, July 2010).

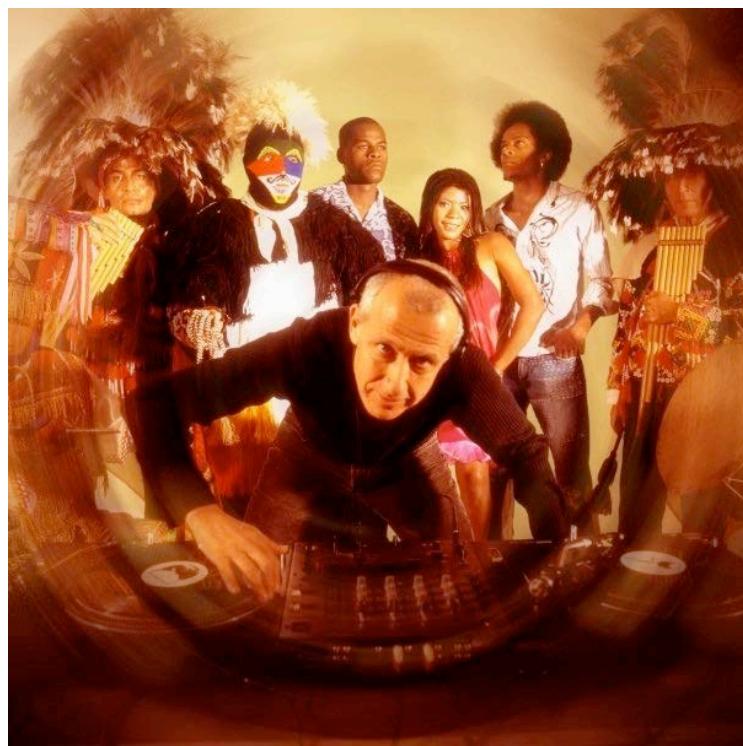


Figure 18: Miki González – Etno Tronics. Source: Miki González.

Photographer: Diego Alvarado

Miki has used touches of Andean tradition to index Andeanness, but so have other fusionists like La Sarita in their early work. La Sarita, an eleven-

member intercultural fusion band has had very different configurations since they started in 1997, but in interviews with band members and fans, the word ‘original’ is often used when referring to the six urban core members of the band, before the addition of five new members originally from Andean Ayacucho and Amazonian Pucallpa.¹⁸⁴

In *Más Poder* (1999), La Sarita started fusing Andean music, especially chicha and heavy rock. Then, in *Danza la Raza* (2003), the group combined rock sounds with *Danza de Tijeras* (the scissor dance), which according to Julio Pérez is “like Andean heavy metal and sounds very good, but it is also very important to know what it means” (Julio Pérez, interview, July 2010). For this album, La Sarita invited the participation of Marino Marcacuzco, a violinist from Ayacucho, Julio Salaverry (‘Challwa’) a *danzaq*¹⁸⁵ playing the scissors and the Andean harpist Hector Rojas Flores (‘Tukucha de Chiwiri’). Like Miki, Julio Pérez initially wanted “totally rural musicians, [for] more purity” (Pérez as quoted in Rozas 2007: 79), but later understood that what made La Sarita authentic was actually the intercultural connection that came with shared experience (see Chapter 3.2.2),

...we realised that the music had to be a result of shared experience, right? Of understanding between people. Realising that music is a means, it's a means, not the end. The end is all of us. Imagine, the first song we made with the scissors' dance was after a year, so, we would get together and all. Actually nothing might have come of it, but thank God things started to flow, after a year of sharing a song emerged and it's a half-finished song, eh, it's *Danza la Raza* (Julio Pérez, interview, July 2010).

Danza la Raza starts with Marino and Tukucha playing a traditional Scissors dance tune followed by Martin Choy on the electro acoustic guitar and Dante Oliveros with a snare drum. This lasts one minute, and then it mutes to a soft punk with some scissors dance rhythm and breaks, where Marino and Tukucha follow the urban musicians and musically ‘move to the background’. The more traditional tune returns around the third minute to introduce Challwa’s scissors dance, the rock section of the band pauses while the dance takes place,

¹⁸⁴ La Sarita’s website: <http://www.lasaritaperu.com/labanda.html> (Last accessed 20/10/11).

¹⁸⁵ Dancers of *danza de tijeras* in Ayacucho are called *danzaqs*, in other parts of Peru they are given other names, such as *galas* in Huancavelica and *sajras* or *huamaquillos* in Apurimac (Qori Sisicha, interview, October 2005). For more information on the *danza de tijeras* see Montero Diaz 2011: 1-18).

after a minute Challwa stops dancing and Julio Pérez recites some words in Quechua and the soft punk resumes. The song feels sectioned; the Andean tunes do not mix fluidly with the rock band. On-stage, the Andean musicians are on one side of the stage close to Martin Choy on his guitar, who is counting and leading so they know exactly when to come in and when to stop. The Andean musicians and the *danzaq* look very insecure trying to follow the other musicians. As for the dancing, Challwa performs traditional steps while looking quite confused trying to dance like a *danzaq* to a punk rhythm.¹⁸⁶ Maybe this is why Julio now calls it a “half-finished song” (*ibid.* July 2010). For the public, it was a nice way to ‘colour’ the show; it was innovative to have Andean traditional musicians onstage. However, as one member of the audience said, “they were quite ornamental” (Mariafe 28, La Noche, 2011).

La Sarita’s curiosity and yearning for a more articulated Peru fuelled their conscious effort to get to know each other better by spending time together and exploring each other’s environments. In 2009, after six years of creative silence, the album *Mamacha Simona* emerged. From six members, La Sarita grew to an eleven-member ensemble made up of people from the Andes, the Amazon and Lima from leafy residential Miraflores to gritty San Juan de Lurigancho. The music produced is fusion of traditional Andean music with rock, punk, and cumbias. It is very difficult to separate the different genres in the mix, which is fluid and compact, or as a La Sarita fan says: “It is a completely new thing, truly a new rock that sounds like Peru” (Maria Fernanda 26, La Noche, 2011). Renato, the wealthiest member of the group, often referred to by the other members as *el pituco de La Sarita* (‘the posh band member’) says:

it was difficult [the intercultural interaction]... musically and socially. I mean. There was a certain caution, and that is unconscious caution. Both on their side [provincial performers and dancers] and on our side. Because you might have the best of intentions, but sometimes your own narrow focus, which you get from school, you get from society, makes you like that, right? (Renato Briones, interview, August 2010).

¹⁸⁶ Danza la raza unplugged: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g2Am1LAI1qo> (Last accessed 20/10/11).

The process was protracted; the band decided to fuse themselves in order to fuse their music, which affected them in many ways. Socially, as Renato said, they had to overcome stereotypes and prejudices to be able to see each others as equals in order to produce the music they wanted to make. This also involved learning about each other's cosmology, religion, language, background, problems, etc. This is why every musician had plenty of stories about their mutual discovery and did not try to hide their emotions while retelling them,

... on the way from Zurich to Geneva... the sun was rising and Marino woke up, he was next to me. (...) He started saying: "that's barley" and I start looking "Really?" I say, "yes, and that's wheat" "really?" "yes, and that's potatoes". (...) And that will be ready for harvesting by then. And, I don't know, he started teaching me something (...) he was imparting knowledge to me, which to me really had the feel of wisdom, that I started appreciating him much more (...) and I arrived and I told my mum and I told everyone. I thought it was fabulous. That day I... I feel like I really bonded with Marino (Renato Briones, interview, August 2010).

When Marino joined the group, the Andean musicians and dancers had to follow the rock section of the band, but now the rock section is also following them, giving them more agency in the creative process and on-stage presence,

...what Julio prefers now is that we put out the Andean music and that they adapt to us and they add the beat (...) For the album Mamacha Simona, Julio always came to my house, almost every day. We worked for months to compose everything. All the compositions in Quechua are mine, everything I'm singing (...) On the CD [credits] they have included me, yes, as a composer (Marino Marcacuzco, interview, September 2010).

Marino Marcacuzco now takes centre-stage, in contrast with Miki's DJ-centred onstage format. His violin movements are decisive and he dances to rock while playing Andean tunes. He usually sings some songs in Quechua while the audience chants: "Marino, Marino, *grande* Marino". Marino's creative work has been recognised by La Sarita, and from the elaboration of Mamacha Simona onwards he has been considered part of the core group, receiving the same pay as the rock section of the band. La Sarita started as an underground rock band, it became a fusion band indexing Andeanness and now appears to be a fusion band with a horizontal creative dialogue.



Figure 19: Marino Marcacuzco and his violin. Source: Julio Pérez (*La Sarita*). Photographer: Carlos Ñaupari. Used with permission from Marino Marcacuzco and Julio Pérez.

Maintaining a balance between the urban and the rural, the Andean and the *Limeño*, the wealthy and the poor has been difficult, but *La Sarita* made a conscious effort. During the year I was researching in Peru, I interviewed Renato several times and I could see his struggle to feel *La Sarita* as an eleven-member ‘family’. First he felt there were six members of *La Sarita*’s family and the others were session musicians, then maybe six and four, then seven and three. Three months before my return to London, he told me with a smile: “I feel we are nine now”. Some days before I left, he told me he felt optimistic about the project in general, he gave me news about the creation of the next album, and told me he felt they were ten now: “the family is growing, there is only one member who I don’t feel is integrated enough”. For Renato, the new album once again reshuffles the compositional creative process; they are not ‘only’ playing around Marino and his violin, now the violin and harp are playing non-traditional music, exploring new sonorities all together from their different traditions and sounds.

... we’re working on a song, I tell you, there is a solo sounding like bluegrass, music from New Orleans, right? Marino came and he joined because we had to rehearse a song, which we have to play with him and, well, let’s hear it “Marino solo” and he started playing a solo and, well, it sounded like music from the States, like music from Alabama and I was dumbfounded by how well he played and it was as if he were playing and not playing, because he was a virtuoso, but he was playing because there was a bond. That was the first time we played that song, the first day and sorted (...) I swear that out of the 5 songs we have so far not one is traditional, and that’s what’s interesting, that the violin and harp are entering songs that aren’t traditional (Renato Briones, interview, March 2011).



Figure 20: La Sarita and all its members. Source: Julio Pérez (centre of the picture).

Photographer: Luis Choy-Yin.

La Sarita's intercultural process is an example of how collaborations between *Limeños* and Andeans can change from indexing Andeanness, through intercultural dialogue playing the 'other's' tradition together, to moving beyond playing traditional genres with traditional instruments to using these intercultural tools and different music languages to approach new music unfettered as equals, transcending genre racialisations.

The progression from Miki to La Sarita appears like a move towards a more balanced intercultural musical dialogue. But there is a younger mainstream fusion solo artist, who seems to take the progression a step further and tip the balance of power towards the Andes. Magaly Solier is a young Andean actress and singer from Huanta – Ayacucho, who self-identifies as a *campesina* ('indigenous peasant'). She epitomises the image of an "ethnic culture bearer" (c.f. Rogers 2003: 342) who emerges as the successful indigenous entrant into a 'hostile' white world, catalysing public debate on issues of participation, gender and equality. In 2009 Magaly released her first album *Warmi*, produced as an aural-movie where she sings the stories of different women from Ayacucho and their emotional

journey after the internal war in Peru. Eight out of the eleven songs in the album, are in Quechua. When Magaly is not abroad filming, she sings at El Cocodrilo Verde and La Noche (see Chapter 2.1 and Appendix 3), where she is usually accompanied by arranger Cali Flores fusion band Kenyara (see Chapter 2.2.5). Kenyara's members come from very diverse musical backgrounds including western art music, Ayacuchan vernacular music, jazz and *criollo* music; and also from different social and ethnic backgrounds. *Warmi*, was produced by Phantom Peru (see Chapter 2.2.6). Lalo Ponce, Phantom's CEO, says:

...it seems to me that she had a lot to say and we hadn't had any Andean representative in music that was not turned into a caricature (...) A girl from Ayacucho, from the toughest times of terrorism and extremely proud of where she comes from and who she is, without hunching down and looking up at you, which is so common among people from the provinces interacting with *Limeños*, she looks you straight in the eye and I liked that (...) it generates horizontal interaction immediately (Lalo Ponce, interview, November 2010).

Magaly Solier, in contrast with other singers of Andean background, like Damaris or Angela (see Section 4.2.1), gives the impression of resorting to strategic essentialisms; as she defends and raises awareness of Andean women's autonomy, power and voice, while singing in Quechua and embodying an 'authentic' *campesina* identity. Still, it is this very approach that enables her to portray her Andeanness in a horizontal way, destabilising the habitual and expected unequal interaction between traditional *Limeños* and Andeans. This makes Magaly's impact at exclusive venues among upper class audiences all the more striking.

Several fusion musicians and members of the audience I interviewed during fieldwork told me that *other* people go to see Magaly because they want to see the actress sing, or they want to see the *cholita* sing at an upper class venue. Many musicians did not believe that she really knew what she was doing and described her as a pre fabricated concept, even though she is indeed a successful musician, with numerous fans and not just a 'singing actress'. There was a lack of belief in Magaly as an independent artist. Her auto-identification as an indigenous peasant made it difficult for some to believe that she could decide for herself. The same scepticism has also tinged any discussion of her agency as an actress directed by white high class Claudia Llosa (Montero Diaz forthcoming). White and

indigenous dichotomies immediately conjure up the spectres of ethnic antagonism and exploitation, even when interaction may be perfectly harmonious. However, it was revealing to attend Magaly's sound check at La Noche de Barranco in August 2010. I wanted to observe her relationship with the musicians, the scene and the audience. Not only did I find that she had apparent control over her music and the stage, but also the technical knowledge to request specific sound effects during the rehearsal. She asked her sound engineer, Juan Carlos Estremadoyro (see Chapter 2.2.5), to apply delay to cover big sound gaps owing to the location's acoustics and in one song she said: "engineer...could you put another voice on top, so that it comes out as two voices?" Juan Carlos replied that they did not have the hardware, but Magaly came up with a quick fix: "well, then record me right now and put it on when I sing". She might not have used the technical word 'vocal harmoniser', but she knew which sonority she was looking for and how to get it. Juan Carlos immediately recorded her voice.

Magaly was aware of the versatility and virtuosity of her musicians, but she also knew her music was a challenge, especially for western art musicians, such as violinist Maria Elena Pacheco (see Chapter 2.2.5),

The technique, well, a lot of glissandi... very rhythmic bows, a lot of fast flourishes... but they are also flourishes that are not usually used not in baroque, nor classical music as such, but rather a different type of ornament. The colour I don't make so Andean, but I do try to give it what I think might be close to the Andean. That can be playing a bit closer to the bridge, it gives it a bit of a, let's say, dirty touch and with a lot of force... too much, almost roughly, playing roughly... (Maria Elena Pacheco, interview, September 2010).

Maria Elena Pacheco also sang backing vocals for Magaly. In the song *Ripu Ripusajami*, Maria Elena had to sing *niptiquim* ('you said') after each of Magaly's phrases. During the rehearsal of that song, Magaly was not satisfied with Maria Elena's singing, so she approached her and said: "you have to cover your mouth and tighten your throat your singing is too clear". This reminded me of what some traditional and fusion musicians would say of Leslie Patten or Pamela Rodriguez (see Section 4.2.2). Maria Elena looked nervous and incredulous, as if she did not know whether Magaly was joking. She was not; she was looking for a specific sonority and timbre that Maria Elena was not getting. She was singing

‘too clear’ as in too clean or pure, too much like a Western art musician perhaps. Maria Elena laughed nervously and did not cover her mouth, but tried to make her voice more nasal, Magaly did not comment further. Her dialogue with the band, the sound engineer, the production and technical team was friendly and horizontal, but she was adamant about getting a ‘more Andean sound’, not only from herself, but also her musicians. I write a ‘more Andean sound’, because her fusion style does not have a traditional Andean aesthetic (high octaves, nasal texture or accentuation). The music is already fused and stylised, but Magaly explores different vocal sonorities onstage, some of which closely resemble traditional indigenous or urban Andean styles.



Figure 21: Magaly Solier, promotional flyer for an open conference in Lima.

Text: ‘Magaly Solier, film actress, songwriter, peasant, Peruvian’

Source: Alianza Francesa – Miraflores. Photograph credit: Caretas. Used with permission of Magaly Solier and the Alianza Francesa- Miraflores.

During the concert, Magaly seemed in control of the band and the audience she sang huaynos and pumpines with heavy metal gestures and pauses. Kenyara is ‘her’ band and they play her compositions the way she wants, and in the language she wants. Only Fredy Gómez speaks Quechua in Kenyara, so for the other musicians it was difficult to become familiar with *Warmi*’s stories. For Cali, the process was particularly challenging,

When I started working with *maestro* Cali, when he asked me things I would say “Jeez why am I not working with someone who knows Quechua and stops asking”, because I didn’t like talking or explaining, so it helped me a great deal to explain to him, to tell him in words that I want a cut here, that it make you feel this, that it make you feel that, but each instrument, until he started understanding a bit of Quechua and I would laugh... (Magaly Solier, interview, August 2010).

This illustrates Magaly’s horizontal creative interaction with Cali and her pride in a bilingualism, which other people in the group, regardless of their education or class background, cannot follow. During the concert, Magaly made several jokes about herself and the band. She would not hide her Quechua accent as many others do when performing for a whiter audience.

I love my land, love my traditions and try to share everything I know, everything I have learned so far. I have no reason to close up or be ashamed of what I do (Magaly Solier, interview, August 2010).

Magaly would also joke about her musicians’ ‘lack of musical ability’, even though they are well-known in their own music genres: “Cali *maestro*, you don’t know how to count”, “my musicians don’t know how to play this song, so I can’t sing it for you now” (Magaly Solier, concert at La Noche, August 2010). This mirrors existing discourses about Andean musicians’ lack of musical ability when they find Western art music challenging or are unfamiliar with notation and music metric. In this case, the urban *Limeño* musicians were the ones ‘unable’ to play unfamiliar music aesthetics.

