Domesticating tradition: Afro-Latin music and electronics in Lima, Perú

by

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Dedication

To my family.

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Abstract

This dissertation discusses how identity is represented in contemporary Lima, Perú, in terms of tradition and modernity, focusing on the work of four musicians from that city: Novalima, Los Shapis, Dengue Dengue Dengue and Tomás Tello. All of these musicians share a common musical practice: the combination of Afro-Latin genres with electronic music. While Afro-Latin musics work as powerful symbol of tradition in Perú, electronic music is one of the main representations of modernity. Their work illustrates the dilemmas of post-colonial double consciousness: How to be modern and traditional at the same time? How to be part of the avant-garde but at the same time be rooted in non-Western history? I will show how the encounters between tradition and modernity in their music reproduce colonial structures but also create a possibility for a more inclusive socio-cultural dynamic beyond the the static modernity-tradition dichotomy.

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Introduction: Afro-Latin Music, Electronic Music, and the Division Between Modernity and Tradition in Perú

One of the big narratives that informs the construction of identity in Latin America is the opposition between modernity and tradition. On the relationship of representations of tradition and modernity, Gilroy has commented that

> Racist, nationalist, or ethnically absolutist discourses orchestrate political relationships so that [modernity and tradition] appear to be mutually exclusive. Occupying the space between them or trying to demonstrate their continuity has been viewed as a provocative and even oppositional act of political insubordination. (Gilroy 1996 p.1)

Authors like Coronado (2009) and Lauer (2003) show how at the end of the XIX century and the first decades of the XX century, as modernity started to expand in Latin America, the debate about identity was marked on one hand by a nostalgia for an indigenous traditional past, and on the other by the idealization of modernity. As I will show along this dissertation, the expansion of modernity has forced post-colonial societies like Perú to define themselves in terms of the opposition between modernity and tradition, which implies a superiority of modernity over tradition. Since colonial times hegemonic discourses have identified non-Western practices as an obstacle for the modern project. However, in reality, tradition and modernity coexist without a clear border. As Garcia Canclini puts it, Latin America is a continent where “traditions have

not yet disappeared and modernity has not completely arrived". (Garcia Canclini 1995 p. 1)

The objective of this dissertation is to discuss how identity is represented in contemporary Lima, Perú, in terms of tradition and modernity, focusing on the work of four musicians from that city: Novalima, Los Shapis, Dengue Dengue Dengue, and Tomás Tello. Music is an important space to debate identity. As Frith argues, "music constructs our sense of identity through the direct experiences it offers the body, time, and sociability, experiences which enable us to place ourselves in imaginative cultural narratives". (Frith 1996 p.125).

All of these musicians share a common musical practice: the combination of Afro-Latin genres with electronic music. While Afro-Latin musics work as a powerful symbol of tradition in Perú, electronic music is one of the main representations of modernity (Net-Costas 2013). The combination of these two symbols challenges fixed ideas of modernity and tradition and proposes a new way of understanding identity in Perú, beyond the static modernity-tradition dichotomy.

As Ramos has discussed, the fact that Latin America is located in the "colonial and transcultural frontiers of modernity" (Ramos 2011 p.55) makes it an interesting space to analyze the global dynamics of modernity. My research gives interesting clues to understand how the colonial side of modernity is reproduced in new and unexpected ways, and also ways in which modernity can be more inclusive with non-Western practices.

The four case studies. My four subjects of study have very different ethnic, social, cultural and geographical backgrounds, but at the same time they all share a double-consciousness: they belong to both modern and traditional worlds. Double-consciousness is a consequence of the cultural collision between the Inca state and the Spanish crown during colonial times (1532-1821) which left the independent republic of Perú with a still unsolved relationship between coexisting traditional, modern, and hybrid identities (Gandhi 1998).

Another important element my subjects of study share is that they live in Lima, a city of 12 million where identity referents circulate at a rapid speed via electronic communications and migration. In this modern urban dynamic "the work of imagination [is a] constitutive feature" (Appadurai 1998 p. 28). As I will discuss in more detail in the following chapters, the urban context of Lima has allowed my subjects of study to imagine a hybrid genre that combines Afro-Latin and electronic musics, which allows them to reconcile the strong opposition between tradition and modernity. The combination of Afro-Latin music and electronics carried out by Tello, Novalima, Los Shapis, and Dengue Dengue, is an attempt to legitimize the coexistence of modern and traditional cultural practices, and to locate hybrid cultural configurations that challenge the modernity-tradition dyad at center of global modern history.

However, while their hybrid practices propose new and more inclusive ways of thinking about modernity and tradition, those practices are not a guarantee of inclusion. I will show how the four case studies continue reproducing colonial discourses, and how

for the mainstream media and government agencies, there is a good hybrid (the one that reproduces hegemonic, racist, and classist structures) and a bad hybrid (the one that subverts those structures), and how policies are decided according to that criteria.

Novalima is arguably the most important world music act in Perú. They combine electronic dance music (EDM) with Afro-Peruvian genres. In their live performances they use both precomposed laptop sequences and instruments performed live. The band is divided in two groups, as their own members have stated: four musicians are in charge of the development of the electronic music production and the direction of the band. They are in their late thirties/early forties. They belong to the upper-middle class[1] and they are mixed race but have a strong Spanish background. The second half of the band is made up by three working class Afro-Peruvian musicians, who are in charge of singing and playing Afro-Peruvian instruments.

Los Shapis are arguably the most important chicha band in Perú. Chicha is a modification of Colombian cumbia to fit the rhythmic patterns of huayno, the most popular Andean genre. It also uses Afro-Cuban elements, psychedelic surf rock guitars,

[1] My references to the class positions of the musicians I discuss are based on how they have defined themselves in the interviews I carried out. According to authors like Jaramillo (2013) and Benavides (2002) it is very difficult to define working, upper and middle class due to the cultural and economical complexity in Perú. As I will discuss later in the dissertation, and as Benavides (2002) has pointed out, social mobility is not frequent and is often discouraged by many sociocultural institutions, and class is still linked to colonial ethnical divisions. As a result we have that the majority of populations that live in poverty are indigenous, working classes are mostly conformed by *mestizo* populations and most of the members of the upper classes are of white and Spanish descent. (Hudson 1992).

and electronic textures that at times sound like Western avant-garde or like synth pop. In their live performances Los Shapis play acoustic and electronic instruments such as processed electric guitars and synthesizers. The members of the band are in their early 60s and are cultural heroes of the working class that came from Andean rural areas towards Lima looking for a better future.

Dengue Dengue Dengue is a laptop EDM middle-class duo. They are one of the most popular EDM projects in Latin America, with their signature cumbia bass style. Cumbia bass is a sub genre of global bass, an umbrella term for projects that combine non-western genres with EDM styles such as bass and minimal techno. In the case of Dengue Dengue Dengue the non-Western element of their version of global bass is Peruvian cumbia. They create their songs on their laptops, and play the pre-composed tracks during their live sets. They have toured around the world in prominent EDM circuits and have been praised by international media.

Tomás Tello is an experimental musician, one of the few in Perú who has experimented with electronics and African diaspora rhythms. He was born in Arequipa in 1980 into a middle class family, and now resides in Portugal. His techniques draw from European and the U.S avant-garde and old school Afro-Latin styles of playing, especially psychedelic cumbia from the seventies. He combines real time interaction with electronic devices, automation, and live performance. He has toured throughout Europe and although he is well respected by the underground experimental scene in Lima, he is virtually unknown in Perú.

Methodology: Multiple voices approach. Although these four artists share an interest in electronics and Afro-Latin music they do not share a music scene, a generation, a class, a neighborhood or a cultural group. But it is actually that variety that made me pick them. In this dissertation I want to show how the representation of modernity and tradition can take very different shapes in different moments and circumstances in a same city. This kind of approach follows Liisa Malkki (1997), who argues that multi sited research allows us to understand a multiplicity of voices, change, and processes beyond a structuralist conception of culture, and can reveal "substantial areas of normative indetermination" (Malkki 1997 p. 87).

I, too, am a musician who combines electronic music with Afro-Latin rhythms. I was born and raised in Lima, and since I was young I have been exposed to the work of my subjects of study, in some cases as a collaborator, in others as a fan, or as a friend. In a way, my own experience is the thread that connects their multiple perspectives. These four artists are an important part of my sonic experience in Lima, a city where I could be dancing to traditional Afro-Peruvian music one minute and enjoying experimental electronics the next. I follow authors like Venkatesh (2013), Wacquant (2011) and Mears (2012) who have done ethnographies of their own practices. All of their ethnographies use their personal experience not so much as a tool to introduce their subjectivity in the text but as a way to access dense ethnographical data from the point of view of the insider. Indeed, I picked only four case studies in order to do deep ethnographies of each one of them. Venkatesh states that "[A] powerful motive for

turning to the examinations of the self is to draw on direct experiences in the field in order to access knowledge of the subject's world that might otherwise be unavailable or extremely difficult to access" (2013 p. 54). In the same line of thought, Wacquant (who did an ethnography of his training as a boxer in a Chicago African-American working class neighborhood) observes that "The first-person perspective offers a deep familiarity of the scene." (Wacquant 2011 p. 31) Mears also discusses her experience of being a top model:

> Many ethnographers engaged in long term immersion toggle between their scholarly and field identities.… Part of the ethnographer's job is to get as close as possible to lived realities of a set of people, and in this pursuit, the ethnographer's body can be a key methodological tool. (Mears 2013 p.54).

The fieldwork for this dissertation was carried out between 2007 and 2015. I interviewed the aforementioned artists, as well as journalists, government and NGO officials; I did ethnographies of shows and cultural events; and analyzed journalistic archives and official cultural policy documents. To provide insight and context to the musical practices of my subjects, I provide historical background that delves into different episodes in Peruvian history that go from pre-colonial to the XX century, and draw from my own personal experiences. This contextual information is complemented by in-depth analyses of representative works by my subjects, in which I illustrate how the modernity-tradition debate materializes in their art.

A brief history of the concepts of modernity and tradition[2]

Modernity and tradition are the key concepts in this dissertation. As Riesebrodt (2005) states, modernity is not a fixed historical event or theoretical discourse. It is a field that permeates different aspects of life and sets key points in the way people think of themselves. According to Walter Mignolo modernity "is a complex narrative whose point of origination was Europe; a narrative that builds Western civilization by celebrating its achievements while hiding at the same time its darker side, coloniality." (Mignolo 2011 p. 3). Indeed one of the big paradoxes of modernity is that while it preached freedom and rationality, the atrocities of colonialism were necessary for the economical development of modernity in Europe. As modernity expanded, non-European groups that did not share the enlightenment ideals of freedom were eliminated, or forced to change their social economic and cultural practices to fit the modern model (Riesebrodt 2005). This violent process was the way in which modernity reached colonized territories such as Perú. However, official history has tended to hide the dark side of modernity.

Foucault (2003) has pointed out that the expansion of modernity is not only political or economic. It requires the construction of a particular kind of individual. Modernity requires a sociocultural and economic frame but also an ethic and an aesthetic regulating life in individual levels (Cameron 2008). As Weber proposed in his

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[2] For further discussion on the subject see Owen (1994), Coronado (2009) and Stolley (2013).

studies on religion, the modern project was not a "natural" one as modernity has tried to defend, but a cultural one that has its roots in protestant ethics, which put work and efficiency at the center of meaning of life. Weber saw in the protestant logics the potential of an imposition of a particular form of ethic over non-Western populations. Adorno and Horkheimer (2007) also stated in their "Dialectics of Enlightenment" that commitment to freedom brings self-cancellation and mass-culture. This is the paradox at the core of modernity: while enlightenment proposed freedom and equality for all human beings, there is a specific idea of humanity that the modern project needs and imposes in a violent way as it expands.

Enlightenment and the origins of the modernity-tradition dichotomy. During the Enlightenment, freedom and reason were the main values of Western culture. However, freedom and reason faced a limit in interculturality. How could the colonizers force non-Western populations to embrace the Enlightenment ideals without violating the principles of freedom and reason? Kant is one of the most important philosophers that dealt with this problem. He was very influential in the design of the civilizing modern project and international law. In “Perpetual Peace and other Essays” (1983) Kant argues that it is the responsibility of the enlightened to show the masses the way towards the rational state, and in order to do so there had to be a temporal constraint on the freedom of the majorities. The problem with Kant’s plan is precisely the constraint of freedom, which goes against Enlightenment’s principles. To solve this contradiction Kant

states that we are only free if we become enlightened and follow reason as the guide of our behavior. Constraining the freedom of those who are not enlightened is not really a constraint of freedom, because the ones who are not enlightened are already slaves of the laws of nature. According to Kant non-Western peoples were humans but had no sovereignty, because their uncivilized practices violated the rational law (Owen 1994).

Hegel followed this logic and paved the way for the idea of the realization of our authentic being as a moral being. Hegel was the one who inaugurated the discourse of modern times (Owen 1994), when he established that reason and culture should be linked. The latter argument solved the intercultural dilemmas of colonialism: the legitimate way to live, and to *be,* is the rational being, the way of enlightenment and Western culture. This was put in practice through the declaration of the rights of man (1793), through the defense of the republic as a political system and through the implementation of freedom of commerce. Technological innovations of the industrial revolution expanded these ideas with a material power never seen before.

During the XVII century, the Enlightenment established an opposition between Western and non-Western practices that led to the application of a variety of segregation policies in colonial territories such as Perú. Populations such as Andean and Afro-Peruvian groups were regarded as an obstacle for the development of the Enlightenment project, and hence excluded from it. It was in the 1800's when people began talking about "modern times". This term divided present day from antiquity and brought a valorization of present over the past in an evolutionary way. Modernity

constructed itself as a break with the past, a radical one, in the line of progress and evolution. The concept of tradition was defined as the opposition of modernity, and the modernity-tradition dichotomy became fundamental to create the ideal of European modernity (Wagner 2012).

America and its traditional cultures provided an “otherness” that exemplified the *noble savage* mythology in which Rousseau based his social contract theories and the modern political project (Bendix 1997). On the other hand, America was seen as a continent with barbarian populations that had to be controlled and even annihilated, legitimizing the economical exploitation of the new continent and its populations. That exploitation provided the economical resources to build the new and modern Europe.

Since then the opposition between tradition and modernity has framed the discussion of identity in Latin America, and is very present in the Peruvian popular and official imaginary. It is also the root of prevalent racism and class discrimination discourses present in mainstream and government cultural policies (Schelling 2000).

The construction of the independent Peruvian nation. The XIX century was a moment of crisis for several colonial states, and the rise of industrial and democratic revolutions. In 1821 the colonial regime in Perú came to an end but the colonialist structures were reproduced within the new Peruvian Republic. The declaration of independence represented a possibility of building a strong democracy, but that chance was lost (Quijano 1992). Peruvian independence was not led by indigenous

populations. It was carried out by a socio-cultural group known as the *criollos. Criollos* were the Spanish born in America, and the sons of the marriages between Spanish and indigenous elites. The *criollos* were people with a double consciousness: they were neither American nor Spanish. They wanted to be independent from the Spanish crown, but also to consolidate their power over indigenous populations. Once independence was carried out, there was a continuity of power structures and Enlightenment ideas were key to justify the permanence of the domination of native populations.

An interesting example of the justification of domination is the rhetoric used by Bolivar, the *criollo* independence leader, who is regarded as the most important Peruvian and Latin American hero. His discourse was that of an enlightened man, who had the task of freeing America from the power of the crown. In the famous “Letter from Jamaica" (written in 1815) Bolivar says the following about the people who led the independence revolution:

> We are neither Indian or European, but a species in between the legitimate owners of the country and the Spanish usurpers: in short because we are Americans by birth and have inherited the rights of Europe, we have to dispute these with the country's original inhabitants, while standing against the invasion of the usurpers. (Bolivar 2014).

This quote is a perfect example of the Enlightenment logic. Bolivar felt that he had the historical duty of expelling the usurpers but also to dispute the leadership with the “legitimate owners of the country”, in order to bring modernity to America. This kind of discourse also inaugurates the post-colonial condition and establishes the

contradictions of the double consciousness; for Perú to be a modern republic, it needed to follow Europe's enlightenment ideals, but also detach itself from Europe's political power. Added to this, it had to abandon pre-modern traditions but at the same time use them as a source of a new identity, one that differentiated Perú from the Spanish empire. With this, Bolivar establishes the liminal position of Latin America: one in between modernity and tradition. This is also the dilemma with which musicians like Tomás Tello, Novalima, Dengue Dengue Dengue and Los Shapis deal with to this day.

What came after independence was a series of non-democratic military governments that stabilized the power of the Spanish-descent elite. Once the Spanish power was overthrown, indigenous populations continued to be seen as an obstacle to the establishment of the modern republic. It was not uncommon to have the eugenic elimination of indigenous populations as a valid option in the debates of the elites (Manrique 2000).

However, the tensions between elites and native populations had to be solved in order to generate a cohesive nation. The way to do it was to praise Peruvian traditions, reject the Spanish cultural legacy, and idealize English and North American modernity. The Peruvian tradition was constructed with essentialist discourses: behind the praise of authentic traditions there was an exclusion of indigenous and mestizo populations from the modern project. This translated in the fact that legally the only ones with the right to vote were land owning elites and Spanish speaking populations. (Poole 1997).

Indigenismo and the XX century Peruvian aristocratic republic. When the *criollos* took power after the independence, they were not able (or willing) to include populations with non-Western cultural practices in the modern project. Kant's intercultural dilemma was not that easy to solve. Even if the elites wanted to enlighten the masses, in reality people wanted the benefits of modernity but also to keep their own traditional cultural practices. The result was an increase in the difference between elites and the masses, and a praise for European and U.S values over local ones. Even among progressive intellectuals there was a discourse that praised equality, but it was not radical enough to question social, economic and cultural structures that perpetuated the exploitation of indigenous peoples (Manrique 2000). In a process that de Trazegnies has called "traditional modernization" (de Trazegnies 1980 p. 54), Perú ended up with a semi-modern state. Even though the new political system was republican, the law system privileged certain groups and supported divisions. It was a colonial democracy.

The first years of the XX century are known as the aristocratic republic. They brought a relative political and economical stability, but also the consolidation of the government of an oligarchy. Until that time there had never been a serious debate about the inclusion of indigenous populations in the republican plan. However, in the 1920s some elite groups started to look at Andean groups as a valid interlocutor. The main movement involved in this debate was known as *Indigenismo.*

Indigenismo was a musical, artistic, and intellectual movement made up by people from the *criollo* upper classes, supported by a series of government policies. It was influenced by the European avant-garde's romanticism and its criticism of modernity. The *indigenistas* created an art that took elements from indigenous expressions, as a way to uplift the native populations. Even though *indigenistas* had the aim of giving power to indigenous populations, they kept alive the idea that the masses had to be civilized or even left behind to achieve modernity (Coronado 2009). Just like in the European avant-garde, *indigenistas* saw themselves as the ones chosen by history to lead the traditional populations into enlightenment. As Deborah Poole (1997) has stated, even when praising local culture, the *indigenistas* had a hidden agenda, an interest in generating artworks that could compete with the trends that came from the old continent. To achieve this artistic interest they instrumentalized their symbolical closeness to indigenous art in order to legitimize themselves in the European modernist debate. In the end, *indigenistas* did not include indigenous populations in their political and artistic project, they only used their art as an ingredient for their artistic recipe, repeating the pattern of the *criollos* during the independence.

Not only did they not include the indigenous groups but they established themselves as the guardians of tradition. They ended up creating a canon that defined what indigenous art should be. They opposed tradition to modernity and defined the "authentic traditional Indian" as ancestral and rural and rejected cultural "hybrids". According to Starn,

> [*Indigenistas* had] a view of Andean peasants as stewards of the Inca past [that] fit the desire of many intellectuals and politicians to see a potential alternative to the discredited legacy of Spain and the capitalist culture of the north.… By the 1930s the concept of an unbroken Andean heritage had expanded beyond the label of *indigenismo* to become a common sense across art, politics, and science. (Starn 1991 p.67).

While the elites were trying to separate modernity from tradition, and excluding native populations from the modern state, the native populations were more interested in producing hybrid cultural expressions that combined traditional and modern elements,and in having a part in modern economy and politics[3].