With these examples I do not wish to imply that indigenous agency in music has changed radically or that indigenous musicians are now leading mainstream rock bands as a rule of thumb. However, I argue that Andean musical presence in sounds and as people onstage at upper class venues is more frequent than before 2005. This has given more visibility to Andean musicians who are now able to project their own voice and aesthetics for a fusion scene. Furthermore, this

Andean presence, along with more frequent intercultural and interethnic projects and onstage interaction, challenges a generalised genre racialisation, opening the doors to new explorations in aesthetics, *convivencia*, understanding and delivery of political messages.

The three fusionist case studies chosen for this section belong to different age groups¹⁸⁷ and have different ways of interacting with ‘the other’. Together they appear to indicate that the previously accepted and promoted folklorisation of Andean music, where Andeanness is an ornament and an urban representation of an imagined authenticity, is slowly shifting in favour of a challenging more real, modern and equal Andean identity. This is also observed in the generational progression from Miki González’ music to La Sarita and Magaly Solier; a clear journey from white fusion stars with Andean flavour (‘colour’) to Andean fusion stars with white appeal; a music challenge to the segregation and racialisation of space and genres.

There is more evident Andean agency in upper class urban popular music than before, but this is an on-going process rather than a culmination. For example, Miki seems to have more authority over the Andean aesthetics he wants from the Andean musicians than Magaly has over her urban musicians. In La Sarita, Marino is a core member of the group, yet Maria Elena is their guest-recording artist for the album. Finally, we can argue that all the Andeans in these three examples achieved their visibility and had the opportunity to represent themselves onstage through bands or contexts where urban/white musicians, producers or movie directors, in the case of Magaly, had given them the ‘opportunity to shine’. Is that full agency? Perhaps not, but this process of Andean self-representation and agency through mainstream popular fusion music is a rapid on going process, which is contributing to turning imaginaries around and reconstructing the idea of the indigenous Andean as a modern and competent individual, rather than a backward ‘authentic’ museum piece.

¹⁸⁷ Miki González was born in 1952, La Sarita’s members’ average age is 38 years old (in 2011) and Magaly Solier was born in 1986.

Conclusion

This chapter illustrates that not everyone is considered to have ‘the right to mix’; race and class seem to limit space and music genre transgressions. Nevertheless, I gave historical evidence of the slow incursion of stigmatised provincial performers (1990s), playing genres associated with subalternity (chicha, technocumbia, huayno and cumbia norteña), into Lima’s music circuits. This transgression of ‘allowed spaces’ brought previously stigmatised genres to a broad Lima audience, generating a framework for ‘popular genres’ reaching the upper classes, who initially reacted with rejection, but later embraced a ‘popular feeling’ through cumbia bands and dance. This music cholification of Lima triggered a cultural ‘inverse aspiration process’ (Arellano 2010: 172), where the upper classes aim to be more like ‘the rest’ through internalising a new music taste.

There are obvious stereotyped racialised limitations on space transgressions as exemplified in Section 4.2. I illustrated the racial tensions fusion music seems to highlight when musicians with a particular phenotype play genres apparently not associated (or imagined) with their race and class. White, mestizo or Andean performers can be exoticised depending on the music context, and may even lose the agency to represent themselves as they want. Agency in music is not always hierarchical, with white performers having more access, agency, power and voice. In this setting, some fusion artists try to legitimise their performances by reinforcing the notion that some performers are ‘part of the people’, while others have to settle for ‘being acquainted with the people’. In this way they contribute to their own racialisation and that of the genre they play. Fusion music is racialised, but it is mostly a subversive racialisation with ‘popular’ whites, cosmopolitan Andeans and those who defy all categories (Lucho). But with its subversiveness, it provokes extreme dichotomies (Andean/*Limeño*, rural/urban), rather than embracing the mundane mestizo middle ground (Angela and Damaris). By making ‘subaltern agency’ visible in the music making process, it is also contributing to a slow shift in upper class imaginaries of Andeanness towards a more real, modern and equal Andean identity. This loosening up of fixed racial

categories even allows some upper class fusion musicians to blur their racial box and construct a different identity through playing and composing Andean music, without the need to deliberately index or perform Andeanness and indigeneity. Attempts to challenge upper class imaginaries and break with the racialisation of music genres demonstrate the potential of fusion music to change and build new identities and promote intercultural respect.

In the next chapter I will further examine Lima's recent socio-political context, particularly the twenty-year internal war and its aftermath. I will look more closely at the white upper class audience in terms of their use of fusion music to negotiate their guilt, social role and trauma. Finally, I will discuss the young alternatives' political enactment, agency, self-recreation and quest for dreams of social inclusion, which I have touched on throughout this thesis.

Chapter 5: A post-war delusion?

As seen in previous chapters, the asymmetry of access and opportunity that race and class permit, along with the blatant social inequality in Peru and Lima, are the main reasons for a complex protracted conflict between the white upper classes, the mestizos and the Andean/Amazonian indigenous populations. This conflict reached its peak with a violent twenty-year internal war (1980-2000) between the State and two terrorist groups: MRTA and the Shining Path. Particularly, the Shining Path claimed to fight against inequality and the abuse of peasant communities, but at the same time aimed violence at peasants and indigenous populations before targeting the rest of Peru (see Chapter 1.2). This war paralysed the country's economy and the cultural circuits; it restricted individual freedom of movement and further divided an already conflict-riddled Peru. One of the repercussions, in the aftermath of this social conflict, was that the white upper classes began to reflect on their own social role and place in a 'New Peru'. As part of this process, the alternative upper classes have come to challenge historical class, ethnic and racial structures through music making and listening.

Thirteen years after the war, Peru is just finding its feet again, regaining what it lost during the violent process, and attempting to reconcile through official (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) and unofficial channels, such as arts and music. In this respect, I want to acknowledge Jonathan Ritter's research on huayno testimonial. These songs served as a tool for documenting the internal war in Ayacucho during and after the conflict (2003, 2007), and have been one of "the only places in which [people affected by terrorism] can talk about the terrible things [that happened] in [their] lives" (2009: 19) (see Figure 1).¹⁸⁸

When I started this research, I did not adequately appreciate the great influence of the internal war on fusion music, musicians and audience. During exchanges with research consultants during fieldwork, the war emerged as one, if not the most important trigger factor for upper class self-recreation and longing to

¹⁸⁸ Furthermore, I would like to acknowledge the work of Cinthia E. Milton on art as a medium for recounting the Peruvian internal war (2009) and Diana Taylor's research on Yuyachkani Theatre Company and its role in staging social memory of the internal war (2002: 39).

belong and *be part* of Peru's reality. This chapter provides a closer look at the impact of the internal war on a segment of Lima's young white upper classes, who interpret and attempt to use fusion music as an anti-hegemonic instrument conveying a political message of inclusion, integration, social justice and peace.

Ethnomusicologist Svanibor Pettan, while writing on music in war from the perspective of applied ethnomusicology, states: "wars and other violent conflicts stimulate musical creativity and thus, call for the attention of researchers" (2010: 177). In this chapter, I argue that the Peruvian internal war not only stimulated musical creativity, but its aftermath has also made space for creating common ground between groups in conflict through empathetic interaction. These interactions allow people to "become clear on what [they] are not, what [they] are more or less than others (...) and become conscious of [their] own deficiency or disvalue" (Stein 1989: 116). Music lecturer Felicity Laurence writes,

In empathizing, we, while retaining fully the sense of our own distinct consciousness, enter actively and imaginatively into others' inner states to understand how they experience their world and how they are feeling, reaching out to what we perceive as similar while accepting difference, and experiencing upon reflection our own resulting feelings appropriate to our own situation as empathic observer, which may be virtually the same feelings or different but sympathetic to theirs, within a context in which we care to respect and acknowledge their human dignity and our shared humanity (Laurence 2008: 24).

I argue that these empathetic processes help the young white upper classes to negotiate their role in *Limeño* society and the internal war, as they are perceived (and in some cases perceive themselves) as the cause of Peru's main social problems. In this way, the internal war made space for the fusion music boom of 2005 as a channel for expressing the yearning for reconciliation felt by part of the upper classes. Andean fusion musicians found a place for healing their wounds while singing the war to a white upper class audience believed by most Peruvians to be distant from Peru's social conflicts (see Chapter 1). On the other hand, white upper class musicians acknowledged their social history, negotiated their guilt and attempted to self-recreate their identity. Musical performance motivated general discussion and critical social awareness among both groups. Borrowing the words of musicologist Kjell Skyllstad: "Through music making,

personal creativity becomes transformed into social energy" (2008: 176). But can this social energy contribute to transforming social conflict?

Ethnomusicologist John O'Connell in his introduction to Music and Conflict discusses the difficulty of defining conflict in theory as it can be viewed negatively and positively. He describes the negative view of conflict as "the logical outcome of economic inequality and social disparity leading inevitably to violent rupture where the status of a dominant elite is called into question" (2010: 2). I find this definition of conflict useful for understanding the Peruvian internal war and consequent post-war discussions on social reconciliation and reconstruction, where alternative young upper classes are taking a role in questioning their social dominance and feeling of superiority, especially through music. Many of my research consultants identified the return to peace after the conflict as fundamental to the fusion boom and the proliferation of music venues in Lima; especially musicians under the age of 35, whose generation was the most affected by the decades of violence.

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first I contextualise the war and its apparent role in fuelling an upper class desire for integration and reconciliation with Peru's broader population. I will explore how Andean fusion musicians address aspects of the internal war that remain painful to this day. This includes their onstage political involvement and attempts to heal, to remember, to discuss and reconcile through singing the war. I will also consider the reception of their upper class audience and its motivations for engaging with such music. In the second section, I examine selected white upper class fusion groups' engagement with discussions triggered by the war, and their explicit self-critique of their own privilege, social position, power and discrimination. I also explore audience reaction to these bands' political messages and their impact beyond the musical context.

5.1 Singing the war¹⁸⁹

Even though many academics have presented the period of violence as lasting between twelve and fifteen years,¹⁹⁰ the final report of the *Comisión Peruana de la Verdad y Reconciliación* ('Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission') states that the armed conflict lasted twenty years (1980-2000) (CVR 2003:53).¹⁹¹ This means that for musicians aged around thirty-five years, the conflict cast a shadow over their entire childhood, teenage years and early adult life. The violence started in and crippled Andean provinces, such as Ayacucho and Huancavelica, and later became a 'national problem'. For *Limeños*, at first this conflict seemed marginal and distant, but from 1986 acts of terror – such as targeted murders of local authorities – reached the capital (CVR 2003:69) and violence gradually escalated.¹⁹² In July 1992 one of the biggest car bomb attacks occurred in the upper class district of Miraflores, known as the Tarata attack.¹⁹³ According to the Shining Path, the attack was a mistake: it was aimed at the banks near a residential building, rather than the building itself (CVR 2003: 662).¹⁹⁴ The Tarata attack brought home to upper class *Limeños* that terrorist violence did not distinguish class, status, social or ethnic background.

As mentioned previously, internal and external migration flows were a major consequence of the internal war. The flood of Andeans who moved to Lima to escape the violence during the 1980s and 1990s, making their homes in the

¹⁸⁹ I will restrict my discussion here to the aftermath of this internal conflict, its impact on the traditional white upper classes, and my argument concerning the way it underpinned and shaped the boom of the fusion genre. For information about the formation and impact of The Shining Path in Peru see Degregori 1997, Gorriti 1999, Stern 1998. For more information on debates regarding the Truth and Reconciliation Commission see Degregori 2003a, 2003b.

¹⁹⁰ This is made clear from a number of publications, which indicate that the internal conflict started in 1980 when the Shining Path decided to launch the armed phase of their 'social war' against the State; and ended in 1992 with the imprisonment of Abimael Guzmán, leader of the Shining Path. For more information on the chronology of the Shining Path see Becker 2006.

¹⁹¹ Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation final report. Volume I, first part: *El Proceso, los hechos, las víctimas*, first section: *Exposición general del proceso*, Chapter 1: *Los períodos de la violencia*.

¹⁹² Volume I, first part: *El Proceso, los hechos, las víctimas*, first section: *Exposición general del proceso*, Chapter 1: *Los períodos de la violencia*.

¹⁹³ In this terrorist attack 25 people died, 5 disappeared and 155 were wounded (CVR 2003: 663). Volume VII, chapter 2: *Los casos investigados por la CVR*, 2.60 *Los asesinatos y lesiones graves producidos en el atentado de Tarata (1992)*.

¹⁹⁴ Volume VII, chapter 2: *Los casos investigados por la CVR*, 2.60 *Los asesinatos y lesiones graves producidos en el atentado de Tarata (1992)*.

city's peripheries (or *conos*)¹⁹⁵ was termed a “*desborde popular*” ('popular sector spill-over') by Matos Mar (1984). With time, these influxes “revived century-old patterns of discrimination and social exclusion of the Andean migrant population on behalf of the elite...” (Dalum Berg 2007: 90) and also motivated traditional *Limeño* nostalgia for “Lima the way it once was” (Lima’s former Mayor Alberto Andrade as quoted by Gandolfo 2009: xi).¹⁹⁶ Yet, many of these migrants escaping poverty and violence gradually became a new powerful Andean/*Limeño* middle class and upper class, the *emergentes*; a driving force of today’s Peruvian economy. Indeed, for researchers such as Rolando Arellano (2010), through mixing its wealth with traditional white upper class wealth and sharing exclusive schools, universities and spaces, this dynamic new group is generating a more integrated society. The same internal migration, that intensified discrimination and social exclusion towards Andeans in Lima, may also be one of the current reasons for integration.

¹⁹⁵ This was not the first wave of internal migration. There was a spike in migration in the 1940s and again later in the 1960s driven by Velasco’s agrarian reform.

¹⁹⁶ “When I returned to the center after a long time,” he said grimly, “they (the migrants) looked upon me as if I were a stranger. My identity had been erased,” he said with a look of disbelief, “and it had been occupied by someone who had come from another place. There were cultural values that weren’t mine. They throw a banana peel on the sidewalk as if it were nothing (*como si nada*), and while back in the highlands that might make sense, since it biodegrades, here in the city it just rots and dirties the streets. You have to realize,” he said leaping from the dimension of his own persona, intimate recollection to a historical and collective one, “that Lima was the capital, the political, cultural, religious center of the viceroyalty. It was a great city,” he said, “with very special and characteristic architecture, like the (Moorish) balconies, for example. It was the identity of those balconies that we were concerned with. As *Limeños*, we were concerned with recuperating our identity” (Gandolfo 2009: 64).



Figure 22: Tarata attack. Source: Truth and Reconciliation Commission official website.

While hundreds of thousands were internally displaced, many from the middle and upper classes migrated abroad. It is estimated that between 1985 and 1988, 151,639 Peruvians emigrated, most of them students (González de Olarte 1991:20). Furthermore, between 1989 and 1994 an additional 380,000 Peruvians left Peru (De los Ríos and Rueda 2005: 9). This massive exodus, coupled with a shattered infrastructure and lack of international investment, deeply affected the

Peruvian economy.¹⁹⁷ Nevertheless, remittances sent from Peruvians living abroad have since become significant economic resource, and the experience of studying and working abroad has led many Peruvians to see their country, their identity, and themselves in a different light.¹⁹⁸

A number of the upper class musicians and members of the fusion audience to whom I spoke had spent time abroad between 1995 and 2001. Some stated they left because of terrorism, others due to political instability (Fujimori's presidency – 1995 - 2001). These people had all returned to Peru, and told me that the experience of living abroad had drastically changed their vision of their country and themselves.

When you go abroad when everybody associates your country with blood, poverty, war, you don't have self-esteem, you don't understand. You learn you are not better than others, that you are not as white as your family made you believe, and that you are not even part of Peru. I was not Peruvian; I didn't understand what was happening. Why were other Peruvians fighting? When I came back, I just wanted to 'make peace' with others, with me, feel Peruvian for once, right? (male, 32).¹⁹⁹

Even people who did not travel abroad, but experienced the internal war in Lima, especially those of the generation born in 1980, told me that by the time terrorism was defeated, they were already tired of hating each other and tired of the claustrophobic feeling induced by fear, *toques de queda* ('curfews'), car bombs, a lack of music venues or any social venue in open spaces, and the mistrust of any person who seemed 'different'.

I remember that there were massive underground concerts in hidden venues, kind of secret music. I really wanted to go there, but my father picked me up from school and cancelled all extra curricular activities... I couldn't do anything. I even

¹⁹⁷ This does not imply that after the internal war emigration stopped or diminished. Currently there are more Peruvians leaving the country to study or work abroad, but this now seems to be associated with the improvement of the Peruvian economy and the economic capacity of some families to send their children to study abroad.

¹⁹⁸ "The 2007 Population Census registered that in 704,746 households in Peru at least one member of the household is residing abroad. This figure represents 10.4% of the total number of households in Peru. According to current estimates, around three million Peruvians are residing abroad. To illustrate the swift rise in remittances in Peru, in 1999 remittances totaled 670 million dollars. A decade later, in 2009, Peru received 2.378 billion dollars in remittance." (Held's IOM presentation 2010: 9) See more in: *Peru, remesas y desarrollo* (INEI and IOM 2010).

¹⁹⁹ Several quotes in this chapter are taken from two focus groups and three informal discussions after concerts with regular fusion fans (2010). However, by request of some participants, most opinions are anonymised and only gender and age are indicated. Other participants explicitly allowed me to use pseudonyms and dates.

remember that teachers in school cancelled all group work, so we didn't have to go to someone else's house, we were trapped! (female, 30).

We always had maids, however, there was a point when my dad did not want to hire any maid from Ayacucho, Huancavelica or Huancayo, he said they could be terrorists. It was just paranoia! People in the neighbourhood were always looking out for abandoned cars and people who looked suspicious...whatever that meant! (female, 34).

Over a decade after the end of the internal conflict, many upper class interviewees acknowledge several factors that are contributing to facilitating the discussion of the conflict through music in Lima: The economic stability of the country, the re-opening of music venues, with the activation of a live music scene, and a more fluid racial and social mix in schools and universities, due to massive internal migration.²⁰⁰ It was also said that *Limeños* are becoming more cosmopolitan “people now travel more, listen to more music, know that even though they are upper class Peruvian, in other countries they are simply nobodies” (male, 33). Such situations can prove formative and help people realise that the systematic segregation and racism they know from Peru are not normalised everywhere, they are not universal. This was a discovery for some musicians who travelled abroad to study or work. According to one, “when you go abroad and people think that Peru is all the things you don't know, you stop and ask yourself who am I? Why am I not related to my own culture? And then you just want to go back and explore your own country, your own people” (female, 34).