The establishment of the *indigenistas* aesthetic canon was fundamental for hegemonic groups to maintain symbolic domination over the subaltern's hybrid practices. On the creation of an aesthetic canon as a way of hegemony, Bourdieu says the following:

> The denial of lower, coarse, vulgar, venal, servile -in a word, natural enjoyment-, which constitutes the sacred sphere of culture, implies an affirmation of the superiority of those who can be satisfied with the sublimated, refined, disinterested, gratuitous, distinguished pleasures for ever closed to the profane. That is why art and cultural consumption are predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfill a social function of legitimating social differences. (Bourdieu 1984 p.7)

The *indigenismo* canon is still alive in Perú. As I will demonstrate in detail in the upcoming chapters, the tensions between the elite guardians of authentic tradition and

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[3] I will discuss this process in detail in chapter 1

the hybrid practices of the majorities have defined the modernity-tradition debate in Perú.

The modernity-tradition dichotomy in contemporary Perú. The tensions between tradition and modernity have ended up being arguably the most important frame for the identity debate in contemporary Perú, and authenticity is one of the key concepts in that debate. As Bendix (1997) has argued, the elites' praise for authenticity is another form of exclusion of non-Western practices. Authenticity locates traditions in a static space isolated from the benefits of modernity. Llorens (2001) has discussed extensively how media and public policies have been guided by these polarized logics in Perú. On that note Garcia Canclini states the following referring to processes in Latin America:

> Both traditionalists and modernizers tried to construct pure objects. The former imagined "authentic" national and popular cultures, and sought to preserve them in the face of industrialization…. From nineteenth century liberalism to developmentalism, modernizing ideologies accentuated this manichaean compartmentalization by imagining that modernization would end with traditional forms of production, beliefs and goods. (Garcia Canclini 1995 p.4)

But inevitably, indigenous populations embraced modernity on their own terms. Hybridization became arguably the most important socio-cultural movement in the XX century in Perú. It did not happen according to Kant's plan. From the elite's point of view, the cross-pollination between modernity and tradition became a problem, because

it meant that populations that historically did not have any participation in the country's decision making began to demand power.

The massive migrations from Andean rural areas towards urban centers since the 1950s led to the development of hybrid cultural expressions[4] that challenge fixed conceptions of tradition and modernity. Cultural hybridization was very important in Perú in comparison to other Andean countries such as Ecuador or Bolivia where discourses that emphasize the opposition between tradition and modernity have been embraced by many grassroots movements, who are fighting to create independent Andean and Amazonian nations (Manrique 2000). In Perú, on the other hand, the predominant social strategy of "traditional" populations has been the construction of hybrid identities that are not easy to tag as either modern or traditional, as a result of what authors like Garcia Canclini (1995) call the experience of third world modernities.

The hybridization process has taken place mainly in Lima, a city of 12 million people that used to be the capital of the Spanish empire in South America. Since colonial times the port of Lima was a point of encounter between Europe and native cultures. In Lima fixed notions of tradition and modernity are challenged, and the hegemonic cultural production coming from Europe or the US is re-appropriated and de-centered. As Ramos puts it, cities like Lima create "an alternative map of modernity" (Ramos 2011 p.66).

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[4] I will discuss in the upcoming chapters these cultural expressions, especially chicha music

Lima is a porous cultural hub where tradition and modernity are constantly feeding each other in a chaotic dialogue. It is in that chaos that the blend of popular and serious musics coming from Latin America, Europe, and the U.S occurs. The combination of African diaspora genres and electronic musics done by Novalima, Tello, Dengue Dengue Dengue, and Los Shapis is a result of that dialogue, which both reproduces and solves historical contradictions between modernity and tradition (Rozas 2007). As I will discuss later, many versions of modernity and traditions coexist within each one of my subjects of study. In their work the modernity-tradition divide is sometimes dissolved, sometimes underscored, and tradition and modernity are praised and rejected at different times by each one of these artists.

On the combination of Afro-Latin music and electronics

African diaspora and electronic music as global symbols of tradition and modernity. Los Shapis, Novalima, Tomás Tello and Dengue Dengue Dengue have become important symbols of Peruvian identity in popular and official discourses (Tomás Tello is the exception here as he is more of an underground cult figure). Even though their music has been dubbed by the press and by themselves in terms of a mixture between electronic and Afro-Latin music (Los Shapis as chicha, Dengue Dengue Dengue as cumbia bass, Novalima as Afro-electronics, and Tello as experimental cumbia) their music is more than those tags. It is a cultural collage that

includes myriad genres from around the world and from diverse local Peruvian traditions. But why is there an emphasis on the Afro-Latin and electronic music elements of their music? How did the combination of these foreign genres become a local symbol of Peruvian identity?

This is because African diaspora rhythms and electronic genres are global symbols of tradition and modernity that speak to an international audience. By connecting their music to the international trajectories of the African diaspora and the history of modern technologies, my subjects of study are locating Peruvian identity in the global map of modernity.

Electronic music is the aural dimension of modern technologies. For Thompson, electronic music represents

> Man's technical mastery over his physical environment, and it did so in a way that transformed traditional relationships between sound, space and time. Technical mastery over nature and the annihilation of time and space have long been recognized as definitive aspects of modern culture. (Thompson 2002 p.6).

Indeed, modern technology and the control of nature are very important symbols of modernity. According to Lee

> Homo Faber and its associated concept of artifact will be shown to be just as fundamental as the Cartesian notion of the cogito… the essence of homo faber is to control and manipulate nature to serve human ends -in this crucial sense, the instrumentalization of nature is built into the concept [of modernity]. (Lee 2009 p. 14).

Coronado has discussed how since the start of the XX century, the idealization of modernity was linked to “the cult of technology and the desire to forget quickly and seamlessly a chronic sense of underdevelopment.” (Coronado 2009 p. 75). On the other hand, African-diaspora is arguably the most important non-Western “other” in the developed world, and has been a constituent part of modernity. As Gilroy has discussed

> Racial slavery was integral to western civilization and … the master/mistress/ slave relationship [is] foundational to both black critiques and affirmations of modernity. [The] literary and philosophical modernisms of the black Atlantic have their origins in a well developed sense of the complicity of racialized reason and white supremacist terror” (Gilroy 1998 p. X)

Both the African diaspora and the trajectory of electronic music devices from Europe and the U.S to Latin America are meta-narratives that frame the discussion of identity around the world, generating a polarization between tradition and modernity, and defining the shape of new hybrid configurations. In his work on Afro-futurism, Griffith has stated that the encounter between African diaspora genres and electronic music generates a “tension between future and past, science and myth, robots and voodoo” (2008 p.86). In the upcoming chapters I will talk in detail about how Afro-Latin rhythms and electronic music dialogue with other genres in the music of my subjects of study. In order to do so, I will first define what I understand by the terms “Afro-Latin” music and “electronic” music, which are the main frame for my dissertation.

Afro-Latin Music. The term Afro-Latin usually refers to genres such as salsa, cumbia, reggaeton, merengue, bachata, among others, as Pacini (2009) has stated. All of these genres are part of a cosmopolitan pan-Latin popular culture, that has travelled through radio, movies, and other media, in a complex cultural exchange since the beginning of the XX century. However, when I use the term "Afro-Latin genres" I also include Afro-Peruvian genres (festejo, landó, panalivio, marinera) which are not included in Pacini's definition. Afro-Peruvian genres have a different history from the genres listed by Pacini, and aren't as well known in Latin America[5]. However, both Pacini's Afro-Latin genres and and Afro-Peruvian genres share the influence of West-African conceptions of rhythm (Baca 1992, Manuel 2009). According to Manuel, the West-African concept of rhythm can be defined broadly as the use of a steady beat, polyrhythms, improvisation, use of percussion, syncopation, groove, repetition of rhythmic cells, and they are generally used in dance contexts.

Although I will refer to both Afro-Latin and Afro-Peruvian genres as Afro-Latin genres, sometimes I will also make a distinction between them when it is needed for my argument. I also distinguish Afro-Latin and Afro-Peruvian rhythms from other African diaspora influenced musics that came to Lima from the U.S and the U.K, such as rock or reggae. In the Peruvian imaginary, rock and reggae are linked to modernity and to developed Western countries, as opposed to Afro-Latin genres which represent the non-Western world and working classes.

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[5] I will talk more about this on chapter 2.

In general, although there is music analysis in the dissertation, it is not an exhaustive technical approach. Musical analysis is just a tool to discuss what the music represents symbolically in terms of modernity and tradition in the imaginary of the artists and in the different social spaces that I visit in each chapter.

Electronic music. I use Collins and Schedel's definition of electronic music: "In the broadest sense, it simply means sound reproduced using electronic means" (Collins & Schedel 2013 p.1). It is music done using electronic devices, with an intentional act of music creation. It can range from EDM to academic experimental music. I, however, do not include sound recording techniques here. I will discuss different techniques used by my subjects of study but the focus will be not so much on technical aspects but on what electronic music represents culturally.

The combination of Afro-Latin music and electronic music as a way to challenge the opposition between tradition and modernity. Today, Peruvian population is a mixture of European, Andean, Amazonian, Afro-Peruvian ethnicities. But it is important to underline that because most of the people are mixed race, those classifications are fluid, in the sense that, for example, a person can be considered white in one context and indigenous in another (Canepa 2001). This flexibility has a historical background; as opposed to other colonies, such as India or many African countries, the borders between the colonial authorities and local populations in Perú

were flexible, and although there was a hegemonic Spanish power, cultural and sexual exchange was frequent (Schelling 2000). In this context, race or ethnicity are less important than cultural practices such as aesthetics or linguistic competencies when it comes to inclusion and exclusion (Canepa 2001). This is why modernity and tradition are important meta-narratives that frame inclusion and exclusion. and the way in which Peruvians to define their own identity.

Throughout the dissertation I will show how by constructing hybrid genres that combine Afro-Latin music and electronics, Tello, Los Shapis, Novalima, and Dengue Dengue Dengue are also negotiating the way Peruvians talk about their identity, challenging the prevailing hegemony of modernity over tradition and essentialist conceptions of culture. Holt sates that “genre … continues to create cultural and historical horizons …. It is a major force in canons of educational institutions, cultural hierarchies, and decisions about censorship and funding.” (Holt 2007 p. 3)

The cross-over between Afro-Latin and electronic genres is an arena where hegemonic and subaltern forces are confronted. Zizek (1998) states that one of the pillars of hegemony is the ability of the elites to establish the language in which the subalterns talk about themselves. But as Ortner has stated, there are always temporary uncovered semantic fields, and it is in these fringes where individuals manage to counteract hegemonic forces through agency (Ortner 2006).

As I will show in each of my case studies, the freedom and dependence on the modernity/tradition dichotomy varies in different moments within each case. I will show

that official and mainstream criteria for exclusion and inclusion are complex, sometimes even mixing opposing symbols (as in the case of the tradition in Afro-Latin music and the modernity of electronics). That is why the combination of Afro-Latin music and electronics can be used as a way for the subaltern to obtain agency and at the same time be the tool by which hegemony excludes the subaltern.

Summary of the chapters

In chapter 1 I talk about Peruvian cumbia band Los Shapis. I describe how while they are praised by Andean migrants in Lima and although they are one of the most important artists of all time in Perú in terms of cultural importance and popularity, mainstream press and official cultural institutions still discriminate against them. Los Shapis are discriminated because they challenge the boundaries of tradition and modernity, and disrupt Andean authenticity and fixed ideas of identity. I also discuss how instead of having a subversive discourse criticizing the discrimination against Andean culture, Los Shapis' main agenda is to be incorporated into the mainstream, and in that endeavor, they often reproduce the language that has discriminated against them.

In Chapter 2 I discuss the case of the Afro-electronic band Novalima, arguably the most popular contemporary world music act in Perú. Novalima is comprised of a group of white upper middle class musicians and a group of working class Afro-Peruvian musicians. The latter have a discourse that challenges fixed ideas of tradition and Afro-

Peruvian stereotypes, while the former produce the official discourse of the band which is very similar to the one of the *indigenistas:* an essentialist and instrumentalist vision of Afro-Peruvian identity. Novalima is an excellent example of how individuals and a single social space can both reproduce and challenge discriminatory practices in different moments. Added to this, I will discuss how government institutions have used Novalima as a symbol of Peruvian identity underscoring the essentialist aspects of the band's discourse.

Chapter 3 is about Dengue Dengue Dengue, a cumbia bass project made up of two middle class producers who grew up in Lima in the chaotic 1980s. I will describe how Perú's precarious modernity has trapped urban middle classes in a liminal space where tradition is close but foreign at the same time, and modernity is a dream that seems to be close but never arrives. Their music is a representation of that detachment; in it both tradition and modernity are treated as de-territorialized commodities that are sampled and mixed in a cultural collage. They share world music's and *indigenismo's* interest in generating an art that bridges tradition and modernity, but they do it in a cynical way, without any interest in being loyal to authenticity discourses. They are an interesting example of contemporary virtual identities in Lima, a mega-city in the margins of modernity.

Chapter 4 talks about Tomás Tello, a middle class musician who combines experimental electronics with an array of Peruvian and foreign traditions. Tomás Tello is a cult figure in national and international experimental music circuits, but virtually

unknown in mainstream, intellectual and artistic circuits in Perú, due to his reluctance to comply with the aesthetic demands of the official discourses. Out of the four case studies, he is the most subversive, with an active criticism of the modernity/tradition dichotomy. For him, the only way out of the hegemony of Western modernity is to destroy the modernity/tradition binary.

The conclusions focus on the way in which the colonial side of modernity has managed to prevail in Peruvian society. To do so I draw a metaphorical parallel between the domestication of dogs and the way in which modernity is modifying traditions around the world, encouraging tame interculturalities and eliminating rebellious ones. I end the dissertation with the presentation of some music I composed, as a final attempt to talk about Peruvian identity without using the seemingly unescapable modernity/tradition dichotomy language, which this dissertation has examined and possibly reproduced.

This dissertation does not touch upon an important subject such as economical statistics of the music market in Perú. Unfortunately, there is not enough information available, and there is a highly informal economy that lives outside of the official world. Also, the decision to pick only four cases was a loss in terms of statistics, however it allowed me to do an in depth analysis of each case which would have not been possible if the sample was broader.

The criteria for selection of the four cases was the following; I wanted four artists that represented the main spaces where the combination between Afro-Latin music and

electronics take place in Perú: EDM, Peruvian cumbia, world music and experimental electronic music. I wanted each of the cases to be symbolically important for the Peruvian identity debate, and that the diversity of their music genres and socio-cultural backgrounds could cover a spectrum broad enough to exemplify cultural dynamics in contemporary Peruvian society. I also wanted them to have an important network of information that included a press archive, relationships with government institutions, and a body of work dealing with afro-Latin music, electronics, modernity and tradition for at least one decade. Novalima, Tomás Tello, Dengue Dengue Dengue and Los Shapis were the ones who matched these requirements. Many artists were left out and no women were selected (although several are mentioned along the dissertation, such as Laura Robles, DJ Shushupe, Rossy War and Ruth Karina). I am conscious of these absences, but I am confident that my selection criteria has been the best possible for the interest of my research.

Chapter 1: Los Shapis, the Soundtrack for Andean Modernity

Los Shapis are one of the most popular chicha[6] (also known as Peruvian cumbia or Andean cumbia) bands. Their main audience is comprised of working class Andean populations that came to Lima from rural areas in a migration process that started in the 1950s. Los Shapis were among the first artists to talk directly to that population, and proudly say "*somos provincianos*" (we are from the countryside), in spite of the general discrimination against Andean culture. The story of Los Shapis exemplifies the development of a modernity that includes Andean traditions, as an answer to the historical exclusion of Andean populations from the official modern project.

Chicha is a complex intercultural collage, it combines cumbia (which is originally from Colombia), huayno (a genre from the Peruvian Andes), Afro-Cuban music, and American rock, among other genres. This eclectic mixture reflects the experience of Andean populations in the capital city, and challenges official essentialist discourses that link Andean culture with tradition.

As I will show in this the chapter, Los Shapis have been neglected by mainstream popular culture, the music industry, and government policies because of their hybridity, even when they are one of the most popular bands in Perú. The story of Los Shapis illustrates how regardless of institutionalized discrimination, Andean

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[6] The name chicha comes from one of the first hits of the genre: “La Chichera” (the chicha maker) by Los Demonios del Mantaro. Chicha is an Andean drink made of fermented corn.

populations managed to create their own version of modernity and citizenship, and become one of the strongest socio-cultural forces in contemporary Perú.

1.1 Los Shapis: a famous and infamous band

Los Shapis are very famous in Perú. Not only were they the first Andean migrant band to be featured on mainstream TV, but they were arguably the first Peruvian artists to sell out the national stadium for their 1984 show. However, their fame represents different things to different people. For Andean migrants they symbolize success and modernity. For the mainstream they represent hybridity and the degeneration of Andean traditions.

I remember watching them on TV when I was very young, around 1985. Until then I had heard chicha only in the streets. In my middle class home, as in many others, it was assumed that Peruvian cumbia was for working class people, and that it was a hybrid, a music of low quality. Unlike any other pop stars, Los Shapis sang in an Andean style, but used synthesizers and electric guitars. They wore uniforms that imitated pop bands from the 80s, but their band name was a Quechua word. It was definitely something new for mainstream media.

Every time Julio Simeón, the singer of Los Shapis, appeared on TV, he was asked to do his characteristic dance move; he jumped and turned around in the air, and

everybody laughed. It seemed that the TV hosts were only interested in making fun of him, and not in the music, and it also seemed that Julio Simeón did not mind.

I remember that his presence on media had an impact on my school friends, who ridiculed Simeón. Simeón was now a symbol of "cholo" culture. The term cholo is a racist way to describe *mestizos* and Andean populations that migrated from rural to urban areas. It can be used as an insult, or to classify something as tacky. However, in the last 10 years, Andean migrant economy has become an important force in Perú, and the word cholo has become a source of pride for Andean migrants who see cholo culture as a symbol of progress against all odds. Los Shapis are a symbol of cholo culture, they represent the emergence of a new Andean modernity and are a subversion of the historical exclusion of Andeans from the official world.

In the following section I will describe how Los Shapis became the cultural heroes for young Andean audiences who were looking for something fresh: a music that could represent their new urban life without leaving behind their rural background.

1.2 Andean migration and the development of chicha culture

The arrival of Jaime Moreyra to the capital city. Jaime Moreyra and Julio Simeón are the two leaders and the only stable members of Los Shapis over the 30 years if its existence. Moreyra is in charge of the composition, arrangements, and lyrics, while Simeón is in charge of the image of the band. Moreyra says:

> "I'm the composer, Julio is the showman. We are a team, and we have given an example to other chicha bands with our work ethic. That is why we have been around for so long. We are professionals giving it our all to our audience". (J. Moreyra, personal communication, February 10, 2015).

Jaime Moreyra was born in Puno in 1952. His mother took him to Cuzco, then to Arequipa and then finally to Lima. They arrived in the district of Comas in 1960 in the back of a truck. Comas is an emblematic district because it was one of the first locations of the so called *invasiones* that took place in Lima starting in the 1950s. In these *invasiones*, people from all over the country came to the city looking for a better future. They organized themselves and took over abandoned private property, plantations, or desert areas owned by the government in the outskirts of the city. They built houses using sticks, cardboards, and pieces of plastic. Moreyra's mother came to Lima to take part on one of the *invasiones*. Moreyra, who was 8 years old then, remembers clearly the scene[7]:

> It was 1 a.m. We went to a field, and waited by the railroad. A place called Pampa de la Cueva, close to the National University of Engineering. People used to do that back in the day: they invaded agricultural fields. We stood there waiting. It was very cold and we were covering ourselves with pieces of plastic. I remember my piece of plastic was too small and would not cover my feet. We waited by the railroad and at 1 am we went on and put this little tent on the piece of land that would become our new home. (J. Moreyra, personal communication, November 28, 2014).

[7] All interviews have been translated from Spanish to English.

Moreyra grew up in Lima and managed to be accepted in the National University of Engineering, next to the field they invaded. Because it was a tuition-free public university, it was very hard to get accepted given the large amount of applications. However, he never finished his degree because music took over his life, a life which ran parallel to one of the most turbulent times in Peruvian history.

The fraught modernization of Perú. During the 1950s, around the time when Moreyra was born, modernization trends started to blossom in Latin America. This happened in the post World War II period when hegemonic powers around the world started to invest in technology, subsidize agriculture and promote exports. The Peruvian government attempted to industrialize the country with the support of developed countries. The approach was to encourage the growth of cities while ostracizing the already impoverished rural areas, a strategy which generated even more social inequality.

Perú started to import food from Europe and the U.S, and to provide developed countries with cheap labor. Mignolo argues that these economic changes were a by-product of the expansion of modernity and its "Anglo-American market ideology… linked to the rising fortunes of neoliberal politic forces." (Mignolo 2005 p.284).