I argue that fusion music (whether making, performing and listening) has created a space where creativity transforms into social energy, contributing to conflict transformation. I will use the term ‘conflict transformation’, rather than ‘conflict resolution’, as the first term not only connotes an attempt to address and fix the conflict in question, but also to deal with “issues and relationships that are connected to the conflict” (Dunn 2008: 9). This transformation entails peacefully “end[ing] something destructive and build[ing] something desired” (Lederach 2003: 33). I say peacefully based on Johan Galtung’s definition of peace as: “the

²⁰⁰ As one white upper class teacher said: “schools can no longer afford to tell a *cholo* family to look for another school, they started accepting them because they are the ones with the money now” (Vera, 40 – 2011).

capacity to transform conflicts with empathy, creativity and non-violence” (Galtung as quoted by Olivier Urban 2008: 4). Christopher Small suggests that,

The act of musicking²⁰¹ establishes in the place where it is happening a set of relationships, and it is in those relationships that the meaning of the act lies. They are to be found not only between those organised sounds which are conventionally thought of as being the stuff of musical meaning but also between the people who are taking part, in whatever capacity, in the performance; and they model or stand as metaphor for, ideal relationships as the participants in the performance imagine them to be: relationships between person and person, between individual and society, between humanity and the natural world and even perhaps the supernatural world (Small 1998: 13).

Fusion music is being used to address social conflicts through empathetic, creative and non-violent onstage intercultural dialogues, relationships and lyrics, which motivate social discussion and critique among the upper classes. Fusion musicking, to use Small’s term, creates “liminal spaces” (Turner 1967: 93-111, Bergh 2010: 207) where “ideal relationships are imagined” (Small 1998: 13), and even enacted “while the music lasts” (Cook 2008). As evidenced in previous chapters, for some of the alternative white upper classes, this enactment moves beyond the musicking act to give rise to new identities and sets of relationships, which in some cases are far from temporal relationships or lifestyles. These ‘ideal relationships’ are *first imagined* and then *maintained* through musicking liminal spaces. So, how are the alternative white upper classes using music as a conduct to transform creativity into social energy, and as a way to build ‘ideal relationships’? I will now turn to explore fusion music as a mediation tool in the aftermath of a violent conflict as do other scholars in other geographical and social contexts (Beckles Willson 2009, O’Connell and Castelo-Branco 2010, Abbi-Ezzi 2008).

Fusion musicians and audiences were not externally guided through therapeutical reconciliatory activities; rather in musicking they found a way to deal with hierarchical social relationships, historical colonial antagonisms, violence, traumas and mistrust. Furthermore, acknowledging the academic critique of the romantic treatment of music as a ‘universal language’ or as

²⁰¹ In Small’s words: “...to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing” (1998: 9).

‘powerful in itself’ (Cohen 2008: 26-27; Bergh 2010: 13-17; Dunn 2008: 33), I will stress what the audiences and the musicians experience as they interact in fusion musicking as “it becomes obvious that what audience members bring to the musical encounter –the sensibilities, relationships, attitudes, historical resonances, etc. – will contribute a large measure of its meaning” (Cohen 2008: 28). This approach allows me to engage with the audience experience, which ultimately constitutes massive social energy that through collective affectivity reconfigures social relationships through music.

5.1.1 Healing wounds

What happened musically during the internal war? In the 1980s, the *huayno testimonial* from Ayacucho emerged as a “means of protest and political contestation” (Tucker 2005:111) (see also Ritter 2003, 2007). These huaynos composed and performed by Ayacuchano composers described the internal conflict in their lyrics “the specifics of the incident, and point[ed] clearly toward a solution – revolution – rather than only expressing emotional response” (Tucker 2005:112). In Ayacucho, music provided a space for people to describe what was happening and served as a medium to communicate and disseminate ideas. At the same time in Lima, the economic crisis worsened, practically shutting down local music production. Yet, the conflict fuelled the underground music scene as an alternative space for music making, in which social conflict could be discussed, and where anger, solidarity and differentiation from ‘commercial’ *Limeño* music could be expressed (see chapter 2).²⁰²

Uchpa, also considered part of this underground scene, was formed in the 1990s as a duet in Andahuaylas, but became an intercultural rock-blues band

²⁰² The internal war affected the music scene in general. The underground scene questioned terrorism in its lyrics. Chicha music lyrics sometimes dealt with internal migration and leaving home due to the conflict. Mainstream artists such as No sé quién y los no sé cuántos sang humorous protest songs “*un terrorista, dos terroristas se balanceaban sobre una torre derrumbada...*” (one terrorist, two terrorists were balancing on a toppled pylon, a play on a nursery rhyme with many versions in different languages about a little or grey elephant who, in English, is balancing on a string). However, for the purpose of this thesis I will mainly focus on fusion groups and specifically upper class audiences, who were not part of the underground circuit and did not ‘discuss’ through music what happened during the conflict until now.

singing only in Quechua. Fredy Ortiz, a self-defined Quechua peasant and the leader of the band, was a police officer in Andahuaylas and Ayacucho during the time of the internal war.

...I looked at the abuses we committed and also the abuse committed by The Shining Path, and the two clashes meant awful violence... I wanted to avoid talking about that stuff, because it really gets to me. I have seen and experienced the most shocking things you can imagine, and even things you can't imagine, so, the clash of those two, those two violences, it was as if they left only ashes, then it occurred to me to name it *Uchpa* ['ashes' in Quechua] (Fredy Ortiz, interview, December 2012).



Figure 23: UCHPA. Source: Fredy Ortiz (top left).

Photographer: Alejandra Devescovi

Fredy was eventually transferred to Lima, where he reinvented Uchpa as a band with urban *Limeños* and Andeans from different social backgrounds. Some of Uchpa's lyrics are about the internal violence, social problems and protecting Peru's environment. Songs like *Pitaqmi Kanki* ('Who are you?') and *Peru Llacta* ('People of Peru') draw attention to the problem of children orphaned by the violence. However, the band's latest songs from the time of my interview with Fredy were dealing more with topics like love, happiness and hope for the future; probably reflecting his emotional state at the time:

... sometimes they [journalists] ask me that [about terrorism] for television, I can't bear it and I start crying... damn, and I don't stop again, unbelievable! But I'm cured of that now, more or less, I keep curing myself with music, playing football, and my pints, I'm curing myself like that (Fredy Ortiz, interview, Dec 2010).

Fredy is healing his own wounds through his music and shares his feelings in his own language – Quechua. Nowadays, Uchpa plays at diverse venues and for people of different social backgrounds, including at La Noche, for an upper class audience. There, it is quite common to see hardcore blues and rock fans with long hair, boots, bandanas all dressed in black head banging to Uchpa's songs, side by side with a more Andean background upper middle class public dancing huayno and carnival to the rhythm of the huayno elements in Uchpa's music.²⁰³ At these concerts I often heard the public interacting with each other asking: "What is the name of that instrument? (For the case of a *waqra pukhu*, 'cow-horn trumpet'); What is this song about? Which kind of rock is this? How do you dance to this?" This thirst for knowledge and construction of ideal relationships through interaction with the band and its music was evident in the comment of a white upper class audience member who studies at the exclusive Universidad de Lima:

A true Uchpa fan knows the history of the band and the history of Fredy. Terrorism affected us all. We lived so many years turning our backs on people like him, Andeans, peasants, now is time to listen to him and listen to him in his own language. A true Uchpa fan searches for the lyrics, asks for translations, learns the songs, learns Quechua. It is impossible to like Uchpa without understanding the lyrics! (male, 30).

²⁰³ Even though La Noche is considered an upper class venue, it does not have discriminatory admittance filters. The filter in a way is the entrance fee, those who can pay can enter. See Appendix 3 for more details on different fusion spaces and venues.

With peace and a prolonged period of economic growth an optimistic feeling of ‘togetherness’ has started to emerge among certain sectors of the young upper classes in Lima. Some of these young adults have begun to take a serious interest in the internal war and challenging their own reluctance to truly understand it. They have also come to question the way that they ignored the suffering of so many Andeans by distancing themselves from them and condemning their ‘urban invasion’.

... it's very hard to say this and I'm telling you this with a hand on my heart, because it's fucking hard to talk about this [prolonged pause, as if it were difficult for him to talk] (...), I grew up in the period of terrorism, in the 80s and I do think that there is a generation who is aware of how far removed they have been, or how far removed we have been from the rest of Peru, right? – and therefore now the need for us to connect. And now we have, shall we say, more political stability than in the time of terrorism, the time of that horrible dictator [Alberto Fujimori 1990-2001] and I think people are now starting to look inwards, starting to feel Peruvian, but with a bit of *conchudez* ['swagger'], right? Which I think is brilliant (Joaquín Mariátegui – Bareto, interview September 2010).

From my many conversations with fusion musicians and their upper class public, it seems that the period of internal conflict, for some, has led to intense personal soul-searching as well as a collective pursuit of a more ‘cohesive’ identity. Music offers a space well-suited to representing this imagined ‘togetherness’, an imagined ideal relationship.

Since her album *Warmi* was launched in 2009, Magaly Solier has regularly performed at upper class venues singing songs in Quechua about gender, violence and the consequences of the internal war (see Chapter 2.2.6). She is from Huanta, Ayacucho, one of the worst affected towns during the war. Magaly not only sings about the conflict, but has also been filmed and interviewed at events organised by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.²⁰⁴ Furthermore, she has promoted reflection and discussion through her songs, interviews, personal website and contributions to social networks, such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. In an interview for a well-known blog, Magaly voiced her disapproval of the decision made by Alan Garcia’s administration to refuse a donation from

²⁰⁴ Utero de Marita: Con Magaly Solier en Yuyanapaq photographic exhibit about the internal war. Interview by Marco Sifuentes (13/03/09). <http://utero.pe/2009/03/13/con-magaly-solier-en-yuyanapaq/utero> (Last accessed 28/02/2012) Full interivew (<http://vimeo.com/3733959>) (Last accessed 23/04/13).

Germany to build a Memory museum: “... I was even more interested in coming here [photographic exhibit about the Peruvian internal war] when the President [Alan García] refused to build the memory museum (...) is he afraid to remember what he has done? How does Alan García sleep at night? Easily? I don't know” (Solier 2009).

Magaly's CD *Warmi* has five female protagonists. Two of them, Citaray and ‘the grandmother’ were directly affected by the internal war, and the songs about them discuss the war and its consequences. Almost all of Magaly's songs are in Quechua, yet, one of her most popular songs *Guitarra Yuyariptiy* is in Spanish. Magaly usually sings this while projecting pictures from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission photography exhibition “Yuyanapaq. Para recordar” (‘To remember’).²⁰⁵ Perhaps the switch to Spanish is deliberate here as Magaly usually sings for an upper class audience, an audience that does not speak Quechua. In her own words:

“A nation that forgets its past is doomed to repeat it”. So, in order to not forget it, and above all not to repeat it, I project this video at all my concerts when I sing my song “Guitarra Yuyariptiy”. Peruvians died, they were all Peruvians. This song is my place of memory (Solier's YouTube Channel).

<i>Cuando llora la guitarra llora y llora mi corazón llora sin ningún consuelo recordando lo que paso. Cuando llora la guitarra oigo su voz, siento su dolor, sus gritos desgarradores.</i>	<i>When the guitar cries, cries and cries my heart cries without consolation remembering what happened. When the guitar cries, I hear her voice, I feel her pain, her heartbreaking cries.</i>
<i>Cuando llora la guitarra el recuerdo de esa noche poco a poco viene a mí y mi pobre corazón no soporta no, no, no el recuerdo de esa noche es tan dura y tan cruel y mi pobre corazón no soporta no, no, no</i>	<i>When the guitar cries, the memory of that night little by little comes to me and my poor heart can't bear it no, no, no the memory of that night is so hard and so cruel and my heart can't stand it no, no, no.</i>
<i>Cuando calla la guitarra solo queda queda ,el silencio queda solo queda queda el recuerdo queda llantos llagas quedan , solo queda queda</i>	<i>When the guitar falls silent always stays, stays, the silence remains always stays, stays, the memory remains anguished tears remain, always remain, remain.</i>
<i>En medio de aquel silencio</i>	<i>In the middle of that silence,</i>

²⁰⁵ Magaly's projection: Magaly Solier, *Guitarra Yuyariptiy* (Video version demo) Uploaded by Magaly Solier (15/09/11) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dyyRxVhw49E> (Last accessed 28/02/12). *Yuyanapaq. Para recordar* <http://www.pnud.org.pe/yuyanapaq/yuyanapaq.html> (Last accessed 28/02/12)

<p><i>el gatillo sonó y sonó en medio de aquel silencio el casquillo rodó y rodó y la pólvora se esfumó y la guitarra nunca más sonó</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Guitarra Yuyariptiy – Warmi. Magaly Solier</i></p>	<p><i>the trigger sounded and sounded in the middle of that silence, the cartridge spun and spun, and the gunpowder evaporated, and the guitar sounded no more.</i></p>
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It is interesting to note that while other *testimonial* songs primarily target an Andean audience, Magaly mainly ‘sings the war’ to Lima’s upper classes. This is particularly important, as memory projects are not equally disseminated. If terrorist groups were allegedly formed to fight social inequality and poverty in the Andes, is it not necessary to discuss the war among the Peruvian upper classes? This is even more important as some upper class youths do not discuss these topics in school. I observed this during my period as a music teacher at a wealthy school in Lima. The school administration notified me that topics such as, the conquest of Peru, Darwinism and the internal conflict were not to be discussed in class. I did not necessarily obey this instruction, and while teaching a music lesson on Nueva canción and protest songs in Latin America with students in the last year of high school (16-17 years old) we discussed the internal war and internal migration through music. On that day I could confirm that the girls knew little about the internal war and although it was also felt in Lima, they ignored its origins, the people involved, and the consequences. On the next day, the sub principal called me to her office to ‘advise’ me to revise my subject content as it was going against the school’s *Proyecto Educativo* (‘education project’).

Attending Magaly’s concerts in 2010-11, it was striking to observe her end her concerts by singing *Flor de Retama* (‘Broom flower’) with her audience. This well-known huayno testimonial was composed by Ricardo Dolorier in 1969 to document a student protest in Huanta during Velasco’s Presidency that led to the death of several students at the hands of the army. This was ten years before the internal war even started. However, this huayno has been repeatedly re-signified during and after the internal conflict (Ritter 2009: 15-16). On the one hand, the Shining Path appropriated this song and made it an anthem of their fight against bourgeois power and repression. On the other hand, and mostly towards the end of

the war and after it, others saw it as a way to acknowledge the suffering and slaughter of peasants at the hands of the army during the conflict. At some concerts, when Magaly does not sing this song, the audience will request it or even start singing, forcing Magaly and her musicians to play along.²⁰⁶

<i>Vengan todos a ver, ay, vamos a ver, vengan, hermanos, a ver, ay, vamos a ver. En la plazuela de Huanta, amarillito, flor de retama, amarillito, amarillando, flor de retama.</i>	<i>Come, everyone, to see, we are going to see, come brothers to see, we are going to see. In the plaza of Huanta, the little yellow retama flower, bright little yellow retama flower.</i>
<i>Por Cinco Esquinas están, los sinchis entrando están en la plazuela de Huanta, los sinchis rodeando están Van a matar estudiantes, huantinos de corazón amarillito, amarillando, flor de retama. Van a matar campesinos huantinos de corazón amarillito, amarillando, flor de retama.</i>	<i>They are at Five Corners,²⁰⁷ the National Guard soldiers are entering. In the plaza of Huanta, the National Guard soldiers are gathering. They are going to kill students, huantinos at heart. bright little yellow retama flower. They are going to kill peasants, huantinos at heart, bright little yellow retama flower.</i>
<i>Donde la sangre del pueblo ahí se derrama Allí mismito florece amarillito flor de retama amarillito, amarillando, flor de retama.</i>	<i>Where the blood of the people spilled over, right there flowers the little yellow retama flower, bright little yellow retama flower.</i>
<i>La sangre del pueblo tiene rico perfume Huele a jazmines, violetas, geranios y margaritas, a pólvora y dinamita ¡¡Carajo!! A pólvora y dinamita</i>	<i>The blood of the people has a rich perfume, It smells of jasmine, of violets, geraniums and daisies, of gunpowder and dynamite, Damn it! Of gunpowder and dynamite.²⁰⁸</i>

The Hermanos Gaitán Castro was the first Andean band to bring this song to the traditional white upper classes around 2001. Since then, sections of the upper classes (mainly the alternatives) sing it at small trova concerts or request it at fusion concerts, turning this song into a participatory performance.

I love it when Sara Van or Magaly Solier sing Flor de Retama. I can't avoid crying each time I sing with them. I lost my grandmother in Tarata, people think that we don't suffer. We are humans, we also suffered the war! With each *carajo* [damn it] my tears disappear and my desire grows for us all to unite now so that this doesn't happen again (female 35, Cocodrilo Verde, 2010).

²⁰⁶ Magaly Solier – Flor de Retama (C.C. La Noche 2011) (12/08/11).

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ar4y7QLaBhg&feature=related> (Last accessed 28/02/12).

²⁰⁷ Five-cornered intersection in Huanta.

²⁰⁸ Translation based on translation by Johnatan Ritter (2009: 15).

This member of the audience reaffirms and validates her suffering through her involvement in participatory song. She challenges the generalised idea that the upper classes do not suffer (Chapter 1), “People think that we don’t suffer, we are humans, we also suffered the war!” (male, 34). In this way, she empathizes with Andeans’ suffering, while dealing with her own suffering. This enables her to connect in song with an Andean *campesina* like Magaly, instead of resenting Magaly’s background or including her in the imaginary of the ‘Andean terrorist’. One can say that the upper classes in Lima were not affected by systematic terror, murders, or abuse like people in the Andes, yet, I argue that in order to achieve reconciliation in a divided society it is necessary to acknowledge the experiences of everyone without assigning ethnic and class hierarchies for suffering, trauma or mourning.