In the 1970s the crisis reached a peak: while hegemonic nations made a profit out the new economic system, countries like Perú suffered serious problems, especially in the Andean regions which based their economy on small scale agriculture. Made up of

Andean populations in rural areas, the peasant movement grew and acquired a national scale for the first time in Perú. The landowning class was so weakened that it could not oppose the left oriented agrarian reform imposed by the military dictatorship of Juan Velasco Alvarado in 1969. Nevertheless, the reform failed to deal with the massive migrations to Lima, and with the impoverishment of rural areas.

The benefits of modernization took place only in the capital city, increasing the gap between urban and rural areas. Perú became a country absolutely centralized in Lima[8] as millions of peasants migrated to the capital city in a process similar to the transition experienced in Europe a century before, but without an industry capable of providing work or services for the migrants.

The rise of authenticity discourses went hand in hand with the economical modernization of Perú and the arrival of rural populations to urban areas. As Guss (2000) has argued, authenticity is at the core of the construction of modernity`s subaltern alterities. Bendix (1997) states that behind the glorification of the authenticity of tradition there is an exclusion of the cultural characteristics that are incompatible with the modern project.

It is no coincidence that authenticity discourses became stronger as Andean migrants were starting to create their own cultural representations of modernity in the city. The authenticity discourses were a strategy of hegemonic forces trying to control the social changes taking place, while the hybrid cultural expressions were a

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[8] Today Lima has almost half of the population of the country: 10 out of 24 million people (Manrique 2000).

representation of the migrants' demands of inclusion. As I will demonstrate later, Los Shapis are one of the main examples of that hybrid cultural production.

Modernity destroyed rural economy and at the same time blocked the access of Andean migrants to urban areas and the benefits of Western development. Andean populations were caught between nostalgic authenticity discourses that praised the long gone Inca past, and essentialisms which condemned their hybrid and modern urban cultural practices such as chicha music. As an adaptation strategy, Andean migrants created a culture of their own in the margins of the official world: "chicha culture" (Cotler 1978).

Chicha Culture. A 1984 article I found in Los Shapis' press archive is an interesting example of how the official world saw the development "chicha culture" in Lima. Jose María Salcedo's article "El poder de la chicha" (the power of chicha) in *Quehacer,* an upper middle class magazine, narrates what is going on in a concert of Los Shapis. The article describes Salcedo's surprise at such a massive movement. Salcedo speaks as if he were visiting a foreign land:

> Who are they? House maids of San Isidro, Miraflores[9].… They are informal[10] salesmen, illegal public transportation drivers.… Total: fifteen thousand.… Are they de-naturalizing national folklore? Jaime Moreyra -who's real name is not

[9] Both San Isidro and Miraflores are upper class neighborhoods.

[10] Informal is the term used to talk about para-legal businesses developed by Andean migrants, which included illegal importation of products, piracy and tax evasion.

> Jaime Moreyra but Venturo García Mercado- does not think so: 'Thanks to us more people know about our folklore, because our music is based on our folklore. We play huaynos, santiagos, carnavales[11], but with electronic instruments so it spreads to a broader audience. (Salcedo 1984 p.21)

The question about the de-naturalization of folklore in the quote is an example of how hegemonic groups try to control cultural practices through ideas of authenticity. As Bourdieu has discussed (1961), new aesthetics that challenge stereotypes will be delegitimized as inauthentic. For the essentialist ear, Los Shapis' music is a de-naturalization of tradition. For Moreyra it is an innovation that appeals to a new urban audience that wanted to be modern and traditional at the same time.

The comment on Moreyra's real name also reflects a form of discrimination. "Venturo" is a name that can be associated with an Andean background. Do Los Shapis have the right to change their name like any other artist? Or should they remain authentic, or as Llorens puts it, "in their indigenous place" (2001 p.21)?

Note that the quoted paragraph opens with the question "Who are they?". The question draws a line between the official "us" and a marginal "them". Note also the emphasis on the marginal professions of the attendants: underpaid maids of upper-class house holds, illegal merchants and drivers. As Rosaldo has argued, the construction of a group as a cultural "other" is a way of hegemonic control (Rosaldo 1991). Los Shapis, and the 15,000 attendants, were contesting that control with their hybrid practices. The question "who are they?" also shows that the mainstream was

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[11] Huayno, santiagos and carnavales are all Andean genres.

oblivious to the needs of Andean populations, and to the rapid expansion of chicha culture in the margins of society (Romero 2008).

The misunderstanding of Andean modernity and the outbreak of the internal war. The exclusion of Andean populations was a time bomb which finally exploded in 1980, with the uprising of Shining Path and MRTA (*Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru*), which led to an internal war[12] that lasted until 1992. The subversive groups promised a better future for Andean populations. However, rural Andean peoples were caught in the middle of a cross-fire (Degregori 1990); in the end they were the main deathly victims of the insurgent movements and para-military groups.

Shining Path was a terrorist group founded by Abimael Guzmán, which killed approximately 12,500 people, of which the majority were Andean peasants. Their Maoist model pretended to isolate the peasant communities from the influence of modernity, denying the fact that in reality there was a complex dialogue between modernity and tradition going on in the Andean world for a long time. In the name of their cultural revolution, Shining Path carried out mass murders of populations that did not support them, and killed many of the grassroots leaders of the Andean migrants in Lima.

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[12] Usually the term civil war is avoided to describe this period of Peruvian history since there was no fragmentation of the national army and because Sendero Luminoso, the main insurgent group, was a radical terrorist movement with a relatively small following.

On the other hand, the government was ordering mass executions and illegal arrests of peasants and migrants, with a total lack of understanding of the relationship between Andean populations and the terrorist movement. Academia was also ineffective in making sense of the complex and dynamic processes of Andean society. Functionalist and structuralist theories spread in Latin America as a part of the global expansion of modernity and contributed to static visions of culture (Owen 1994). As Starn has argued, many social scientists

> tended to ignore the intensifying interlinkage of Perú's countryside and cities … [portraying] contemporary highland peasants as outside of the flow of modern history. Imagery of Andean life as little changed since the Spanish conquest has stretched across discursive boundaries during the 20th century to become a central motif in the writings of novelists, politicians, and travelers, as well as the visual depictions of filmmakers, painters and photographers. (Starn 1991 p. 64)

The combination of all of these factors resulted in one of the most violent internal wars in Latin America, and in the complete misunderstanding of the complex relationships between tradition and modernity in the Andean world.

1.3 Los Shapis: A key to understanding Andean modernity

While the official world and the subversive movements were unable to understand the rapidly changing Andean world, Los Shapis' give us some clues for

doing so. Their discourse chronicles the lives and problems of people who demanded access to modernity in their own terms, without leaving behind their traditions.

Los Shapis: an apolitical stance? The vast majority of migrants did not support radical positions and did not subscribe to official left wing ideologies. Instead, their strategy was to occupy land in the urban peripheries and create a para-legal economy that would allow them to access the establishment without losing their traditions. They were creating a space that the government, left wing movements, or subversive groups could not provide, and chicha was the soundtrack for that liminal space.

Since their beginnings, Los Shapis distanced themselves from political groups. Their songs talk about of the life and dreams of Andean migrants but these were not dreams of revolution. They were dreams of having a space in the modern urban world. Songs like "Chofercito" (truck driver) "Ambulante soy" (I am an illegal street vendor[13]), "Mi tallercito" (my little workshop) are examples of that[14]. Los Shapis' tracks hardly ever touch political issues. As Tucker (2013) has commented, Peruvian cumbia audiences and artists were not interested in revolution or left wing discourses.

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[13] The word *ambulante* also means means "moving" in Spanish, and it refers to the fact that these illegal street vendors were constantly escaping from police harassment.

[14] Los Shapis were not the first to talk about Andean migrants in the city. Classic songs like "Muchacho Provinciano" (Kid from the countryside) by Chacalon preceded them, but Los Shapis were one of the first bands to use their Andean background as their main discourse.

One of the few songs[15] that talks about politics in an indirect way is "Somos estudiantes" (we are students). During the internal war many students (especially the ones coming from the working class and of Andean ethnicity), were harassed by the military and accused of belonging to terrorist movements. "We are students; we are not terrorists" was a common slogan heard in protests in the streets. But the lyrics of "Somos estudiantes" are not subversive. On the contrary, they are a call for modernity, progress and integration into the mainstream. The lyrics hope that some day working class students will become teachers, lawyers and doctors who work for the poorest.

"Somos estudiantes" anticipated what happened 30 years later: The explosion of a modernity modified to fit the cultural needs of Andean migrants, who nowadays represent arguably the most important socio-economical force in Perú (Arellano 2012). No radical movement, politician, or social scientist could see that coming: The Andean world as the leading force of the neoliberal market in Perú.

Although Los Shapis was an apolitical band, their stance was an echo of an ongoing effective strategy of social change. Los Shapis represent a turning point in Peruvian history, their lyrics offered a new way of talking about Peruvianness, solving the opposition between Western and Andean culture. They contributed to creating the language of Andean modernity, and in that sense they were revolutionary. Simeón states that Los Shapis are "50% business, 50% cultural institution to recover Peruvian

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[15] Another song that talks about the violence of the time is "Silencio" (1986): The mother dies/the father dies/the son dies/no one knows/no one talks/total silence. The lyrics are eloquent of the difficulty of talking about those issues without becoming an enemy of either the terrorist movements or the military.

identity". Moreyra adds: "We are a symbol for migrants, the working class audience." (J. Moreyra, J. Simeón. Personal communication, November 28, 2014).

In the next section I will talk about how Los Shapis' discourse de-constructed the noble Andean savage myth and the homogeneity of Andean culture, which are two ideas that are fundamental to the opposition of tradition and modernity in the Peruvian imaginary

The choice of the name "Los Shapis" and the de-construction of the noble Andean savage myth. In the popular and official imaginary, the Inca world was a peaceful society until the Spanish arrived. This noble savage mythology is still a referent for the construction of the Peruvian nation as it provides a stable past that can be shared by all, and it disconnects Andean tradition from Western modernity. However, current archaeological and historical research shows that the Inca state was a result of complex alliances and conquests of pre-Inca groups while the Spanish colonial system was built based on strategic political negotiations with Inca and pre-Inca networks (Rostworowski 2012).

Simeón and Moreyra's choice for the band name is not random. They took it from the warriors of the Chupaca ethnicity who resisted the Inca expansion for a very long time. While the official history talks about the "Inca empire" as the ideal of authenticity, depicting it as a unified past that glues together the idea of Peruvianness, Moreyra has a different opinion:

> I am from Sicuani. I am an Asno Sua, a term used for the Aymaras who came to Sicuani with cattle. There are many groups among the Andean peoples. The history of Andean culture is a history of struggle and domination. Trouble did not start with the Spanish. The Incas also invaded the Chancas, the Huancas, many other pre-Inca cultures, who had also invaded others. We are fighters. That is why we chose the name 'Los Shapis', the Huanca warriors. (J. Moreyra, personal communication, November 28, 2014).

Los Shapis de-center the noble savage myth and emphasize the socio-political continuities between the Spanish and Andean political systems. Rostworowski (2012) has shown that the powerful Inca state fell not because of the superiority of the Spanish army, or the fear of the naive Inca population in the face of European technologies as many legends have suggested. The Spanish victory was a consequence of the fragility of the Inca legitimacy among a variety of non-Inca ethnicities, and the ability of the Spanish to make political alliances.

The bonds between Spanish and local power groups survived until the end of the XVIII century, a period during which the indigenous nobility helped the Spanish to stabilize their power. The indigenous-Spanish links ended when Tupac Amaru (an Andean noble) tried to overthrow the Spanish power institutions. After the Tupac Amaru revolution was quelled, the Andean nobility privileges were abolished and the laws for the social control of Andean populations became much stricter. It was then that a series of government policies reinforced the naturalization of racial inferiority, supported by Enlightenment ideals, which established Western culture as the culmination of human evolution.

The end of the Tupac Amaru revolution represents the beginning of the erasure of the historical relationships between Andean populations and the Spanish power, and the reinforcement of the idea of the Andean world as a closed system with no connections with Western culture. The latter is key in contemporary opposition between tradition and modernity.

Los Shapis' discourse proposes an alternative history. Instead of talking about Perú's history as a "before and after" the arrival of the Spanish (as official history does) they help us understand that there are many historical connections between Western and Andean culture. In doing so they erode the modernity/tradition dichotomy that systematically excluded Andean populations from Perú's modernity.

The de-construction of Andean cultural homogeneity. The life story of Julio Simeón also problematizes the supposed homogeneity of Andean culture. He was born in Chupaca, Junín, in 1949. Unlike Moreyra, Simeón came to Lima later in his life, when he was in his twenties, when "chicha culture" was already an established movement. He never left his hometown until he came to the capital city as a member of the cumbia band Los Ovnis (the UFO's). The thing that impressed him the most was the cultural variety of Lima: "I could not believe that there were so many people together in one place. Especially being so different: people from Huancayo, Cuzco, Puno[16]. All of them

[16] Andean and Altiplanic towns.

in one noisy place. It was astonishing". (J. Simeón, personal communication, November 28, 2014).

Simeón recalls that when he got together with Jaime Moreyra the idea was to bring the local pride back. Instead of talking about Andean migrants as a unified mass (as racist discourses did, frequently using terms that implied primitivism such as "invaders" or "Indians"), they talked about specific communities, and how the precarious life conditions of the city were breaking the connections of the migrants with their towns of origin.

Moreyra says that "In the 1980s people were embarrassed to talk about their hometown. We were the first ones to say 'I am from Chupaca, I am from Sicuani". (J. Moreyra, personal communication, July 18, 2015). Andean populations were trying to adapt themselves to an urban setting where their socio-cultural networks were not effective anymore, and Los Shapis helped them to re-articulate their traditions in the urban context creating a modern language beyond racist discourses.

So far I have described how Los Shapis contributed to the creation of a new way of talking about Andean modernity. In the following section I will show how chicha music mixed different genres in order to fulfill the needs of the new urban Andean culture; it was a music that could link the traditional and the modern in a transnational level.

1.4 Chicha's sound: a hybrid bred at modernity's periphery

The style of Peruvian cumbia played by Los Shapis is known as Andean cumbia or chicha. It had its origins in the 1960s in the Mantaro valley where bands like *Los Pacharacos* and *Los Demonios del Mantaro* started to develop a Peruvian version of Colombian cumbia, combining the latter with Andean genres like huayno (Bailón 2004).

The Mantaro valley was also one of the main spaces where Los Shapis developed an audience in the 1980s. As Romero (2008) has commented, the Mantaro valley was key in the development of chicha and a *mestizo* identity. Its closeness to Lima and its economical stability facilitated a strong cultural production that combined local and international genres of music. Julio Simeón was born there, and his music background is an example of the way in which *mestizo* identities were constructed in the area.

Julio Simeón's eclectic music background. Simeón was studying to be a school teacher, but his true love was music, so he started studying classical singing technique with a private instructor on the side. He wanted to be an opera singer, specifically of zarzuelas, a Spanish operatic genre favored among Lima's upper classes until the first half of the XX century. Nowadays, zarzuelas are a symbol of an old aristocratic Lima which is slowly disappearing (Arellano 2012).

Simeón was torn between his desire to become a serious zarzuela singer and his love for huayno, the most popular Andean genre. Simeón found a middle ground between those two distinct musical genres through his involvement with new wave of young musicians playing Peruvian cumbia. One of those bands, Los Ovnis (the UFO's), asked Julio to join them. At first he thought it was a joke, because he did not know he could sing cumbia. But after the audition they hired him instantly, and he realized that the combination of classical technique and Andean singing style would be the key to his success.

Simeón was embarrassed to tell his zarzuela teacher that he was going to be a cumbia singer, but his teacher supported him. Simeón's embarrassment reflects the power of the hierarchical dichotomy between popular and Western classical music, and the exclusion of hybrid genres such as Peruvian cumbia. Simeón's decision to combine the worlds of classical and popular music was critical for the sound of Los Shapis, and represented the clashes and encounters between Andean tradition and modernity.

Jaime Moreyra's music influences. Moreyra is an autodidact. He told me that his first idol was Manolo Galván, a famous ballad singer from Spain, and he learned guitar by playing Galván's songs. Years later he heard the music of the pioneers of Peruvian tropical music on the radio, such as Los Destellos, and knew that that was what he wanted to do. Another important influence was pop from the U.S: "Michael Jackson was big on the radio", says Moreyra, "and this made me become more

interested in electronics and synths". (J. Moreyra, personal communication, November 28, 2014). As I will show later, the combination of the eclectic backgrounds of Moreyra and Simeón can be heard in their music. Los Shapis is the product of a transnational Andean urban experience.

Why cumbia? But how did a Colombian genre such as cumbia become such an important identity symbol for Peruvians? According to Pacini (2009) cumbia and other Afro-Latin genres like Dominican merengue, Cuban son, Puerto Rican salsa, and reggaeton have been appropriated by urban working classes all over Latin America, taking their own shape in different countries.

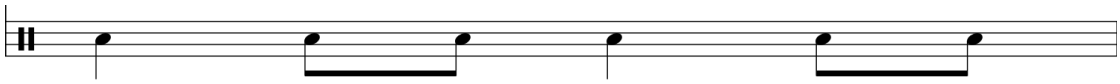

Figure 1. Basic huayno rhythm pattern, same as güiro pattern of Colombian cumbia

Jaime Moreyra explained that tropical rhythms were in style in the 1970s and among them, cumbia was the favorite for Andean audiences because it had a danceable rhythm similar to huayno. Figure 1 shows the basic huayno rhythmic cell, which is the same as the Colombian cumbia güiro pattern. Huayno's rhythmic feel blended extremely well with one specific kind of cumbia: the chucu chucu. Unlike traditional Afro-Colombian cumbia, chucu chucu is less syncopated and accents the

downbeat. The term chucu chucu is a sonic reference to the lack of syncopation of the genre, and to the huayno/güiro pattern (Osorio 2009).

The term chucu chucu has also derogatory connotations, it is associated with the hybrid culture of Andean working class populations in new urban contexts, just like the term chicha, as I will explain in more detail later. The chucu chucu cumbia style comes from Colombia's Andean region, and took root in Ecuador and Perú "becoming closely linked to local cultures and identities of those nations" (Pacini 2009 p. 119). Peruvian cumbia musicians took chucu chucu and accentuated its similarities with huayno.

Pacini also mentions that Afro-Latin genres were important because they had a trans-national presence in Latin America, but did not come from Europe or the U.S, allowing the construction of a Latin American cosmopolitan yet non-Western music culture. As Mignolo (2011) has discussed, cosmopolitanism is an imperative of modernity, but it has been defined from the Western center to the periphery by hegemonic forces. This follows Kant's idea of cosmopolis, mentioned in the introduction: the application of Enlightenment at a global scale, which utilizes Western culture as the point of departure and as the ultimate ideal. Afro-Latin music, on the other hand, generates a transnational dialogue bypassing the hegemonic modernity map. With Afro-Latin music, Latin American working classes were able to feel cosmopolitan without depending on the cultural production of the west. This working class cosmopolitanism is reflected in the way in which Los Shapis promote themselves, as "*Los Internacionales Shapis*".

Peruvian cumbia provided Andean populations with not only a transnational urban element that connected them with modernity, but also with a space for sensuality that was forbidden for them in the past. Sensuality is not compatible with official ideas of Andean tradition and authenticity (Cánepa 2001). As Foucault (2003) states, the control of pleasure is key in the construction of hegemony, and Andean culture has definitely been deprived of any sensual or sexual expressions in Perú's official world. Afro-Latin musics, on the other hand, have been constructed as sexualized genres, just like many musics of the African diaspora. That is why cumbia opened a door for new forms of pleasure that were required and needed by Andean migrants in the modern Lima. It allowed them to express their sensuality with a rhythm similar to huayno.

It must be said, however, that the African diasporic origins of cumbia have been erased in its Peruvian version. In an interview to Monica Carrillo, an Afro-Peruvian performer and activist, she told me that

> If you ask an Afro-Peruvian person about Peruvian cumbia, they will tell you that they do not identify with it at all. They will tell you that something is missing. I am talking about the popular imaginary, not about musicians or intellectuals. I am talking about common people who are into Afro-Peruvian music. Even my little niece told me once: 'aunt why do people dance cumbia jumping up and down? I like to move more!'. It is because all of the syncopation of Colombian cumbia has been taken away. All the Afro feel has been replaced by a huayno feel." (M. Carrillo, personal communication, August 18, 2015).