I know that my suffering doesn’t compare to that of Andean peasants who were tortured and raped, nobody in my family died directly because of terrorism. But what keeps me awake at night is that this happened, full stop. Why were such extremes reached? Why are there people like me, who have a lot, and others who have nothing? Do you think it’s nice to live with that on your conscience? To live with the fact that in your family history there are people who fought to preserve this? I would be a hypocrite, if I were to tell you that I don’t like living comfortably. But what I don’t like is living with the blood of people, who we ignored for years and continue ignoring, on my conscience. I sing at the top of my lungs, because music gives me a space to cry for my ghosts, my own traumas, my selfishness, my burdens and deep down do something, build something new, make friends who I wouldn’t have outside the space of music... I can’t reconstruct Peru, but I can reconstruct myself (male, 28).

This illustrates the role of fusion music in the creation of free common ground, space allowed for everyone, and empathetic interaction where people can “become conscious of their own deficiency or disvalue” (Stein 1989: 116). This collaborator seems to negotiate his guilt through musicking, acknowledging his family history and his own role, attempting to rebuild himself not only imagining ideal relationships, but using the music space to *make* new relationships and in this way reconstruct himself. Furthermore, confronting the conflict and history of the internal war through song in concert contributes to jogging *Limeño* memory and is a step in the country’s reconciliation process. This acquires even more relevance as the submission of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s conclusions (2003) was tainted with political colours when it was met with

wholesale rejection and systematic sabotage from Fujimori's followers. Therefore, rather than serving to unify, the final report was used to divide Peruvians once again.²⁰⁹

With the Peruvian media and politicians apparently stuck in dangerous political rhetoric, it might be argued that music acquires special importance as a medium, which provides people with the tools to discuss, remember and heal. In late 2010, the Desvela Collective – an upper class organization formed by Paola Ugaz, Martha García Burgos and Morgana Vargas Llosa (daughter of Mario Vargas Llosa), created an exhibition entitled *La Chalina de la Esperanza* ('The scarf of hope') in San Isidro Municipality, a very exclusive district of Lima.²¹⁰ This featured the exhibition of a long scarf of patches knitted by family and friends of those who disappeared in the war, regardless of whether they were civilians, terrorists or from the armed forces. The scarf was knitted by one thousand and ten (1,010) people, mainly from Ayacucho. The day after the inauguration, San Isidro's mayor censored a video and some audio testimonies that were going to be shown as part of the exhibit, so it was taken down.²¹¹ Finally, "La Chalina de la Esperanza" was shown at the Metropolitan Lima City Hall in early 2011 under Susana Villarán's administration (see Chapter 1.3).²¹²

Again, the public was divided, many, including celebrities, supported the Desvela Collective and protested against this censorship. However, others saw in this collective, an upper class group of 'caviars' taking advantage of the victims' suffering:

²⁰⁹ One important TRC conclusion was that during the war peasants were abused and killed by members of the terrorist organization Shining Path as the main perpetrator; but also by some members of the armed forces. Abimael Guzmán, leader of the Shining Path was captured and imprisoned while Fujimori was President of Peru (12/08/92). Therefore, Fujimori's followers reject the idea of the armed forces playing any negative or abusive role during the war. Thus, celebratory sculptures, anniversaries, or conferences organised by the TRC or in support of it, have been rejected and vandalised by *Fujimoristas* in protest at what they believe is the victimization of terrorists and demonization of the Peruvian armed and police forces by politicians and organizations they deem 'caviar' socialists or radicals.

²¹⁰ Interview with Colectivo Desvela: "La Chalina de la Esperanza – La Mula (25/06/10) (Last accessed 03/03/12) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=05E2PCXx2GQ&feature=related>

²¹¹ RPP Noticias: "*Retiran Chalina de la Esperanza tras censura*" (29/11/10). <http://www.rpp.com.pe/detalle.php?nid=314765&op=7> (Last accessed 03/03/12)

²¹² RPP Noticias: "*La Chalina de la Esperanza se inauguró en la Galería Pancho Fierro*" (18/01/11) http://www.rpp.com.pe/2011-01-18--la-chalina-de-la-esperanza-se-inauguro-en-galeria-pancho-fierro-noticia_328443.html (Last accessed 03/03/12)

The Scarf is a project of *Colectivo Desvela* – made up of Marina García Burgos, Paola Ugaz and Morgana Vargas Llosa – to draw attention to the drama of the relatives of victims who disappeared during the violence started by terrorism [quoting journalist Augusto Alvarez Rodrich]... "victims of terrorism" this is also how claudia llosa's [sic] movie was presented, what does this collective want? funding for some art and culture project related to the memory [of the conflict]? ENOUGH WITH ALL THIS GREED AND MAKING A PROJECT WHICH WILL SEE THEM BENEFIT IN PUBLICITY, RECOGNITION, ETC. FROM THE PAIN OF THE PEOPLE WHOSE PARTICIPATION IN THIS IS NOT REPRESENTATIVE, ONLY AN ADD-ON (Braulio, blog comment 01/12/10).²¹³

For the reopening of this event at the Lima City Hall, Magaly participated knitting a patch commemorating the death of her grandmother (see Figure 24):

I wanted to tell you that I've also knitted a scarf for my granny (Herminia Ramos Soto), so I won't forget her (...) My mother would tell us 'shhh', because there was always the fear, today is a very special day for me, because I'm so touched, I never imagined seeing so many knitted scarfs [patches] (Solier 2011).²¹⁴



Figure 24: Magaly Solier participating in *La Chalina de la Esperanza* exhibit with her knitted patch. Source: SienteMag arte, cultura, vida <http://sientemag.com/inauguracion-de-la-chalina-de-la-esperanza> (01/19/11). Used with permission from Magaly Solier and Cali Flores.

²¹³ TvBruto Blogspot: ¿La Chalina de la Esperanza no era en memoria de las victimas del terrorismo? By Julio Gomez (28/11/10) <http://tvbruto.blogspot.com/2010/11/la-chalina-de-la-esperanza-no-es-en.html> (Last accessed 04/03/12)

²¹⁴ YouTube: Inaguran muestra "La Chalina de la Esperanza" en la Municipalidad de Lima. Uploaded by NumeroZeroVideos (19/01/11). <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k7c9ZwYSXgk> (Last accessed 04/03/12)

Magaly also sang *Guitarra Yuyariptiy* and Leon Giego's *Solo le pido a Dios* ('All I ask of God') together with white upper class singers Pamela Rodriguez and Roxana Valdiviezo. This version of the song had a verse in Quechua led by Magaly Solier.²¹⁵ Magaly is not the only artist to participate in events of this kind. Fusion groups, such as La Mente, La Raza and La Nueva Invasion all performed at a free concert celebrating the eighth anniversary of the submission of the Truth and Reconciliation Comission final report. This illustrates the use of music beyond performance (see Chapter 3.2.2), not only by musicians wanting to heal their own wounds and past, but also by collectives and groups willing to discuss the war and process Peru's memory for reconciliation (see Chapter 5.2).

Whereas during the 1990s and early 2000s bands like La Sarita stressed politics and invited their public to protest (see Chapter 2.2.4), by the early 2010s they had begun to focus on 'celebrating' diversity. Whilst not explicitly focused on the internal conflict, the mixing of Andeans, Amazonians and *Limeños* in La Sarita meant that for their audiences – including members of the upper classes – they epitomised a desire for Peruvian 'togetherness'.

...for me, the fatherland is if you feel the person next to you and you *feel* him, he is your countryman, as I told you, ever since I realised that there are people with an ID with Peru on it, but about whose lives you know nothing...well, they can't be your countrymen...I mean, you don't feel anything for them, you don't care about their lives, you get me? So, for me the fatherland is the land,...the people who make you feel affection and whose lives you care about (Julio Pérez – La Sarita, interview, July 2010).

Jorge Bruce states that "the confluence of feelings of remorse and resentment prevent the construction of grief, which would otherwise have enabled reparatory activities" (2007: 31). If some Peruvians continue to feel guilt and remorse for their role in society (dominant classes), while others nurture feelings of *revanchismo* (vengeance) as they resent their 'bad luck' and the fact that they are discriminated against, the social roles are reinforced and a vicious circle is

²¹⁵ YouTube: Magaly Solier, Pamela Rodriguez y Roxana cantando por la Chalina de la Esperanza. Uploaded and made by Patricia Yovera (20/01/11) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WFGgQSxllbc&feature=related> (Last accessed 05/03/12)

created in which “masters and slaves perpetuate the tensions” (*ibid.*: 31). In previous chapters I have demonstrated that fusion music vividly showcases Peruvian diversity, even in a *Limeño* context. Furthermore, diversity and previously subaltern Andean agency are made visible, as seen in Chapter 4.3.1. This challenges social roles reinforced by remorse and resentment, creating a utopic space where ‘everybody is the same’. It contributes to turning the enjoyment and participation in musical activities into a collaborative reparatory activity, a recreation of new ideal relationships, a place where everyone can show their suffering without judgmental scepticism while building a new collective force. Music here seems to achieve what politicians and the government could not achieve with the TRC and ‘official dialogue’. This imaginary idea of being nearer, through music, to the person you did not know before or did not want to know, and the idea of listening to the previously ignored and of feeling together, seems to be challenging the upper classes’ remorse and also appears to actively invite people to make a difference and change their current role in society from an artist/public relationship.

5.2 Singing a change

As we saw in the previous section, certain groups and musicians have a clear political message and are conscious of the impact of their work on social change and reconciliation among upper class audiences, (e.g. La Sarita, Uchpa, Magaly Solier). They actively engage in disseminating the fusion message beyond performance (see Chapter 3.2.2). However, not all fusion bands have a defined political message before they go onstage. Some discover their political impact through their performances and from audience reactions. Not all bands address the internal conflict directly; some discuss social problems such as inequality, human rights violations, poverty, social conflicts, and disrespect for minorities. However, these musicians also acknowledge that their own views and experiences of the war

during and after the conflict feed into their music making. In this way, music, dance and lyrics constitute “an arena for counter discourses, a locus for resistance where asymmetrical power relations are defied, political hegemony is critiqued and can be subverted, and conflict and violence can be combated” (Castelo-Branco 2010: 245). Accordingly, these counter discourses directly challenge privileges of the *Limeño* upper classes to which the resisting musicians and audiences belong. In Lima, broadly speaking, people believe that politicians have failed to engage Peruvian youths in politics and political debate due to generalised corruption and mistrust of authority. After the internal conflict, young people began to look for other spaces of political engagement, and music became one of these.²¹⁶

...the fans leave comments such as this one: ‘Since I started listening to La Sarita I love my country more’ and immediately Pérez tells us that ‘not even the politicians can make them feel like this. But music can (...)’(Julio Pérez as quoted by Rozas 2007:18).

This was the case for many underground bands (e.g Del Pueblo y del Barrio, La Sarita, Uchpa) and then, later, fusion bands (e.g Bareto, La Mente and Colectivo Circo Band). In order to discuss this music-political activism, I have selected three bands as case studies: Bareto, La Mente and Colectivo Circo Band, which, respectively, play cumbia, cumbia-ska, and eclectic fusion. As we shall see, each has different motivations for making music (see Chapter 2), and distinct ways of engaging in politics and exploring their role in Peruvian society. Sociologist Arild Bergh, while discussing post-conflict music among refugees in Africa, has observed:

²¹⁶ Sandro Venturo in his book *Contrajuventud. Ensayos sobre juventud y participación Política* (2001) gives a historical account of what he calls Lima’s “*movidas juveniles*” ('youth circuits'). Venturo describes them as circuits as they are not politically or institutionally centralised. He briefly explores the strong link between music (underground, Andean rock and pop) as “cultural demonstrations by youths interested in providing testimony about the ‘crisis’” (2001: 104). I here argue that these ‘youth circuits’ from the violent 1980s, the repressive 1990s, and the reconstructive 2000s built a strong link between musical demonstrations, and politics (campaigns, direct participation and the activation of youths in politics and university protest). They slowly changed the involvement of Lima’s middle and upper class youths and young adults in new political parties (such as Fuerza Social see <http://www.coherencia.pe/wp-content/uploads/2010/04/ElComercio-26-01-08.pdf>) (Last accessed 01/08/13) and in vigilant citizenship (during Villaran’s recall election -march 2013 and Toma la Calle protest against governmental corruption -July 2013).

Refugees in particular use music for identity work, sometimes to preserve their original identity and links with the homeland, but perhaps more importantly, to “rephrase” their identity. This identity work may be about creating more inclusive identities as a part of a larger group of refugees from different backgrounds (Bergh 2010: 50).

I found this quote useful in the *Limeño* context as this ‘rephrasing of identity’ might be seen to constitute an upper class attempt to reconcile their guilt, reformulate the self and relations with others, in a country they had not truly felt to be their own. From a musical perspective, this resonates with peace researcher Karen Abi-Ezzi’s notion of a “third way, a musical demonstration of that which is possible” (2008: 99). Abi-Ezzi explores the case of Gilad Atzmon, a musician “who challenge[s] Israel’s continued occupation of the Palestinian territories” (2008: 101) through music fusion, and asks herself: “Is Atzmon jolting people out of their stupor, resensitizing them by presenting them with the *unfamiliar*, the function or at least one function of a music of resistance?” (2008: 100). She also divides Atzmon’s listeners into three groups:

...those who appreciate his music on the level of the aesthetic, being totally oblivious to the political message carried in his music; those who enjoy his music, understand the political symbolism with which he imbues much of his music and are enraptured with his music precisely because it chimes with their own political views; and thirdly those who may enjoy his music but are put off because they disagree with his politics. The politics of his music becomes a sort of Morse code or symbolism, which only the politically initiated can engage with (2008: 101).

This is the exact question I asked myself regarding white upper class fusion musicians who discuss politics in their lyrics or portray political symbolism onstage. Furthermore, and as discussed in Chapter 2, I have noticed that some in the upper classes engage aesthetically with fusion artists ignoring the political message, while others, especially the alternatives, are drawn to the music due to the band’s political stand (‘politically initiated’ for Abi-Ezze). However, the relationship with the political message can also change with musical exposure,

I liked La Sarita for its staging, the political aspect wasn’t very important to me, the band in itself entertained me. But as I started liking the music more and more, the message got into my head, it made me think. My friends who were fans of La Sarita discussed other things, not just the staging, and that’s when it clicked; there was something deeper, which my superficial side refused to acknowledge. I feel that the music entered first and the message afterwards... (male, 26).

Similar testimonies were common among the alternative white upper class audiences. Is this an illustration of resensitising the upper classes? Is this a first step towards identity rephrasing? Of course, I am not implying that all upper class fusion listeners will identify with the musicians' political message, but some clearly do undergo a change through fusion musicking.

Arild Bergh suggested a basic typology of music and conflict transformation with three categories: Musicking as representation, musicking as a joint activity and musicking as an emotional tool. Within this typology, Bergh identifies two "outliers" The first one is: Musicking as representation, "if music is seen to represent one side in a conflict, and people on the other side of the conflict like the music, this may provide a positive view of all those connected with the music" (Bergh 2010: 210). The second outlier is: Musicking as an emotional tool, "strong emotional experiences when listening to music together with people from other sides of a conflict, those emotions may trigger a rapid change in behaviours towards the out-groups" (2010: 211). Bergh argues that these two outliers are "on the margins of music and conflict transformation efforts" "they are simple to theorise and explain, but difficult to make work". However, musicking as a joint activity was the most successful conflict transformation approach (2010: 211). In many cases in Peruvian fusion music, these three categories happen at the same time. Fusion musicians through intercultural onstage dialogues *represent* two sides of a social conflict via an Andean/Amazonian aesthetic, the upper class audience seems to like the music and this creates common ground through a liminal space. Here I am not only talking about the internal war conflict, but the divided and conflicted relationship between the upper classes and Provincial realities. Through lyrics, music triggers strong *emotional experiences* listening to music coming from an Andean/Amazonian indigenous performer together with other upper class listeners, as illustrated by a previous quote, changes attitudes and creates new relationships. I argue that in non-guided reconciliatory musicking, these three typologies together, created by the musicking *communitas*, recreate an ideal community that can change current social perceptions, prejudices

and conflict. In order to illustrate this, I will explore three case studies of upper class fusion musicians singing and representing political change.

5.2.1 Bareto

Bareto started out as a cover band that became hugely popular with their CD *Cumbia* (2008). Band members and people from the audience told me that in bringing cumbia to wider attention the group had not actively sought to influence the upper classes politically nor to promote a change in mentality. Nonetheless, after witnessing the power of their music and collaborations, Bareto evidently decided to accept the role thrust upon them by the media and their audience. This was reflected in their 2012 album *Ves lo que quieres ver* ('You see what you want to see'), which branches out stylistically into salsa, rock and ska. It also seems to express the political vision of the band, and their will to affect their public politically through powerful lyrics, as well as dance and celebration:

This album is totally about Peru, about stuff that happens to all of us, it's about corruption in politics, about the trendy [Peruvian] cuisine. In general the album's concept is... I think Peru is perceived as a successful country, which has grown a lot, but there are many parts of the country, which we are neglecting, in this very optimistic view, which sometimes even spills over into chauvinism, that is my opinion. That is why it is *Ves lo que quieres ver* ('You see what you want to see'), the senses are selective and you see what suits you, but Peru is a multicultural country, it is a territory where there are many peoples and we are all Peru, not just that little piece, so if we really love Peru, we have to take a look at all of it and we have to know how to look (Mariátegui 2012).²¹⁷

When I talked to Joaquín in 2010, he sounded optimistic and happy to see Peru changing for the better, and becoming a more optimistic country, where people started to identify with their nationality.

After the terrorism of the 80's and the 90's of rebuilding our society now people want to love each other, you get me? They are sick of saying "damn, we Peruvians are inferior, damn, will we make it?" Peruvians don't care whether they make it or not anymore, Peruvians are going out there and doing it, and that's what we think and the vibe I get on the street... Peruvians don't depend on politicians anymore, Peruvians don't depend on the SHITTY corrupt government anymore, Peruvians no longer depend... Peruvians depend on themselves and that nationalist entrepreneurial spirit, which sometimes turns nasty and horrible and sickly sweet and cheesy, deep down we're finding ourselves, I feel, we're starting

²¹⁷ Bareto's interview by Sientemag. Uploaded 26/02/12.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HaMo3cUFNtA> (Last accessed 10/03/12).

to define a slightly more solid identity (Joaquín Mariátegui, interview, September 2010).