Andean musicians and audiences never had the intention of affirming a black identity (Vila 2013). Instead, they appropriated Colombian cumbia and represented it as

Figure 2. Ramones' *Road to Ruin* and *Los Autenticos Shapis* album covers

an Andean genre. In general, all the origins of the different genres used in Peruvian cumbia have been erased in order to create something totally new, something that Andean migrants could feel as their own. The history of Peruvian cumbia is a de-localized dynamic of constructing identities, using whatever referent is at hand.

Is it really cumbia? In Andean cumbia, or chicha, we can hear influences from Colombian cumbia, unorthodox instrumentations for Afro-Latin genres, such as processed electric guitars and synths, and references to genres such as rock and Afro-Cuban son, which give chicha a unique identity (Romero 2007) that distinguishes it from Colombian cumbia.

An example of the eclecticism of chicha is Los Shapis' first hit: "El Aguajal", released in the album *Los Auténticos Shapis* (1981). The album cover imitates the one of *Road to Ruin* by the Ramones (1978) (figure 2). This similarity shows the band's interest in connecting their Andean aesthetic to a modern, hip, and cosmopolitan image. It also speaks to the sound of the album: electric guitars, synths, and lyrics talking about the lives of working class people, just like the Ramones did[17].

"El Aguajal" was inspired in a traditional huayno called "El Alizal". Moreyra stated that " "El Alizal" was a hit among old Andean populations. Our version, "El Aguajal", became popular among young audiences who wanted to dance and have fun in the city, remembering their roots but in a new style. (J. Moreyra, personal communication, February 10, 2015). In "El Aguajal" there is a rich and subtle rhythmical interaction between the keyboards, two guitars, bass and 3 percussionists. The arrangements are minimalist: repetitive rhythmical patterns, over very simple harmonies. Each section of the song has a detail that makes it unique.

In 0:15 to 0:25 the bass, conga, and güiro do a standard cumbia pattern (Figure 4, click here for audio). However, the timbales, keyboard melody, and the overall attack of the rhythm section, accent quarter notes 1 and 3, making it closer to the the basic rhythmic cell of huayno (Figure 1), therefore differentiating it from Colombian cumbia.

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[17] Chacalon, predecessor of Los Shapis, also made a reference to rock in his public image: he named his band La Nueva Crema (the new cream) after the British rock band.

The guitar plays a melody in a typical Andean pentatonic scale, using a phrasing common in huaynos. (see also figure 4).

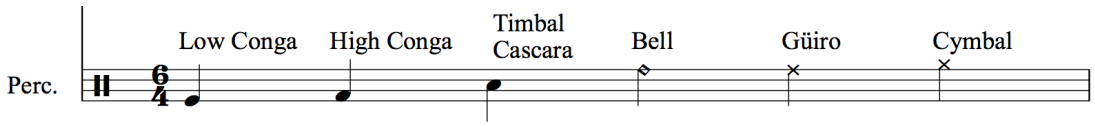

Figure 3: Percussion symbols

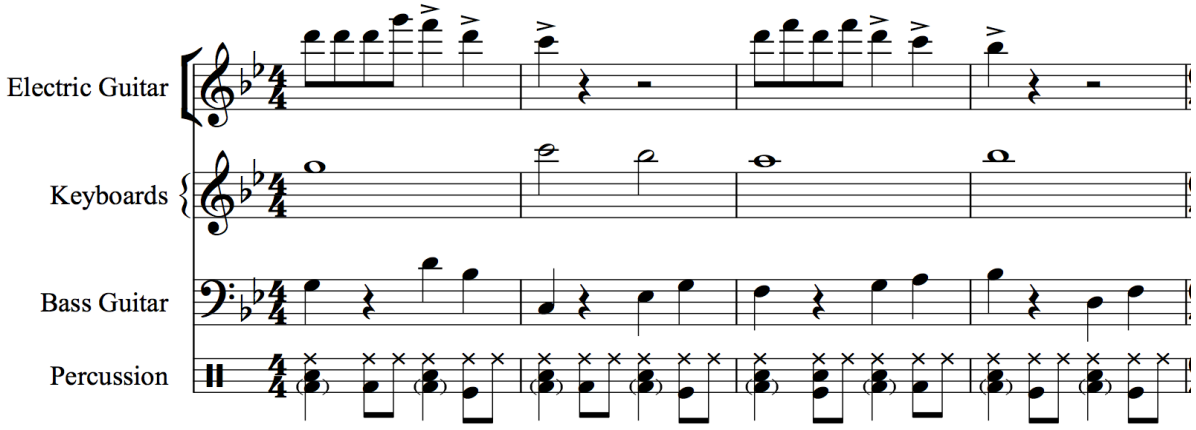

Figure 4. “El Aguajal" 0:15 to 0:25 (click for audio)

In 0:36 the bass goes to a hybrid Afro-Cuban son pattern (Figure 5, click for audio). I call it hybrid because it is similar to a standard son pattern but also plays all of the first quarter notes in the bar, so it is not too syncopated and fits with the cumbia pattern which is still played by the congas. Many artists used this kind of bass pattern in boogaloo in the 70s, making Afro-Cuban rhythms less syncopated and more danceable for audiences in the U.S and Europe. Electric guitar number one plays a melody which is more syncopated than that of Figure 4, accenting the fourth sixteenth note, resembling the montuno of Afro-Cuban son which can be played by a piano or tres, but keeping the phrasing style of huayno guitar. The Afro-Cuban montuno feel is enhanced by the electronic keyboard which plays the pattern that would be played by the bass in an Afro-Cuban son.

The line played on the cymbal is halfway between a cumbia güiro pattern and a huayno rhythmic phrase, keeping an overall balance between the Afro-Cuban feel of the guitar, synthesizer and bass, and the cumbia pattern played on the congas. Guitar number two also adds an interesting polyrhythm in an Afro-cuban style, but emphasizes the first quarter note of every bar, keeping it close to huayno and cumbia.

The eclectic combinations between huayno, cumbia, and son, make chicha a unique genre, different from Colombian cumbia. It is a product of the life of Andean immigrants, who created a space of their own to express their modernity and tradition with whatever cultural resources they had at hand.

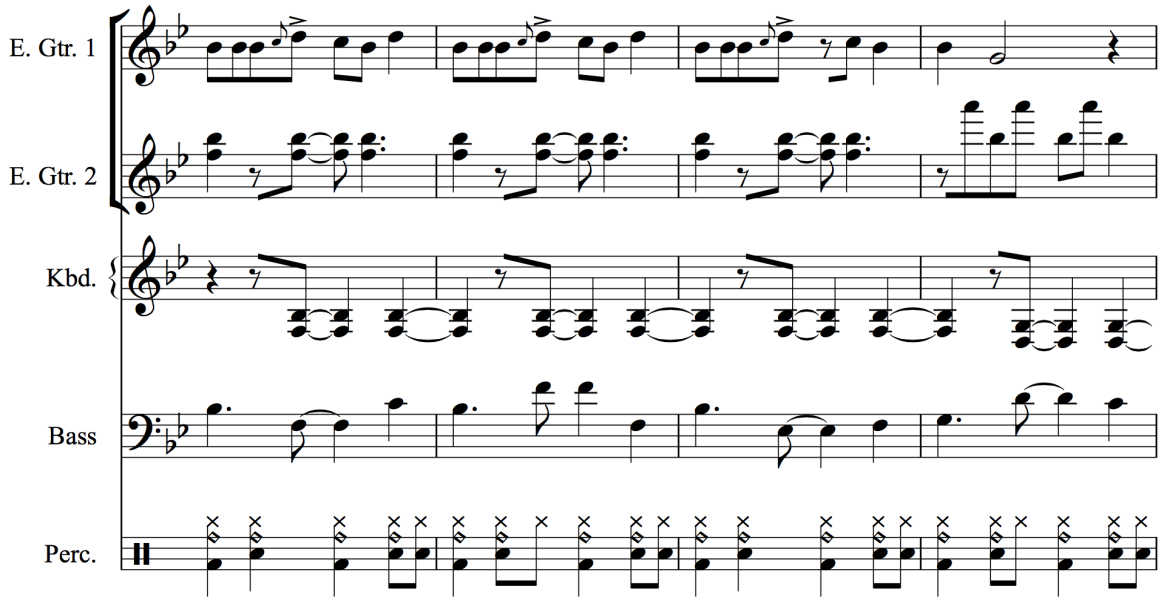

Figure 5. “El Aguajal" 0:44-0:48 (click for audio)

It’s not cumbia, It’s chicha. For Jaime Moreyra Peruvian cumbia is not cumbia, it should be called chicha:

> It's not cumbia. Cumbia is a Colombian genre, and I assure you that any Colombian musician will tell you that we are not playing cumbia. Chicha is the way it should be called. It is an original genre. It's a mixture. It's the feeling of the Andean people. (J. Moreyra, personal communication, November 28, 2014).

The combination of Colombian elements with Cuban music, huayno, zarzuela, pop and rock, and the attitude of taking anything you have at hand to create something new, fit perfectly the taste of Andean migrants’ “chicha culture”. But nowadays most

musicians, academics and critics prefer to use the term Peruvian cumbia instead of chicha due to the discriminatory history of the word chicha. Chicha acquired a negative connotation in its connection to migrant culture. For the elites, it implied disorganization and disrespect for the law. It has also become an adjective to classify the preferences of the nouveau riche, “hybrid” forms of tradition, or anything lacking good taste according to elitist discourses.

Nevertheless, Los Shapis have embraced the term chicha to distinguish their sound from Colombian cumbia, and as a statement of pride in the face of discrimination. Proof of this can be found in the titles of some of their most popular albums: Dulcemente Chicha (1987), Rica Chicha (1988), Cinco Estrellas en Chicha (1988), Vientos de Chicha (1993), and Chicha con Saya (1998)[18].

1.5 Los Shapis' Andean sound: the reason for their success and for their exclusion

The Andean sound of chicha. During the 1990s and 2000s Peruvian cumbia was increasingly accepted by the elites, and became the most important genre in mainstream radio and a symbol of the Peruvian crossover between modernity and tradition. Nowadays Peruvian cumbia is often used in marketing campaigns and government advertisements, as Andean migrants have become the most important and

[18]Sweet Chicha, Delicious Chicha, Five Stars in Chicha, Winds of Chicha, and Chicha with Saya.

fastest growing market in Perú (Arellano 2012). However, being a target market does not necessarily imply inclusion as Manrique (2000) points out.