When we spoke in 2010 Joaquín felt that Peruvians were “finding themselves, building a more solid identity” (*ibid.* September 2010). Nevertheless, in 2012, after two more years of travelling around Peru and discovering different realities from those of the capital, Joaquín had lost some of the optimism, pride and self-esteem Bareto itself had helped Peruvians to foster. This illustrates the transformation of Peruvian attitudes towards their city and country: from the perception of a poor, sad, and pessimistic country – that was ravaged by a twenty-year war, to one that is thirsty for trust, peace, identity and that slowly gained its self-esteem through gastronomy, music, fashion and sports. For some, this process is seen to have triggered nationalistic feelings, bordering chauvinism, and the false illusion (or delusion?) that everyone was content, better off financially, and socially integrated. Having reflected on this as a group, Bareto is now nudging Peruvians to keep thinking about their social role and relationships, encouraging them to move beyond the positive illusion and remain critical, even though it feels as though much has been achieved.

In search of their own identity and place on the Peruvian map, in 2008 Bareto set out to play a style of popular music previously stigmatised by the white upper classes (cumbia). In the process, they came to symbolise interclass and interethnic integration and collaboration, adopting these new relationships, self-perceptions and lifestyle as part of their new identity. In 2008 and 2009, the audience perception of Bareto’s message of inclusion and the discussions about integration and democracy that this band triggered among its public, helped Bareto to acquire a clearer political message beyond the music symbolism of playing the music of the rejected ‘other’, and enact a protest (in 2012). In other words, Bareto’s message was received by their audiences with a political meaning, this meaning returned to Bareto and made them change their format and political approach. It could be argued that this was a marketing move, that the band ‘accommodates’ to what their audience wants in order to sell more. However, according to members of Bareto, they achieved broader appeal and

greater economic success with their cumbia tribute than with their new material, which has a clear political message directed at their main audience: the middle and upper classes.

Music may be seen to have actively motivated shifts in attitudes and politics among Bareto's musicians and their audience. They may be seen to have become more alert and involved politically, and to be found critiquing their own class and naïve optimism about Peruvian social integration in forum, blogs, Facebook and YouTube discussions. This in itself is a political change.

I danced the cumbias by Juaneco y su Combo and Chacalon with Bareto and I discovered a world I didn't know. I can't deny that it was comfortable to listen to it and dance it in Barranco or Miraflores... but little by little their performances, and those of other bands, such as La Mente and La Sarita, shook me up, they went to my heart and, well, it's true "Together synchronised we share the same space, judgements hurt us if we're always looking sideways" [lyrics from Ves lo que quieras ver – Bareto]... I don't think I think the same way anymore... I won't say that I'm a fan of Marca Peru and wear a *chullo* [Andean flap hat] to prove it, but I feel much more identified with other Peruvians, with reality, music made me step out of my bubble. The guys in Bareto are white and posh, but when they stepped out of their bubble people liked them..., *facil que si yo trato tambien me pueden querer no?* ('so, if I also try they might like me too, right?') (Ximena 22, Skype interview 2012).

Ximena quotes part of a song from Bareto's new album. She says that she does not think in the same way as before, as she feels more identified with other Peruvians. I would like to highlight the phrase "so, if I also try they might like me too, right?", Ximena expresses fear of breaking out of her protected bubble, but she does not fear the contact with other Peruvians, she fears their rejection.

<p><i>Este mundo es de apariencias, no te dejes engañar, tu puedes ser lo que quieras si es que aprendes a mirar. Ha llegado el momento que entendamos la humildad a veces lo que criticas es lo que quieres alcanzar.</i></p> <p><i>Juntos sincronizados compartimos el mismo espacio. Los juicios nos hacen daño si miramos siempre de costado. El tiempo nunca ha curado y vivimos aun separados. No somos tan diferentes respondamos a este llamado.</i></p> <p>Excerpt of <i>Ves lo que quieras ver</i> – Bareto (<i>Ves lo que quieras ver</i> 2012)</p>	<p><i>This is a world of appearances, don't be fooled, you can be what you want, if you learn to see. The time has come to understand humility Sometimes what you criticize is what you want to reach.</i></p> <p><i>In synchronicity we share the same space. Prejudice hurt us, if we're always looking askance. Time never healed and still we live separated. We're not that different let's heed this call.</i></p>
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Joaquín Mariátegui composed this song, which seems to be an invitation to look beyond the country's improvement and to look hard to find room for further improvement. It is an invitation to the upper classes to stop criticizing the rest as *a veces lo que criticas es lo que quieres alcanzar* ('sometimes what you criticize is what you yearn for'). Bareto seems to be singing out a somewhat bittersweet 'intimate distance' (Bigenho 2012). Do we want what we criticize? Do we want to be closer to whom we seem to reject? Joaquín here is not only evoking an attraction to difference, but also the desire to embody this difference to the point of becoming the difference, in an attempt to be 'one more', 'part of Andean Lima', 'just like everybody else'.

<p><i>Muchos se llenan la boca con el negocio de la cocina y en las ollas de la gente hay mucha sazon, pero no hay comida Tanto aji en la mesa. Y nada pa comer. Sobran las recetas. Y nada pa comer. Hay tierra y riqueza. Y nada para comer. Cuándo habra pa todos algo pa comer?</i></p> <p>Excerpt of <i>Tanto aji</i> – Bareto (Ves lo que quieres ver 2012)</p>	<p><i>Many fill their gob with words about the culinary business and the people's casseroles are well-seasoned, but there's no food So much chilli on the table. And no food. A glut of recipes. And no food. There's land and riches. And no food. When will there be food for everyone?</i></p>
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In this song with Amazonian and Afro-Peruvian rhythms, composed by Mariátegui, Gallardo and Olazo, Bareto goes beyond Peruvians' apparent over enthusiasm and optimism about the gastronomic boom, and invites the public not to be taken in by the rosy picture. It is an invitation to see beyond national marketing successes, exaggeration and manipulations with – and of – cultural goods, where upper class idealisms are turned into commodities for promoting tourism and as distractions from real contemporary social problems. Fusion music is now criticizing what it helped bring to post-war Lima. Fusionists understand that while the achievements are important, it is also important to acknowledge that not all the work is done. While some families can enjoy an expensive dinner at one of the fashionable Peruvian fusion food restaurants, there are still people with nothing to eat. There is a difference after all, and a marketing delusion will not help Peru to solve its problems.

<p><i>Nunca estas contento solo pensando en ti. Te haces el correcto pero no eres de aquí. Para ti solo importa el color, y cómo te llamas y cuánto tu ganas, ya estamos cansados de esto. La casa de playa, la baby alpaca a ti no te han hecho bien.</i></p> <p><i>Nunca nada es bueno, al menos para ti. Siempre mirando feo, que bueno va a venir. Para ti solo importa el color, y como te llamas, por donde tu paras, a ti quien te ha dicho eso. Todas las mucamas de blanco en la playa a ti no te han hecho bien.</i></p> <p>Excerpt of <i>Baby Alpaca</i> – Bareto (Ves lo que quieras ver 2012).</p>	<p><i>You're never happy just thinking of yourself. You pretend to be so oh correct but you're not from here. All that matters to you is colour, and your name and how much you earn, we're tired of it already. The beach house, the baby alpaca didn't do you any good.</i></p> <p><i>Nothing's ever good, at least not for you. What good will come, always looking with disdain. All that matters to you is colour, and your name where you hang out, who told you that. All the maids in white on the beach didn't do you any good.</i></p>
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With this song Joaquín Mariátegui and Jose Giraldo take aim at the very core of white upper class exclusivity and racism, and coming from two upper class musicians the message acquires even more undertones. Baby Alpaca is a fusion between Andean music, ska and cumbia, which symbolically highlights the segregation and racism towards Andeans in Lima.²¹⁸ Peruvian fusion music is then more than a utopian creation for comfortable and fashionable celebration of diversity. These examples contradict such ideas, as upper class fusion musicians, like Bareto, enter a ‘loop like’ dynamic, where musicians and audience reflect, criticize and feed back political messages and social concerns. Together they explore and deconstruct the positive bubble, which the government and they themselves have built around food, music, the iconic Inca past and other cultural goods.

5.2.2 La Mente

La Mente, a much-favoured band among the alternatives, released its first CD in 2007: *Sonidos del Sistema La Mente – Electropical*. Nicolás Duarte, Ricardo Wiesse and Santiago Pillado, met at an exclusive school in Lima (Los Reyes Rojos);²¹⁹ they were all in other bands before La Mente, but did not have a record label to work with due to the lack of a formal music industry in Peru.

²¹⁸ Lucho Quequezana collaborated playing the charango and Andean winds.

²¹⁹ A wealthy school in Barranco, popular among socialist parents.

Nicolás and Ricardo had songs that they could not play with their other bands, which “emulated foreign sounds (reggae, rock)” (Nicolás Duarte, interview, November 2010) and where other band members did not agree with a more politicised message. In 2006 they created La Mente and in it Nicolás and Ricardo found a “more liberating space for their lyrics and communication” (*ibid.* 2010). They started playing ska, rock, reggae and cumbia, but using electronic sequences live,

...the first cumbia we composed in la Mente was *Radio Funeral* (...) and the lyrics, there's a bit that goes “*musica que no sonaba, musica que no radiaba, musica que se prendia justo cuando tu te apagabas*” ['music that didn't play, music that didn't radiate [invented word for playing on the radio], music that switched on just as you switched off'] and explains, it says “*suena una radio en el techo y mancha el pecho de tu ploma ciudad*” ['a radio playing on the roof and staining the chest of your grey city'] because I strongly remembered that at my grandmother's house, on the roof where the maid lived she would get on her little radio the music, which was the one that at that time represented the migrants, which was chicha. That forbidden sound, furtive, which also had a type of production that was very similar to Jamaican reggae and London reggae (Nicolás Duarte, interview, November 2010).

These associations and similarities between reggae, dub, ska and “furtive” Peruvian sounds (*ibid.* 2010), such as chicha and cumbia, generated a very active upper class scene around these genres. In fact, several of the young fusion bands I interviewed began either with reggae or ska covers.

Both [reggae and cumbia] are music from the tropics, the music of people with a history of oppression, conquest, poor people's music, the music of people who, basically, what they have to say is denouncing or lamenting (...) I mean Jamaica, Peru, Cuba, they're countries with a privileged nature, vast economic poverty and incredible cultural baggage and, in addition, a history of oppression, unfair, obligatory and violent syncretism, so it all made a lot of sense to me, and we started... (Nicolás Duarte, interview, November 2010).

This, for many upper class musicians, was the first imaginary contact with ‘furtive sounds’ from ‘oppressed and poor’ cultures, who needed to ‘denounce and lament through music’. However, as Nicolás also said, these genres are still “foreign references” (*ibid.* 2010), therefore, in fusion many white upper class musicians found a way to “denounce and lament” in reggae terms, but using a more Peruvian musical aesthetic and signifiers, finding their place on the Peruvian music map.

In concerts, La Mente project images of *Moche* symbols,²²⁰ Peruvian maps, tones of red and white (the colours in Peru's flag), movie clips, and news excerpts from Peru. One upper class youth in the audience explained to me that she connects with her true Peruvianess when hearing and dancing to La Mente. She feels "politically active, socially aware and just connected to all the others, as if they were one Peru" (Mariale 20, Sargento Pimienta, 2011).

... in dance there is a corporal honesty, which eliminates your prejudices, it eliminates the attitude you might have as a reluctant spectator, all of it, all of it, when their body starts grooving there is nothing you can do (Nicolás Duarte, interview, November 2010).

La Mente invites their audience to dance, but it is not dancing in couples in a *fiesta* ('party') framework. It is more individual dancing, but through this personal movement, there is a connection with the collective entity. As a member of the audience described:

It is incredible! When I listen to La Mente, I forget where I am, it is just me and the lyrics, this moment of reflection makes me dance, but it is all very personal. After that I open my eyes and realize that everybody is doing the same, I feel connected to all these other people, they might be different, but they are all Peruvians, protesting, jumping, even crying. La Mente is very, very powerful (Mario 24, Sargento Pimienta 2011).

Unlike Bareto, La Mente was from the outset conscious of their political message and the impact of dancing while singing powerful lyrics. But once their message reaches the audience, it is the audience who enacts the protest, who disseminates the political message, and who again gives feedback to the musicians strengthening the social impact. This, for Nicolás, is a sort of 'cultural violence'; a fast-paced social change which is sometimes too intense.

This country, after what happened in the conquest and the two wars we've had and the internal war we experienced, hasn't undergone violent change. We're a society, which has rather shunned those violent changes, shunned that occasional need for violence in order to generate changes, and what hasn't happened in the streets, what hasn't happened in politics, is happening in culture... What I do think, I think that whatever might happen, it will be violent, because technology allows it. And with violent I'm not referring to there being blood, but that there be changes... Because you remember what the local scene was like five or eight years ago [not that diverse, static] and it's unbelievable compared to what it is now [booming]... (...) it's dizzying, suffocating, it's gushing from everywhere (Nicolás Duarte, interview, November 2010).

²²⁰ Also called Mochica culture. A Pre-Columbian culture known for its pottery.

As part of this ‘cultural violence’ expressed in imaginary reconfigurations, La Mente invited Laurita Pacheco to play with them in concert. I have previously discussed some discourse inconsistencies while exploring this collaboration (see Chapter 3.1). In this section I mainly want to address La Mente’s political message to their audience. Laurita and La Mente collaborated on the song La Mente.

<p><i>Somos la Mente... Básicamente...</i> <i>De tus ideas los remitentes</i> <i>Y de repente</i> <i>Ya no es urgente</i> <i>Ser tan decente ni tan valiente</i></p> <p><i>Tus brazos no te oyen</i> <i>Tus pies no quieren avanzar</i> <i>Nada en tu sistema te va ayudar a regresar</i> <i>Ya eres parte de la Mente</i> <i>Y aunque mucho te lamente</i> <i>Aquí te vas a quedar</i></p> <p><i>La mano no puede escribir</i> <i>La boca ya no quiere hablar</i> <i>Esta todo en la mente te dice el asistente</i> <i>Del médico de mierda que no quiere atenderte</i> <i>Tu mente es un lugar donde no pueden entrar</i></p> <p>Excerpt of <i>La Mente</i> – La Mente (Electropical 2007). Composer: Nicolás Duarte</p>	<p><i>We're la Mente... basically</i> <i>We send your ideas quite simply</i> <i>And suddenly</i> <i>No urgent necessity</i> <i>For great decency or bravery</i></p> <p><i>Your arms won't obey</i> <i>Your feet aren't making way</i> <i>Nothing in your system will help you return</i> <i>You're part of La Mente from today</i> <i>And no matter what you say</i> <i>You're here to stay</i></p> <p><i>Your hand can't write</i> <i>Your mouth is shut tight</i> <i>It's all in your mind, says the helper</i> <i>Of the bloody doctor who won't see your plight</i> <i>Your mind is a place they can't enter</i></p>
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Many of La Mente’s young upper class followers perceive this song to be an allegory for changing political attitudes and defending personal ideologies. The message appeared reinforced when seeing La Mente playing together with Laurita.

good for La Mente, I didn’t know Laurita Pacheco until now... such talent on the harp and great mixing it with La Mente’s music... it sounds like Peru! (waldo alor, youtube posted June 2010).²²¹

La Mente is like a religion, I feel like a convert and, as the song says, “Now I can’t go back, I’m staying here” [singing]. The inclusive change is in my mind, nobody will change that in me, not my folks, or my mates, or my school, and much less, the President, the asshole. The revolution starts with us and ends with us, but there are still many posh people to convert (Adrián 21, Sargent Pimienta, 2010).

²²¹ YouTube: La Mente y Laurita Pacheco. Uploaded by Andeproducciones. (02/06/09). <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6EZ2Cg00-S4> (Last accessed 11/05/12).



Figure 25: *La Mente* and *Laurita Pacheco's collaboration 2008.*

Source: La Mente's official Facebook

Photographer: Rafael Carranza. Used with permission from Nicolás Duarte and Rafael Carranza.

In the song *La Mente*, Nicolás and Ricardo seem to be inviting their upper class listeners to “join them as part of *La Mente*”, after this, they assure their audience “nothing in [their] system will help [them] to return” they will stay and defend their *mentes* (‘minds’), where “nobody can enter”. Audience members often quoted excerpts from *La Mente*’s lyrics when I spoke to them. Even though the bands’ lyrics are not as clear and direct as *La Sarita*’s or *Bareto*’s, the fact that they are open to interpretation allows for a more individual audience experience, a more personal impact.

This ‘revolution’, is not only confined to music. In 2009 the Amazonian region was in everybody’s mouths and ears, *Juaneco y su Combo*, *Bareto* and *La Mente* were at their peak of popularity. In June 2009 in Bagua-Amazonas the Government ordered the eviction of approximately five thousand people from

Aguaruna, Huambisha and other Amazonian native groups,²²² as they had refused to hand over their land in concession to multinationals and mines. In response, Amazonian native groups blocked the main highway for approximately sixty days; a protest that tragically ended in *El Baguazo* ('Bagua massacre'). There was ambiguous media coverage and much scholarly and political discussions of the incident. Music was also present; Bareto and La Mente dedicated concerts and lyrics to the incident, inviting people to reflect and to protest against President Alan Garcia and his notion of first and second-class citizens.²²³

Politics often doesn't promote any social change. Culture is what's driving these changes. Terrorism submerged us in total apathy; culture is bringing us back to life. Gastronomy raised our self-esteem, music makes us reflect, see our faults, the shortcomings we need to overcome to be better. It sounds horribly like a cliché, but, well, it's the truth. Just look at how active the scene has been over the last six years... and also look at how active young people from the upper classes are in politics, and the social discussion in these same years. A coincidence? (female, 33).

Gradually, this conscious and in some cases, unconscious political involvement of fusion bands, has motivated audiences to reflect and change. The audiences received their message, and perceived this music as an opportunity to sing a change in their own personal identities, political stances and ideology. This change and activation of political protest later transcended the music context and crystallised in a young alternative white upper class political stance expressed in left-leaning political preferences (e.g. support for Susana Villarán – see Chapter 1),²²⁴ mobilisation for human rights (e.g. Truth and Reconciliation Commission anniversary; protest against the Bagua massacre); mobilisation for the

²²² "In Peru, the state has often distinguished between highland populations as *campesinos* (peasants or Indian peasants), and lowland (rain forest) populations as *nativos* (natives), who are presumed to be more authentically Indian. This distinction was especially marked during the government of Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968-75), particularly in light of his prohibition of the term *Indio* for highland peoples" (Garcia 2005: 27).

²²³ YouTube: *Alan Garcia y ciudadanos de primera clase – Bagua Peru* (09/06/09). <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3ekPeb6nMnw> (Last accessed 08/05/12).

²²⁴ See: new political youth movements: <http://www.coherencia.pe/>, youth in Fuerza Social <http://www.tenemosganas.pe/> (Last accessed 01/08/13)

environment (e.g. protest against the Conga mining project), mobilisation against racism at exclusive places (e.g. Cinemas in Larcomar, Asia beaches).²²⁵

5.2.3 Colectivo Circo Band (CCB)

Since 2007 new fusion bands have appeared on the scene mixing chicha, cumbia and huaynos in order to make the audience dance, but not necessarily to convey any explicit political message. This is the case of CCB, created by a group of upper class friends who met each other doing theatre and released their first CD in 2010 (*Pawaun!*). They consciously link their music to the circus concept, so it is eclectic and their costumes are theatrical. They describe it as: “Global Party World Music, Rock N Roll Tropical Collage” (Band’s Facebook profile),²²⁶ and frequently include huayno and cumbia in their fusions. With a tuba player in their band, who is also a member of a banda patronal (refer to glossary), their emblematic song is *Entrando a la Noche* (‘Entering La Noche’), a huayno with the sound structure of an orquesta tipica.

When I interviewed some of the members of CCB in 2010, they told me the group was made up of eight members; most of them from the same socio-economic background, but very diverse in other aspects like age and gender.²²⁷

...we have gender diversity, which is extremely important. We have very different *cosmovisiones* (‘world-views’), because the world-view a man like Pancho can have, a man who is an agricultural engineer, Dutch, who lives in Peru married to a woman from Carhuaz [Andes], who plays in bandas patronales, compared with the world-view Alejandra Pizarro [trumpet player] can have, who is from the Opus Dei and very boldly confronts a band full of strange men and plays the trumpet, which very few women do (...) I think there is diversity, perhaps not in socioeconomic strata, but in how the world is perceived. (Luigi Casinelli – CCB, interview, October 2010).

²²⁵ Flashmob against racism in Larcomar – La Mula <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t5oRnZ-39Gw> (Last accessed 06/08/13). *Empleada Audaz* operative (Asia) – by Marco Condori <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AI2XvDx5BhY> (Last accessed 06/08/13).

²²⁶ See <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Colectivo-Circo-Band/8526097300> (Last accessed 06/08/13).

²²⁷ The youngest member of the groups was 21 and the oldest almost 60. Curiously, almost all the fusion bands with whom I worked are all-male, for example Bareto, La Sarita, Uchpa. Similarly, cumbia bands such as Grupo 5 and Hermanos Yaipén, and the successful upper class salsa band Sabor y Control, only include men. Women are present in the fusion genre, but virtually only as soloists. This makes Colectivo Circo Band an unusually diverse band.

CCB does not have any stated political position, comparable with those of groups such as Bareto, La Sarita or la Mente. Nonetheless, CCB's members are keenly aware of Peru's social problems and that their choice of genres might be interpreted as a political stance. As upper class musicians performing for upper class audiences, the band explains its adoption of genres associated with indigeneity and *choledad* in terms of encouraging their audiences to look beyond their allowed spaces.

Colectivo doesn't seem very political, but I see it as highly political. They celebrate unity, happiness, love... remind us that, well, now we can celebrate. In the 80s and 90s we were fucked, but now we're not experiencing the same things. And singing those lyrics to the rhythm of a *buen huayno* ('groovy huayno') reminds us that now we can believe in an inclusive social project, which unites Andeans and people from the coast (Mauricio 32, focus group, March 2011).



Figure 26: Colectivo Circo Band – Album cover Pawaun!

Source: Colectivo Circo Band official Facebook Profile. Photographer: Alex Freundt.

Used with permission from Jorge Miranda (left) and Alfonso Santiesteban (third from the left).

In a post-war country, the concept of celebration is perceived as a peace metaphor,

If this mentality of freedom from prejudice, of carnival with the masks, of not seeing the other person, if you translate that into a *sentir de vida* ('perception of life'), which is what we try to express, and more people do that, things will improve (Alfonso Silva Santiesteban – CCB, interview, October 2010).

At the same time, the members of CCB state that they are doing this kind of music and celebration because they like the aesthetics, they also say that they are not interested in vindicating Andeanness or Peru's mystical past or even feeding the nation's 'delusional' optimistic frenzy regarding the gastronomic boom. They play huaynos because they like them, and some of them feel they do not need to take a political stand in order to disseminate a message of articulation and celebration,

I'm against the image of "I'm Peruvian because I eat *papa a la huancaina* [traditional Peruvian dish], but I treat the waiter who brings it to me like a nobody." So, that's the [corporate] social responsibility discourse in which we're all good, where the mining company is good, because it built a canteen for the children and threw them a *chocolatada* ['Christmas hot party chocolate']. There comes a point when you have to take a stance. We haven't taken one yet, or it's still inclusion, but I do have a very clear position in this aspect. I don't want to be that willing stooge, part of "we're all good" and "oh how nice." (Alfonso Silva Santiesteban, CCB – interview, October 2010)

This reminded me of Bareto's discourse in 2010, which changed in 2012 to a political enactment through music. Is it the case that fusion musicians start to disseminate a message, either explicit or implicit, in search of personal self-recreation of their upper class identity, and to negotiate their historical social role and manage their guilt; and only become aware of the political implication of their musicking when they realize how it is perceived by the audience? Do fusionists need their audiences to make sense of their political role? Members of these three bands (Bareto, La Mente and CCB), and others like La Sarita and Magaly Solier, highlight the importance of having a political presence through their music, of going beyond performance, especially since they play fusion, a genre that makes the audiences "look outside their own box" (CCB, October 2010), in a way "resensitizing while presenting the *unfamiliar*" (Abi-Ezzi 2008:100), enacting a "musical demonstration of that which is possible" (2008: 99).

5.3 To sum up: Doing something rather than nothing

In the foregoing sections I provided examples of the different ways in which the internal war has affected musicians and audiences. In the case of Magaly and Uchpa, for example, they use the stage to engage in a direct discussion of the ravages of the internal war with a class that distanced itself from the conflict and Andeans. Their audience manifests a clear desire to connect with them, while recognising that Andeans, such as them, were formerly, and in many cases still are, rejected by their class and race. In the case of white upper class musicians, instead of discussing the war directly they confront through music and lyrics the attitudes and exclusion underlying the social conflict and the escalation of violence.

It seems that the internal war has motivated part of the young white upper classes in Lima to reflect on their own social role before and during the war and has made them yearn for an inclusive togetherness, often in order to feel included in a diverse, “more real” Lima. Self-inclusion is sought through identity self-recreation, which entails reconciling themselves through building new ‘ideal’ relationships, and using lyrics, symbols and performance as a technology for social conflict transformation. Political action is not only expressed within “liminal spaces”, but also transcends the music context to direct political participation, public protest and debates. Music is driving concrete action among Andean and white upper class musicians.

Tia de Nora, in her book *Music in Everyday Life* (2000), demonstrated through sociological research that different aspects of music (structure, genre, tempo, interaction), affect people in their daily lives. For De Nora, music is constitutive of agency and a medium for shaping the self. “It is not about life but is rather implicated in the formulation of life; it is something that gets into action, something that is a formative, albeit often unrecognised, resource of social agency” (2000: 152-153). In other words, de Nora focuses on “what music *does* for its listeners (de Nora 2000: 6). There is also abundant literature on different music genres and social activism linked to political expression and protest

(Ballinger 1995, Barret 1988, Ellisson 1989, Eyerman and Jamison 1995, Frith 1987, Frith and Street 1992, Garofalo 1992, Peddie 2006). These studies mainly examine music and social protest that seek the inclusion of vulnerable and subaltern groups. However, there are no studies focusing on music as a tool for the social and political articulation of the wealthy, the white, the hegemonic. In this section I will be drawing on testimonies from fusion musicians and members of the audience. I will be exploring to what extent fusion music is effectively changing ‘alternative’ white upper class audiences’ daily lives and imaginaries. Are they changing habits and lifestyles through music? If so, is this change contributing to changing their social role, their relationships and lifestyles?

Sociologist Brian Longhurst suggests that the idea of “ordinary life is sociologically significant in illuminating how life is lived out” (2007: 3). In this context, music routines, such as the usual ‘alternative’ white upper class fusion haunts and regular weekly concerts, illustrate how ‘culture is lived’ and how this culture may be reshaped over time. The slow change in ordinary life imaginaries and attitudes, “habits” for Turino (2008: 95), can contribute to challenging systemic prejudices and stigmas and, subsequently, can normalize different values and ways of perceiving others (see Chapter 3.2). This means that a change in ordinary cultural life in Lima, could challenge the way in which racism and segregation are internalised as ‘just the way it is’ (see Chapter 1.1 – pg 24) and normalize other kinds of attitudes reshaping “how life is lived out” (Longhurst 2007:3).

Longhurst argues that ordinary life needs to be “conceptualised in the context of the understanding of audience and performing processes” (2007: 49). For him, these processes involve new ways of belonging, distinguishing people from others and making them feel as individuals. Some of these processes resonate with the many testimonies of upper class fusion musicians and their audiences explored in this thesis. Ordinary musical life allows them to self-recreate their identities through rapprochement with ‘the other’ (*belonging*) (see Chapter 3.2), and to *distinguish* themselves from the exclusive discriminatory upper classes. However, their ultimate goal is to feel included, feel ‘just like

everybody else'. The white upper classes have historically felt like 'distinct individuals', with fusion music they are now achieving the opposite, feeling part of the wider Lima, blurring their individuality by belonging to 'the people'.

I don't want to be secluded in my golden cage anymore, I want to dance barefoot, smoke a joint, shout at my parents *racistas de mierda* ['bloody racists'], while I sing in a *hueco cochino* ['grotty dive'] "rebellious Indians, marginal whites, national Indian, we're the same..." (Vanessa 24, focus group, March 2011).

This also resonates with Lipovetsky's work on the processes of fashion: "ephemerality, seduction, and marginal differentiation" (1994: 131). For Lipovetsky, fashion makes room for individual freedom, as it is "a form of fragmentation into increasingly smaller lifestyle enclaves" (Longhurst 2007: 26). This for him means that the individual is reflexive and capable of choosing outside the norm. In other words, even something that seems like a fad, may actually be an indicator of individual freedom of choice signalling a new identity path. The example of fusion music in Lima clearly demonstrates that fads do have the potential to induce changes in 'ordinary life' (see Peterson's 'omnivore thesis' in Chapter 1).

The fact that the consumption of fusion music may have started as a fad fed by idealistic desires of social unity, does not exclude the existence of processes of belonging, in which the upper classes "construct and perform positions and identities that make them feel at home through processes of reflection" (Savage et al. as quoted by Longhurst 2007: 49). Musicking allows the upper classes to perform different identities through mechanisms of "elective belonging"²²⁸ [which] implies a degree of openness and contingency in social relations that other concepts have a tendency to close off" (Longhurst 2007: 50). An upper class fusion venue may constitute a space of 'elective belonging', where fusion music offers the audience a different lifestyle and diverse 'ideal relationships'. Moreover, as Sara Cohen writes: "[music-making offers] a social network and identity outside of work, family, or home..." (Cohen 1999: 240). This, 'elective belonging' is interlinked with the process of 'becoming', a process

²²⁸ For Longhurst, "a process that enables consideration of choices that people make in their ordinary lives in the flow of wider processes" (2007: 61).

in which a person comes to know oneself negotiating their personal and social identities, which for Simon Frith takes place in young adulthood (1987). Based on my observations, these theories aptly describe the processes and mechanisms at play among the young alternatives in Lima reflecting on society and themselves through music.

Does the fact that part of the young white upper classes are ‘becoming’ something different from their parents through fusion musicking represent ‘a real’ social change? This is a question that has been put to me time and again throughout my doctoral studies, and I have always found it difficult to reply unequivocally, but I will attempt an answer now. I have used the lens of music to try to capture a time-stamped snapshot of a social sector in Lima. During this process I met and built relationships with many white upper class people with different experiences with fusion music. Some of them, the alternatives, were passionate believers in the potential of music to help them construct a different self through the performance of new identities (see Chapter 3). I see the fusion music scene as a specific ‘cultural cohort’, in Turino’s words: “a cultural/identity unit based on a restricted number of shared habits and parts of the self” (2008: 235). Through this music cohort, certain internalised habits and attitudes of class and racial superiority are being transformed, shifting towards a new vision of a more satisfying, equal and ethical way life.

I just want to be me, I don’t want to be like my parents or like other snobs, but I can’t escape my class totally. I am a lefty, I study anthropology, I go to Barranco, have mixed friends, I use *combis* and go everywhere. But still some people think I am fake, too idealistic, empty, naïve spoiled *pituco*, and this is because I am still white and I still live in Miraflores. For me fusion music is the soundtrack of Peru, not just of the elites, or the working classes, it represents an ideal Peru, where everyone is treated the same and can do music together, where the message is “we are a different new Peru”. Do I have to paint my face, leave my home, and university to prove I am genuine, that I am not a liar? [his voice breaks] (male, 25).

This resonates with what Turino describes as the draw of cultural cohorts. Cultural cohorts can instigate individual and collective social change, but gradually, allowing people to begin with partial changes. “Cohorts articulate with certain aspects of the self and one’s life, without requiring a transformation of

everything at once" (2008: 230). This slow transformation of habits will perhaps lead to other changes of the self (2008: 2013).

This is very difficult to describe. I am from the upper class, my network and family is from the upper class, but I don't feel I belong. Maybe you don't believe me, but when I go to La Noche or Etnias, or El Dragón...I transform myself, I am louder, happier, more free, nobody judges my friends, my buddies, my life...you know that is kind of the daily life of an upper class girl, defending each one of our *malas juntas* ['bad company'], non-classy behaviour.... But, on the other hand, there are other things that are more difficult to transform, especially when they give you comfort and access. Do I also have to transform that to be a better human being? I know I am not a completely different girl, but at least some parts of me are different (female, 24).

As Turino says, "music is the interplay between the Possible and the Actual" (2008: 16), music, in other words, links people's dreams and desires to their ordinary lives. There is an actual change as dreams of a different life are transformed into a real change in habits, therefore a normalization of a different lifestyle and relationships. Is this real change? Does it really matter? I believe that small changes make a difference and that everyone has the choice to make them. Turino brilliantly summarizes this as "any concerned individual has the choices of doing something or doing nothing, of doing little or doing a lot" (2008: 230). I discovered over these last four years, that the young alternatives have, in fact, chosen to act for others and for themselves. Some do little, but there are others who do a lot to effect changes in their social class and the role it plays in today's and tomorrow's Lima. Fusion musicking is enabling these efforts, thus directly affecting class negotiation, racial constructions and, ultimately, social change in a post-war country.

Inclusion or delusion? A conclusion.

In November 2012 there was much media coverage of the tragic death of three well-known chefs in a car accident: two Peruvians and one Australian. One of the Peruvians, Iván Kisik, was an ambassador of Peruvian gastronomy for Marca Perú (see Chapter 2). However, there had not been three deaths, but four. Journalists ignored the death of Ayacuchean chef María Huamán.²²⁹ The Peruvian Society of Gastronomy (APEGA) offered a tribute to only three chefs, ignoring María. As Marca Perú was already well known in Lima, in social media people discussed the death of the ‘gastronomic ambassador’, failing to acknowledge María. This is an apt illustration of the delusion that Marca Perú seems to have created in Lima. On the surface, this incident highlights a seemingly corporative elitist appropriation of popular culture, while people *from* that culture are rendered invisible. But, if we dig a little deeper, Marca Perú appears to represent a hegemonic manipulative government strategy to hide social conflicts, especially in the regions praised in the brand campaigns (Andes and Amazon); a quasi-official hegemonic discourse of essentialist indigenous validation. Indigenous subjects are acceptable if they remain mystical, hyperreal and act as museum pieces, but not if they become rebellious protestors protecting their natural resources (see Figure 27). This suggests yet another representation of Andeanness (*lo Andino*) without Andeans; a way to conceal poverty and inequality. The message seems to be: ‘we know we have problems, but they disappear if we listen to Magaly Solier, while eating *papa a la huancaina*’, and here is where the phantom of *Indigenismo* rises again (see *Indigenismo* in Chapter 1.1.1).

The Andean music brought to the capital by *indigenistas* was not really what in the Andes would be considered ‘traditional’ Andean music, but more of a reflection of what people from the city imagined Andean culture to be like. Almost one hundred years later, Marca Perú is seen as trying to do the same. This

²²⁹ http://www.rpp.com.pe/ivan-kisic-noticia_545306.html
<http://peru.com/actualidad/mi-ciudad/apega-estos-martires-gastronomia-dejaron-historia-y-jamas-olvidaremos-noticia-107423> (Las accessed 15/08/13).
<http://peru21.pe/actualidad/apega-brindara-homenaje-postumo-chefs-fallecidos-ayacucho-2106162> (Las accessed 15/08/13).

brand includes a group of elite corporations and businessmen who romanticise the Andes and its culture in order to profit from tourism, while claiming to seek the benefit of the country. If *Indigenismo* used stylised huaynos and Andean regional music, Marca Perú is using fusion music as a form of sonic representation of the brand: modern but traditional too.



Figure 27: Left image text: "Ethnic", right image: in sign "Yes to water, no to gold", text below "Subversive". Source: *El Otorongo* 337 – 10/08/12

<http://blogs.peru21.pe/elotorongo/2012/08/el-otorongo-n-337.html>

Graphic artist: Andrés Edery. Used with permission from the artist.



Figure 28: "You are also Peruvians and have the right to delicious food too" Source: *El Otorongo* 272 – 13/05/11 <http://blogs.peru21.pe/elotorongo/2011/05/el-otorongo-n-272.html>

Graphic artist: Julio Rafael Mendoza Chuecas. Used with permission from the artist.

When I was finishing my year of fieldwork in Lima, around 2011, before the official launch of Marca Perú, to pay attention to fusion music was perceived as contributing to the nationalistic fad. In 2012 this 'fad' was used by Marca Perú.

The brand was at first seen as a tool for Peruvians to recover their self-esteem, but it did not take long before musicians (of diverse social class and race) began to perceive this branding and use of cultural fusion (fashion, gastronomy, music) as problematic. They felt that the hegemonic government was using their work to try to portray an unrealistically positive image of a still deeply racist Peru and Lima. Musicians did not want to be associated with the powerful vertical use of hybridity as a ‘cover up’ for the country’s racist and segregationist politics.

Marca Perú and the positivism it projected was perceived as delusional chauvinism, as people – especially the white upper classes – embraced the fake idea that everything was resolved and that Peru’s unique culture would ‘save’ Peru (or had already saved it). These white upper classes, who had the resources to dine at expensive fashionable restaurants, buy CDs in vogue, pay for tickets to exclusive live fusion concerts and acquire *chicha* colour bags and clothes were still ignoring the people who harvested the food they were eating, who created the traditional music they were listening to, and who came up with the bright *chicha*-colour aesthetics they were wearing. In other words, the problem with Marca Perú is, in part, that its nationalistic appeal is not accompanied by socio-economic reforms.

At the time of writing these conclusion (2013), Marca Perú is generally seen as a hegemonic monster that eats and steals Andean and Amazonian souls; a white upper class monster that appropriates ‘real culture’ and ‘cleans it’ for white upper class and international consumption conveying a delusion of welfare. In Lima expressing a hint of nationalist pride or praising Peruvian gastronomy or music, particularly if you are from the upper class, now draws harsh criticism from other Peruvians, as you are immediately associated with Marca Perú’s ethos. In this thesis, I have attempted an in-depth analysis of part of a class that is highly antagonised and essentialised in Peru, documenting its engagement with fusion music. While I agree that Marca Perú’s agenda is partly shaped by white upper class corporations, there are other white upper class individuals, especially among the young adults, who do not share their hegemonic and manipulative vision of the country and of themselves. Through their engagement with popular culture,

they attempt to create or listen to inclusive music projects that promote equality and denounce exclusivity. Fusion music is used as a tool for self-recreation and acquiring a different social role, where wealth is not synonymous with indifference and distance. The force that music brings to the negotiation of a protracted internalised social conflict against the backdrop of the twenty-year internal war has had a clear effect on the young white upper classes as their taste is reformulated and redirected towards previously stigmatised Andean/Amazonian/Afro genres. Music has created a utopian space of empathetic interaction, where topics, such as the internal war, social class, gender, violence, racism and discrimination are addressed, discussed and politicised.

Peruvian fusion music, as well as gastronomy and fashion, found a niche with directionless white upper classes in search of a different community, a more equal and inclusive one, a community capable of including them in the broader *Limeño* map. The government's attempt through Marca Perú to market culture branded this consumption and commodified it, packaging an inclusive ideal into a delusional box. This music product is helping both Andean and upper class musicians to make a living from their music and collaborations. However, the message is ambiguous, inconsistent, and as people grow more suspicious of Marca Perú, this brand is also essentialised and the white upper classes are demonised and once again become grouped together in the same box.

It is important to remember that fusion musicians did not create Marca Perú; the association with the brand is that some of them were chosen as 'music ambassadors'. In 2012 the list of Marca Perú ambassadors consisted of thirty-five Peruvian cultural icons. Eleven of them are music ambassadors, eight of whom are fusion musicians (Damaris Mallma, Lucho Quequezana, Susana Baca, Jaime Cuadra, Magaly Solier, Jean Pierre Magnet, Miki González and Bareto).²³⁰ Fusion music in this way became the music face of Marca Perú. Being a music ambassador is not inherently negative for the chosen ones, as they feel they contribute to rebuilding Peru's self-esteem and to the Peruvian music industry. With this I am not claiming that all fusion music created by someone from the

²³⁰ <http://www.larepublica.pe/25-08-2012/conozca-todos-los-embajadores-de-la-marca-peru>
(Last accessed 21/09/12).

white upper classes is non-appropriative, as I have shown in this research, there are many reasons for fusing music and different ways to go about it, some more appropriative than others. What I found interesting is how the audience's interpretation of this music varies depending on the socio-political context, the musician's social and racial background, and the listener's previous social experiences.

This research is significant because it demonstrates the diversity within the white upper classes, and the role culture – in this case music – plays in differentiating among themselves. It illustrates and exemplifies the impact music has on their self-articulation and inclusion in Lima's broader society. Music helps them to find themselves through collaborating with and listening to others, and in this way allows them to reformulate their racial and class role in Lima. This study also provides an overview of Lima's recent historical and political context and documents the early 'space transgressions' by provincial musicians, which facilitated a shift in taste in the young white upper classes, as well as participation in music previously rejected by their own class. This change in taste was not well received by everyone, and racialised class imaginaries were seen to play a fundamental role in some of interclass and interethnic interactions explored in this thesis. Whites were seen as 'spoiled and naïve appropriators' and mestizos were perceived as alienated, rejecting their roots to become 'like the whites'. Still, the upper class musicians who remain in the scene, together with Andean, Amazonian and Afro musicians, shaped a genre, which is not only based on hybrid aesthetics, but relies heavily on interclass, inter-race and interethnic *convivencia* ('coexistence'), dialogue and equal collaboration. In such a context, music may be an effective technology of conflict transformation: as empathetic interaction is promoted, ordinary habits and relationships are initially partially changed and later normalised, which may subsequently lead to political change.

It is not all a delusion after all, yet it is not all inclusion either. The salient point is that musicians and audiences have individual agency and are acting on it, even though this challenges historical social imaginaries and hierarchies. The white upper classes are often lambasted for their indifference and distance from

national social issues, yet, when they do get involved in politics through culture or protest, they are branded as caviars, fake and naïve (or now deluded followers of Marca Perú). There is a historical reason for this mistrust (also examined in this study), but I hope to have contributed with a fresh exploration of young white upper class attempts to critique and change hegemonic government manipulation, in other words, to actually ‘do something’ for individual and collective social improvement through music. Music not only *reveals* social change, but *is* a platform where this social change is negotiated (as a technology of self and social transformation).

I hope that this study will prove the first of many to come in the field of ‘ethnomusicology of the hegemonic’. Meticulous research of the upper classes and their music consumption will help ethnomusicologists to examine under-researched aspects of the intersection between race, class and culture, as well as processes of normalisation of reshaped individual cultural habits and relationships. This will also facilitate analyses undertaken in wider social science research of the now normalised social gap between the rich and the poor, the whites and the indigenous. I argue that this cannot be achieved purely exploring the perspectives of vulnerable communities or the subaltern, but also requires documenting the experiences of the powerful white minorities (in the case of Latin America) in order to understand their conflicts, desires, traumas and identity dynamics.

There are still many perspectives to be explored in this field. It would be interesting to conduct music research, similar to this study, of the non-alternative upper classes. This would provide further opportunities for detecting commonalities, turning points and identity negotiations in the same musical spaces and among followers of some of the same groups. Another interesting research input would be to follow the young alternative upper classes for a longer period of time, in order to register their music taste later in life, the social result of their political change (if any) and their social relationships and habits. Such follow up research would allow us to determine more precisely whether fusion music was indeed a tool for a more inclusive Peru and a more articulated upper

class, or if it was a delusional and ephemeral failing to trigger significant social change.

In the near future, I wish to explore the relationship between hegemony, conflict and trauma, and music. I have already confessed that I initially overlooked the impact of the twenty-year internal war on the white upper classes, as I believed distance from the conflict was synonymous with not suffering its consequences. However, my consultants and their music showed me that I was ignoring a very important aspect of the white upper class attraction to previously rejected music. Indeed it would be interesting to conduct a multi-genre music study exploring the white upper classes' direct involvement with popular music as a tool of testimony regarding the internal war, the economic crisis and the political instability of the period from 1980 to 2000. It is important to discuss how this conflict affected the privileged not only after the war, but principally during the war. For this, I would wish to explore how music opened spaces of communal healing, discussion, mourning, information exchange and rebellion among the traditional Lima upper classes. Exploring the white upper class war experience might also contribute to understanding early interclass interactions, as well as to detect connections between white upper class involvement with music as musicians and as audience during the war and their current critique of their own whiteness, privilege and distance. Such research would hopefully add to the study of popular music during and after the internal war in Peru, but from a different side of the racial and class spectrum to that of most existing research on this topic, and further consolidate an 'Ethnomusicology of the hegemonic'.

Glossary

Ayacuchano(a)

From Ayacucho

Balneario de Asia ‘Eisha’

Consist of around thirty beaches between Km 60 and Km 130 of the *Panamericana Sur* highway. Most of them are exclusive private beaches with limited access for the general public, where many upper class *Limeños* own beach houses.

Banda Patronal

A musical ensemble typically comprising of different brass instruments (including trumpets, euphoniums), saxophones, bass drum and snare drum. These ensembles are one of the most common to perform at *fiestas patronales* across the Andes and are usually smaller in size than *orquestas tipicas*.

Barranco

One of the wealthiest Lima districts, well known for its bohemian, artistic and leftist intellectual inhabitants. Main host of the fusion music ‘alternative upper class’ scene.

Barrancoide

A term used by the ‘alternatives’ to refer to themselves signalling their taste of music venues. They use it to distance themselves from white upper classes that attend to exclusive and discriminatory venues in Miraflores.

Campesino(a)

Literally ‘peasant’. Someone who works and depends of agricultural activity. However, in Lima it is often used as a synonymous for indigenous person, due to

former President Velasco's abolition of the term Indio and its replacement with *campesino* in 1969.

Chicha music (or Peruvian cumbia)

A musical genre named after an Andean alcoholic (maize) drink of the same name. The musical product of Andean waves of migration, as Andeans in Lima mixed one expression of their traditional music (huayno) with foreign rhythms such as cumbia, mambo, guarachas and a new genre of popular music emerged, where the electric guitar and synthesisers were its iconic instruments. Some people prefer to call chicha, cumbia Peruana. However, others claim that calling it cumbia would be appropriating the name of another's country folklore, in this case Colombian cumbia. Chicha for its musicians (e.g. Los Shapis, Destellos), is a distinct genre and therefore should keep chicha as a name. Other genres such as *cumbia norteña*, differ from chicha in its use of brass instruments replacing the iconic chicha guitar.

Chichero(a)

Person who plays chicha music. The word is not always used pejoratively, yet in Lima is mainly used as a derogatory term to refer to Provincial musicians, even though their music genre may not be chicha.

Chillout

A term used to describe a sub-category of electronic music characterised by its soft and mellow style and mid-tempo beats. It mixes electronic styles such as ambient, downtempo and lounge. The term derives from chill or chillin', which is slang for 'relax' or 'relaxing'.

Chola(o)

Perjorative term to refer to urban Andean-mestizo Lima residents and people born in Lima who have Andean ethnicity, background, phenotype and cultural traits.

***Choledad* ('Choloness')**

It represents a non-assimilative mestizaje; a proud fusion of cultural traits between the Andes and the Coast, which creates a distinctive *cholo* identity.

***Cholification de Lima* ('Lima's cholification')**

Term coined by Peruvian Sociologist Anibal Quijano which describes the process in which Andean and indigenous families in Lima build a new lifestyle, not a mere acculturation, but a fusion of some cultural traits from the Andes and from Lima, and which differentiates them from *Limeños criollos*.

Conos

Term formerly used to refer to Lima criolla's peripheral neighbourhoods, which were appropriated by migrant families and now are '*emergente*' homes of Andean and Amazon displaced populations. It is estimated that by 2008 the former *conos* (now Lima Norte, Lima Sur, etc) were hosting 62% of Lima's population.

Convivencia

Coexistence. In the case of this thesis, it is used to describe when musicians not only play with each other, but also experience life together and know each other more through conviviality.

Costeño

From the Peruvian Coastal region.

Criollo

Term that refers to people who belong to a family that has lived in Lima over several generations. It is often used when differentiating 'old *Limeño* families' from those who have settled in Lima more recently through internal migration. For a more complete explanation see (Chapter 1).

***Cultura chicha* ('Chicha culture')**

Pejorative phrase that refers to the ‘street smarts’ or working-class people of the informal sector and Andean background, who are seen to attract negative associations to hybrid urban Andean culture.

Emergente

A term frequently used when referring to successful generations of Andean migrants who have attained stability and are gradually accumulating wealth, to varying degrees. Some of these *emergentes* will eventually become ‘*nuevos ricos*’.

***Espacios permitidos* ('Allowed spaces')**

Analytical tool to examine imaginary, safe, poverty-free places for the upper classes to live in and transit ‘comfortably’ in their city.

Fusionistas

People who play or compose fusion music

Huaynero

Person who plays huayno music, mainly associated with *huayno con arpa*. The word is not always used pejoratively, yet in Lima is mainly used as a derogatory term to refer to Andean Provincial musicians who like and play traditional or more contemporary huayno music.

Huayno Ayacuchano

Or huayno mestizo. It is a hybrid urban huayno that contains foreign influences. The Spanish guitar is the main instrument, which is virtuously performed portraying sophistication and technique. The lyrics of Ayacuchano songs are bilingual: Quechua and Spanish.

Huayno con arpa

Huayno norteño or *huayno comercial*, originally it developed as a regional folk style in an area known as the Norte Chico (including Ancash and the northern part of the department of Lima). Since the 1980s it has been popularised and adapted by commercial Andean music stars and is consumed primarily by working-class Andeans and Andean migrants. It has indigenous huayno origins, but is mainly sung in Spanish. It has turned into a soloistic Andean pop genre. Its popularity in Lima peaked in the mid-1990s with Dina Paúcar as one of its main representatives.

Huayno testimonial

Songs written explicitly to denounce, protest and narrate experiences of the internal war.

Indigenismo

A movement made up of sections of Peru's political, economic and intellectual white and mestizo elites. *Indigenismo* emerged in the 1920s and its stated aim was to tackle the problem of discrimination against the Andean population through raising the status of indigenous art forms. Indigenismo created a new concept of the *Indio*, developing new traditions and arts.

Limeño

From Lima

Marca Perú

Country brand that seeks to promote internal and international tourism in Peru by highlighting Peruvian cultural icons such as history, gastronomy, sports and music. Marca Peru was created by PromPeru – *Comision de Promoción del Peru para la Exportación y el Turismo* ('Peruvian Promotion Commission for the Exportation and Tourism'), part of Mincetur (Peruvian Turism and External Affairs Ministry).

Mulata(o)

One of Peru's colonial racial *castas*. It was used to refer to the child of a Spanish mother and a black father. Nowadays, in Peru, this term refers to any descendant of a black and white mixed race couple.

Nueva canción

Or poetic protest songs. Originated in Chile, was a music expression of social revolution and nation unity. Its lyrics vindicated the indigenous, the poor and the working-classes.

Nuevos ricos

New economic groups and new mestizo and Andean family names that gained prominence through entrepreneurial skills, after several years of migrating to Lima.

Orquesta Tipica

A musical ensemble of saxophones, clarinets, a harp, and a violin that inhabitants of the Mantaro Valley claim to be the most representative and traditional ensemble of the region (Romero 2001: 170). Orquestas Tipicas can be also found in other locations in the centre of Peru.

Pituco

'Posh'. Most common word to refer to the white upper classes. It carries a pejorative connotation encompassing whiteness, wealth and a snobbish attitude associated with discrimination against 'non-equal people'.

Pituco Pezuñento

Literally translated as 'wealthy smelly feet'. It started as a pejorative term used by traditional upper classes when referring to the 'alternatives'. Later, it got appropriated by younger 'alternatives' to state their identity.

Serrano

From the highlands.

Trova Peruana

Has its origins in Cuban Trova and influenced intellectual leftist upper middle classes in Lima (1970s), who found their music scene in Barranco. This music was usually highly political and the lyrics were referred to as ‘poems with music’.

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Appendix 1: Detailed list of fieldwork interviews, focus groups and informal communications

Fieldwork Interviews (May 2010 – March 2011)			
Extensive formal interviews (Duration: One to two hours)			
Academics			
1.	Arellano, Rolando	Qualitative marketing researcher (CEO of Arellano Marketing). Expert on Peruvian lifestyles and social classes.	08/03/10
2.	Kogan, Liuba	Anthropologist. Head of the Academic Department of Social Sciences and Politics at Universidad del Pacifico. Expert on gender and the upper classes in Lima.	17/09/10
3.	Miyagui, Jorge	Plastic artist, promoter of interculturality and human rights activist.	24/06/10
4.	Muruchi, Khantuta	Bolivian Sociologist.	22/03/10
5.	Portocarrero, Gonzalo	Sociologist. Professor of Sociology at the Pontificia Universidad Católica, Lima. Expert on social classes and powerful groups in Peru.	09/03/11
6.	Riveros, Camilo	Anthropologist, cultural promoter and musician. Director of sonidos.pe. Expert on underground Lima's circuits and musical self-management.	15/11/10
7.	Vásquez, Chalena	Musicologist. Head of CEMDUC (Centre of Music and Dance of the Universidad Católica). Expert on traditional Peruvian music and dance.	17/08/10
Musicians, producers, managers and technicians			
8.	Alcazar, Hugo	Afro-jazz freelance percussionist – Gabriel Alegria	27/12/10
9.	Baca, Susana	Afro-jazz singer	05/03/11 16/03/11
10.	Briones, Renato	Bass player – La Sarita	02/08/10 09/09/10 02/03/11
11.	Bryce, Jaime	Guitar player – Radiohuayco, Big Pollo Funk	14/12/10
12.	Camargo, Juan José ‘Shenike’	Founder and leader La Sonora del Amparo Prodigioso	16/12/10
13.	Casinelli, Sandra	Barranco, Miraflores music producer and former fusion band's manager.	29/10/10
14.	Cuadra, Jaime	Music Producer, DJ and electronic/criollo and latin jazz singer	01/12/10

15.	Curo Valenzuela, Raúl	Andean harpist – La Sarita	10/09/10
16.	Díaz Límaco, ‘Chano’	Freelance Andean musician and producer – La Corporacion, Manuelcha Prado, El Polen	28/10/10
17.	Duarte Soldevilla, Nicolás	Singer – La Mente	24/11/10
18.	Estremadoyro, Juan Carlos	Sound engineer in the fusion scene	16/03/11
19.	Flores, Cali	Arranger, composer and freelance percussionist – Kenyara, Magaly Solier, Manuel Miranda, Lucho Quequezana, etc.	05/08/10 05/10/10
20.	García-Miró, Pepita	Producer and singer – Manongo Mujica	09/09/10
21.	González, Miki	Composer, singer and DJ	24/08/06 24/07/08 20/06/11 Several informal communications in 2009, 2010 and 2011
22.	Gorbitz, Verónica	Jean Paul Strauss’ manager	14/03/11
23.	Magnet, Jean Pierre	Freelance saxofonist – Co-founder of Wayruro, founder of Peru Jazz and Serenata de los Andes.	28/10/10
24.	Mallma Porras, Damaris	Musica Latinoamericana / Electronic fusion singer	20/09/10
25.	Manga, Dimitri	Freelance Andean wind player – Surimanta, Miki Gonzalez, El Polen	21/07/10
26.	Marcacuzco, Marino	Andean violinist – La Sarita	10/09/10
27.	Mariátegui, Joaquín	Guitar player and music director – Bareto	11/09/10
28.	Mauri, Tito	Chicha and technocumbia producer – Rossy War’s husband	08/03/11
29.	Maúrtua, Claudia	Underground. Radio DJ and singer – Ni voz ni voto	23/11/10
30.	Miranda, Jorge	Guitar player – Colectivo Circo Band	26/10/10
31.	Miranda, Rafael ‘Fusa’	Saxofonist – Bareto	11/08/10
32.	Miranda, Manuel	Andean wind and wood-wind instrumentalist	24/09/10
33.	Morales, Rafael	Electro/Afro – Novalima	15/12/10
34.	Moreira, Angela	Chicha / Electrochicha – Grupo Angel, Angela electrochicha	14/09/10
35.	Mujica, Manongo	Percussionist – PeruJazz, Sonido de los Dioses, Tribal	20/09/10
36.	Olazo, Jorge	Percussionist – Bareto	13/08/10
37.	Ortiz, Fredy	Andean rock in Quechua. Singer – Uchpa	02/12/10
38.	Pacheco, María Elena	Freelance violinist – La Sarita, Damaris, Alborada, Magaly Solier, Lucho Quequezana, Kenyara	21/09/10
39.	Patten, Leslie	Freelance percussionist – Colectivo Circo Band, Angela Electrochicha, Pochi Marambio and as soloist.	13/11/10

40.	Pereira, Juan Luis	Founder of El Polen	24/11/10
41.	Pérez, Julio	Singer – La Sarita	14/07/10
42.	Quequezana, Luis 'Lucho'	Multi instrumentalist – Kuntur	02/09/06 Several informal conversations in 2010 and 2011
43.	Rodríguez, Pamela	Producer and singer – Mamacha Productions	04/03/11
44.	Saravia, Patricia	Criollo-jazz singer – backing singer for Susana Baca	13/10/10
45.	Silva Santiesteban, Alfonso	Trumpet player – Colectivo Circo Band	26/10/10
46.	Silva, Ricardo	Afro/Andean fusion freelance – Co-founder Del Pueblo y del Barrio	03/12/10
47.	Silva, Patricia	Latin fusion	22/07/10
48.	Solier, Magaly	Actress and singer – international fusion	05/08/10
49.	Strauss, Jean Paul	Pop / Criollo fusion singer – Vibra Perú	14/03/11
50.	Valdizán, Luigi	Saxophone player and lead singer, Colectivo Circo Band	26/10/10
51.	Villacorta, Martín	DJ – Weddings, private parties and events	07/03/11
52.	War, Rossy	Technocumbia icon	08/03/11

Venue owners and festival organizers

53.	Chaparro, 'Mono' Eduardo	Rock musician and owner of Sargento Pimienta	24/11/10
54.	Chávez-Cabello, Julio	Rock musician, producer and manager of Cocodrilo Verde	16/11/10
55.	Kaya, Coky	Reggae musician and manager of Dragon del Sur, Dragon Brazil and Dragon de Barranco	19/11/10
56.	Sanguineti, Angelo	Owner and manager of several Lima pubs, discotheques and venues	29/12/10
57.	Simon, Pascaline	Selvamonos organizer (volunteer)	03/11/10
58.	Vilela, Candy	Selvamonos organizer (volunteer)	03/11/10
59.	Villarán, Alvaro	Owner of Jazz Zone	30/11/10
60.	Werner, Alida	Manager of La Noche de Barranco	22/11/10

Music Media dissemination circuits

61.	Atala, Nacira	Actress and Radio Insomnio producer	01/12/10
62.	Cachay, Raúl	Journalist, in charge of the cultural section (Luces) of newspaper El Comercio	10/12/10
63.	Cardenas, José Luis	CEO Play Music and Video S.A.C	30/11/10
64.	Farfán, Daniel	Jammin Session's and Sonidos del Mundo producer	06/12/10

65.	Galliani, Sergio	Actor, founder and owner of Radio Insomnio	01/12/10
66.	Martínez, Mabela	Founder and conductor of Sonidos del Mundo	16/12/10
67.	Miranda, William	CEO Dial Peru – Music marketing research	29/11/10
68.	Ponce, Lalo	CEO Phantom Music	17/11/10
69.	Salazar, Luigi	CEO Terra TV (Cable TV) – Former producer of Jammin' and Sonidos del Mundo	26/11/10
70.	Saettone, Eduardo	Musician, radio DJ and former conductor of Jammin'	09/03/11

**Audiences – Anonymised
(Interview, focus group participants and informal communications)**

71.	Martín	---	Bank CEO – Interview, San Isidro	November 2010
72.	Fabrizio	42	Asia discotheques and Miraflores venue owner – Interview, Asia	February 2011
73.	Sergio	---	Andean musician in the fusion scene – Informal communication, Lince.	August 2010
74.	Anna	23	Canadian singer (huayno) – e-mail communication	March 2011
75.	Fabricio	28	Focus group, Miraflores	December 2010
76.	Sandra	28	Focus group, Miraflores	December 2010
77.	Jorge	26	Focus group, Miraflores	December 2010
78.	Jimena	20	Focus group, Miraflores	December 2010
79.	Ignacio	26	Focus group, San Isidro	October 2010
80.	José	25	Focus group, San Isidro	October 2010
81.	Jaime	26	Focus group, La Molina	March 2011
82.	Xaviera	26	Focus group, La Molina	March 2011
83.	Max	32	Focus group, La Molina	March 2011
84.	Vanessa	24	Focus group, La Molina	March 2011
85.	Mauricio	32	Focus group, La Molina	March 2011
86.	Micaela	---	Chat	November 2010
87.	Ernesto	---	Informal communication, Miraflores	September 2009
88.	Carlos	---	Informal communication, Miraflores	September 2009
89.	Luisa	30	Emergente – informal communication, Surco	December 2010
90.	Student	17	School student – informal communication, Miraflores	March 2011
91.	Miguel	30	Informal communication, La Molina	November 2010
92.	Vanessa	25	Informal communication, Antika	December 2010
93.	Alessio	23	Informal communication – chat	March 2012

Chapter 5 – Total anonymisation by request of the collaborators

94.	Male	32		
95.	Female	30		
96.	Female	34		
97.	Male	33		
98.	Female	34		
99.	Male	30		
100.	Female	35	Cocodrilo Verde	
101.	Male	34		
102.	Male	28		
103.	Female	33		
104.	Male	26	La Noche	
105.	Male	25		
106.	Female	24		
107.	Ximena	22	Skype interview	2012
108.	Mario	24	Sargento Pimienta	2011
109.	Adrian	21	Sargento Pimienta	2010
110.	Vera	40	High school vice principal	2011

Appendix 2: Fusion music timeline (CD)

(Please see accompanying CD)

Appendix 3: Music venues for fusion music

La Noche de Barranco (Barranco)

This venue, often described as “a wooden-warm cosy place” by several of their frequent visitors, is without a doubt, the most popular venue among the alternative upper classes (including upper middle classes), when they are looking for national small concerts. La Noche opened its doors twenty years ago with the idea of being a “cultural centre with the advantages of a bar” (Alida Werner, interview, November 2010).²³¹ Charo Torres, La Noche’s owner is a Spanish doctor who came to Peru while working on a doctor’s mission in the Amazon and Villa El Salvador. Charo saw a “hurt country that wished to express itself”, so she stayed in Peru and created La Noche in 1991 as a way to work with culture “in a rich but broken country”.²³²



Figure 29: *La Noche de Barranco. Left: Bar / Right: stage. Source: Alida Werner*

In La Noche, people of different ages, backgrounds and lifestyles get together to enjoy the music they like and have a drink, although its main public tend to be upper classes between 25 and 39 years old. However, this also depends on the musician, the event and the day of the week. The music program is released monthly, and everyday there is a different cultural event, be this music, book

²³¹ Administrator and programmer of La Noche de Barranco since 2008.

²³² To read more on Charo Torres: RPP (06/06/11) http://www.rpp.com.pe/2011-06-06--la-noche-de-barranco-plasma-la-historia-del-peru-noticia_373016.html (Last accessed 23/04/12).

launches, documentaries and short movies releases, poetry, comedy, etc. There are bands that play monthly and are regularly invited, such as La Sarita, Sabor y Control, Uchpa. Almost all the fusion musicians featured in this study, have pass through La Noche's stage. With the big exception of La Mente, as the locale is not a proper space to dance.



Figure 30: Example of La Noche's weekly agenda flyers (13-18th June 2011). Source: Alida Werner

The music genres present in La Noche's programme are also diverse, local rock and fusion music seem to be the most common genres featured on weekends. Folklore and cumbia are not present on this stage at all “I don't know how much the audience, who comes to La Noche consumes...[silence] we're not even talking fusion, but, put simply and directly, anything local. I mean, we have to give it to people little by little, right? Fusion works brilliantly.” (Alida Werner, interview, November 2010). Even though, the bands and program are not extremely different to other venues such as El Dragón, Alida states that the public is different:

What I felt when coming to La Noche was, before working here, that it was a very comfortable place, very familiar, it was like ‘coming home’, I could wear my pyjamas and it would be fine, I don't know... perhaps people have that same feeling and that's why we don't lose the audience either (...) we basically worry about having a good product and about people coming here and feeling

comfortable, there's not... there's not much of a fashion show at La Noche [laughter] and when you see that sort of thing it's people who aren't La Noche regulars, because they figure out that the next time they come they'll probably wear trainers and a tracksuit [laughter] (*ibid.* November 2010).

Again, there is a mention to clothing and the lack of show-off attitudes in this venue, which underscores its alternative wealthy identity. Among its audience, La Noche is seen as a space where music takes the leading role, not the influences, last names, brand clothing and expensive drinks “the *pituqueria de Lima* ['Lima snobbery'], of which I am part, always finds spaces to flaunt what it has. You don't come to La Noche for that, you come to listen to good music and forget a bit about all that elitist shit, which we aren't proud of, but where we know how to play the part” (male 32, La Noche). According to La Noche's regulars, there is no sense of an ‘exclusive venue’; it seems that everybody can enter as long as they can pay their entrance fee, which fluctuates between 15 and 40 soles. This allows people from other social strata to attend the same concert and thus, creates a more diverse concert audience, allowing inter-class interaction.

Sargento Pimienta (Barranco)

Eduardo “Mono” Chaparro is the owner of Lima's first rock-bar Sargento Pimienta, which opened its doors more than thirty years ago (1974) as a space where his friends, musicians such as Miki Gonzalez, Jean Pierre Magnet and El Polen could gather to make their music. Nowadays, this venue is the most popular national concert spaces for upper class young people between 18 to 25 years old and is recognised by many as a “relaxed gathering place for *pezuñentos*”, for Eduardo: “It is a place where you breathe freedom, here people behave, nobody messes with the life of anybody” (Eduardo ‘Mono’ Chaparro, interview, November 2010).

Several fusion groups have passed through this venue's stage, such as Bareto, El Polen, Novalima, La Sarita and La Mente; this last group being Sargento Pimienta's most emblematic and popular band. The music program is also diverse, but concerts are not as frequent as in La Noche; classic rock, reggae, salsa and fusion are often present in Sargento's program. An advantage of

Sargento Pimienta is its size and lack of tables; this enables people to move around freely, dance, drink, jump and express themselves without restrictions of space. Also, some groups like La Mente, have taken advantage of the space and incorporated new elements in their shows, such as bringing *sikuri* troupes to dance among the audience.



Figure 31: La Mente's concert at Sargento Pimienta. Source:

<http://www.sargentopimienta.com.pe/fotos/conciertos/>)

Used with permission from Eduardo 'Mono' Chaparro

Once again, people do not dress up as they would for other venues; they are obviously underdressed even compared with La Noche's relaxed audience. During concerts it is not uncommon to overhear jokes and negative comments addressed to overdressed attendants, even from their own friends: "Where do you think you are, in Aura? [laughter]. Poor sod, you look lost, there's nowhere to put your Johnny Walker here. Get with it, here you come in pyjamas and *ojotas* ['car tire sandals']" (female 24, Sargento Pimienta). The concert ticket price at Sargento Pimienta also varies, fluctuating between 10 and 35 soles.

Cocodrilo Verde (Miraflores)

Popular among ‘non-alternative’ upper class people older than thirty-five years old, this elegant venue opened its doors in the early 2000 to promote culture among the upper classes. Current administrator, producer and musician Julio Chavez-Cabello programs the agenda, which mainly consists of international easy listening, classic rock and blues, jazz and *Nueva Ola* (‘new wave’). However, fusion artists such as Magaly Solier, Damaris, Miki Gonzalez, Jaime Cuadra have also appeared on Cocodrilo Verde’s stage.

The atmosphere of the space is not as cosy and relaxed as La Noche or even other venues in Miraflores such as Jazz Zone. Accordingly, this venue’s featured genres and prices (20 cover and an average of 30 soles entrance) of this venue tend to attract older upper class’ audiences, rather than young ‘alternatives’.



Figure 32: Cocodrilo Verde. Source Julio Chavez-Cabello

However, Julio explains that Cocodrilo Verde consciously promoted fusion as an option for their ‘exclusive’ audience. In 2006, he organised a music season called: Etno-fussions, and for this invited fusionists such as: Manuel Miranda, Miki Gonzalez, Jean Pierre Magnet and Jaime Cuadra who at that time were mixing electronic music with Andean traditional music.

In “Etno Fussion” the bands invited give us the impression that the type of music they are making belongs to a movement, generational, if you will, or corresponding to the current context, but which now transcends what the forerunners of music fusions did in the past. Perhaps it is less interesting to be able to determine whether we are seeing a new music genre, than it is to know that there is, at least, a movement, with different variables and options for listening to these types of music proposals, which enrich and refresh our culture, and that they are welcomed (Etno-fussions Press Note 2006).

Julio wanted to promote electronic and traditional music hybrids as Etno-fussions, a new modern genre among the upper classes. During that season, Delfin Garay decided to present a more traditional Andean show which was disappointing for Julio, as he was convinced that in 2006, Cocodrilo Verde’s audience would not want to attend a ‘very Andean’ show. He admitted in 2010 this had changed; he could then present Damaris or Magaly Solier singing Quechua at Cocodrilo Verde.

All the venues described in this section are open to all; there is no restriction on admission or discrimination when buying the tickets. Still, price and location are obvious class filters when compared with the 5 to 15 soles entrance price of concerts in Lima’s periphery.

There are other popular music venues in Barranco and just a few in Miraflores, which promote fusion such as Jazz Zone, El Dragón and Antika restaurant (see table below). Also some venues in Lima’s Centre have also started to promote this genre (e.g. Etnias Bar) and attract many upper class students from Universidad de Lima and La Católica.

Venue	Concert dates	Preferred genres	Frequent fusion bands	Financial arrangement	Entrance fee	Public
La Noche Barranco	Everyday	Diverse: Fusion, rock, reggae. No groups that need space to dance.	La Sarita, Uchpa, Colectivo Circo Band, Bareto, Novalima, Luchó Quequezana, Magaly Solier, among others.	Box office earnings for the musicians, consumption for the venue.	Between 15 – 35 soles	Mixed A-B (Alternative and some non-alternatives)
Sargent Pimienta	Thursday and Friday	Diverse: Classic rock,	La Mente	Negotiable	Between 10 – 35 soles	Mixed A – B – C (Mainly)

		reggae and ska, salsa, fusion.				alternatives)
El Dragón	Tuesday to Sunday	Diverse: Electronic music, rock, reggae and fusion.	Bareto, La Sarita	The venue pays the band (Djs= 80-150 dollars per 2 hours, new bands 300-500 dollars per hour, experienced bands 3 – 5 thousand dollars per hour).	Free entry before midnight	A – B (Alternative and non alternative) Depending on the day.
Jazz Zone	Everyday	Diverse: Jazz, fusion.	Susana Baca, Jean Pierre Magnet, Afro-jazz musicians.	Box office earnings for the musicians, consumption for the venue.	Between 20 – 50 soles	A – B (Alternative and non alternative)
Cocodrilo Verde	Tuesday to Saturday	Diverse: International music, jazz, classic rock, rarely fusion.	Magaly Solier, Miki Gonzalez	Box office earnings for the musicians, consumption for the venue.	Between 40 – 70 soles (including 20 soles minimum consumption)	A – B (Mainly non-alternative upper classes, few alternatives)