An example of how presence in marketing campaigns is not an indicator of inclusion is the fact that the style of Peruvian cumbia that has been embraced by the official world is the most conservative one, one that does not sound "too Andean" as music curator Olivier Conan[19] stated in an interview (O. Conan, personal communication, July 19, 2014). As I will discuss in more detail later, chicha is a Peruvian cumbia style with a strong Andean influence, while there are other Peruvian cumbia styles that have actively erased any Andean traits due to the mainstream's discrimination against Andean music.

Alfaro (2014) argues that historically, elites have tried to control the aesthetics of traditional cultures in Perú. However, it has been difficult for them to essentialize Andean culture as it is very strong and alive.The majority of the population in Perú is of Andean descent, and Andean culture has a long history of adaptability, hybridity, and ability to blend tradition and modernity. This is why the government and official institutions prefer less Andean forms of cumbia, because it is easier to manipulate them as a symbol of Peruvianness with clear boundaries between tradition and modernity. On the subject, the sociologist stated that

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[19] Olivier Conan is French a promoter of chicha around the world. He has released several compilations through his New York based label Barbes records, and leads a chicha band called Chicha Libre.

> Los Shapis were the first ones to show a class identity and to develop a social and proletarian discourse way before the left wing parties. As opposed to cumbia from the north or the Amazon, whose lyrics are about love, Los Shapis sing about a collectivity. That is why they cannot be accepted by the audiences of Barranco[20] who are not used to Andean sounds. It is easier to accept *música criolla,* Afro-Peruvian, or Amazonian music. Andean culture, on the other hand, synthesizes everything that Peruvians don't want to be." (S. Alfaro, personal communication, July 10, 2014)

Jaime Moreyra and Julio Simeón are very close to the Andean world, each in their own way. On one hand, Moreyra says that although his parents were Andean peasants, he "was not influenced directly by any traditional Andean music as opposed to Julio." (J. Moreyra, personal communication, November 28, 2014). Moreyra arrived to Lima when he was very young. He was the son of a young single mother who had to disconnect herself from her Andean social network. Moreyra did not participate directly on any traditional Andean festivities. He experienced Andean music via AM radio and through what he could hear in the streets of Lima. And he felt very close to other musics that were popular in the capital city, such as tropical genres or ballads from Spain.

Julio Simeón, on the other hand, grew up in Chupaca, a small town in Junin, and had direct contact with the Andean ceremonial calendar for the first two decades of his life. He is especially close to huayno, a genre which, as I will discuss in more detail later in this chapter, has had great musical and cultural influence over chicha.

According to Olivier Conan the Andean sound of Los Shapis "is a much harder sell with hipsters and upper classes who can relate to Amazonian cumbia or the funkier

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[20] Upper middle class bohemian neighborhood in Lima.

70's instrumental cumbia of Lima [aka elegant cumbia]". (O. Conan, personal communication, July 19, 2014)

Los Shapis use the term chicha to distinguish it from Colombian cumbia, but also from other Peruvian cumbia styles which are less Andean. One example is "elegant cumbia" which started in Lima in the 70s with Enrique Delgado. The term "elegant" is implicitly derogatory and is used to differentiate it from Andean cumbia. Nevertheless, Jaime Moreyra and Julio Simeón have internalized those ideas and use the term "elegant cumbia" too.

Other examples of non-Andean Peruvian cumbias are Amazonian cumbia (also from the 70s, with a psychedelic/surf rock sound), northern cumbia (the most popular these days which has tended towards a salsa sound), or the cumbia of Bareto, which has an Amazonian and jazzy feel, and has been a big success among upper and upper-middle classes in Perú and in world music circuits.

Elegant, Amazonian, and northern cumbia are less experimental with electronic devices, very rarely talk about controversial social issues in their lyrics, and don't have obvious Andean traits. As Alfaro discussed, those are the reasons why they are more popular than Andean cumbia in the official world: they do not criticize the modernity-tradition boundaries as openly as chicha.

Chicha and the huayno influence. In the Peruvian imaginary, huayno is one of the most important symbols of Andean authenticity. Because huayno is one of the

genres that has influenced chicha the most, many see chicha as a corruption of the authenticity of huayno. But the truth is that huayno is arguably the least traditional genre in the Andean repertoire. The construction of huayno as an authentic indigenous music erases the complex history of the genre.

From the white, hegemonic, *criollo,* and urban point of view, huayno can be imagined as rural and traditional. However, in the rural areas huayno is seen as an urban genre, while other ritual musics such as kaswhas, harawis, santiagos, uancas, are seen as traditional (Mendoza 2001). The latter genres are mentioned in historical documents written in the XVI and XVII century by Spanish and upper class mestizos. Huayno, in contrast, is vey rarely mentioned in those documents (Romero 2002).

Huayno was not very popular in pre-hispanic times, but was favored in the colonial period because it was a secular dance, not related to any Inca rituals. Hence it was not a threat to the Christian cosmogony, and became the most acceptable Andean music for the Spanish. Hence its popularity in contemporary Perú.

Nowadays huayno has become a symbol of Andean authenticity. But it is a specific kind of huayno that is seen as authentic. For the official world, Raúl García Zárate and Manuelcha Prado are some of the most important representatives of huayno. They practice the guitar style played in Ayacucho, mostly instrumental songs with technique and arrangements that draw from Western classical guitar performance style.

But there is another trend in huayno that is the most popular among the working class, *nuevo folclor*. Like chicha, it was developed in the the Mantaro valley, Andean *mestizo* cradle,. And like chicha, even though it is one of the most popular genres in the country, it is not accepted by the mainstream culture. Flor Pucarina and Picaflor de los Andes were the pioneers of *nuevo folclor*. Julio Simeón says that without the characteristic sound of Flor Pucarina and Picaflor, Los Shapis would not exist. They were the main influence on Julio's way of singing: "I tried to imitate their soulful style. They gave it their all, you could feel them, their emotions. There is also an elegance in them, a pride, and a strength, the Shapi warrior style." (J. Simeón, personal communication, November 28, 2014). Simeón's singing is key for the sound of Los Shapis: the combination between socially charged lyrics and huayno phrasing made it unique. Conan stated the following:

> Los Shapis captivated Andean migrants but never made it for the taste of official Perú. They were too Andean. To me, Los Shapis invented modern chicha. Or at least codified and popularized it. The Andean content that is explicit in their music was already there before -from Manzanita to Los Hijos del Sol and even Los Destellos, they all used huaynos. And Celeste, Chacal, Super Grupo etc. All qualified as chicha before Los Shapis started. But I think Chapulin's singing was the first to really break with the more Afro-Caribbean tradition, the *sonero* influence that plays a big part in the singing of Felix Martinez or even Chacalón". (O. Conan, personal communication, July 19, 2014)

But the influence of Flor Pucarina and Picaflor de los Andes was not only musical, it was also cultural and technological. Flor Pucarina and Picaflor modernized huayno, adapting it to the changing reality of the Andes in the 50s. Among the many

genres in the Andean repertoire, they picked huayno because it was ideal for modern times; it was a secular genre, disconnected from Andean rituals which were continuously less accepted by hegemonic guardians of Andean authenticity.

Flor Pucarina and Picaflor de Los Andes became professional musicians, and were the first modern "pop stars" of the Andean working class. They were individuals with a public image circulating in modern media, and not part of a traditional, rural and anonymous collective. Their lyrics talked about love and loss, but also started to reflect on the poverty of Andean populations, which was a result of urbanization and the arrival of modernity. They started using electronic sound amplification to reach broader audiences, and recording technologies as the main way to spread their music. They modified huayno, shortening the songs so they could be recorded on 7" records used on radio shows.

Nuevo folclor continued developing in the following decades, incorporating the Andean harp, electric bass, and electric percussion. It grew in popularity during the 80s and 90s, with mega-stars like Dina Paucar and Sonia Morales. Much like with chicha, *nuevo folclor* stars have been neglected by official cultural policies. As Turino (1988) has pointed out, this is because *nuevo folclor* has combined a "traditional" genre such as huayno with modern styles and instrumentations, making it a "hybrid" for the *indigenista* canon.

Julio Simeón thinks that these days cumbia bands have stopped exploring the Andean sound, especially when it comes to singing. He also believes that there is a

difference between the attitude of Los Shapis and the new cumbia bands: "we are interested in identity, in culture. We are not doing it only for the money, we don't change with fashion" (J. Simeón, personal communication, November 28 2014). Indeed, the most popular bands these days, such as Grupo 5 or Kaliente, have a northern cumbia sound which goes towards a salsa style, leaving behind the Andean aesthetic.

1.6 The use of electronics and the challenge of hegemonic tastes

Electronics as the "cheese factor". Los Shapis' approach to electronics is one of the factors that generates more interest from their fans. But it also makes them unsuitable for the elite's taste. Olivier Conan stated the following on the subject:

> [In comparison to other forms of cumbia] There is a greater cheese factor in Los Shapis' sound. The use of 80's keyboards, drum pads, guitars through DIs instead of amps etc, and the explicit social content of the lyrics doesn't translate well with middle class people or hipsters.(O. Conan, personal communication, July 19, 2014)

Why is Los Shapis' approach to technology "cheesy"? The fact that Andean populations are appropriating modern technologies represents an unacceptable transgression for the elites. It creates the possibility of a new order, blurring the frontier between tradition and modernity; a frontier that, as I have analyzed earlier, is fundamental to the modern project. Bourdieu explains that the rejection of cheesiness is an important way of guarding of the social status quo. "Good taste works as a sense of

social orientation, a sense of one's place. It orients the occupiers of a specific social slot in the social positions that correspond them" (Bourdieu 1961 p.96).

By making aesthetic judgments we all police boundaries of social structures, and the rejection of cheesiness is an example of that control. Los Shapis' approach to technology is seen as cheesy also because of its precariousness. Modernity has an obsession with newness and technological innovation (Thompson 2002), and anything which sounds outdated will be rejected.

As Jaime Moreyra commented in a quote lines above, the electronic sounds used in Los Shapis' music was inspired by the music of pop stars like Michael Jackson. He added: "Of course we kept it simple because we could not have access to those instruments, there was no money. We just had delay and fuzz tone pedals and Casiotone keyboards". (J. Moreyra, personal communication, February 10, 2015).

If we compare the equipment of Los Shapis with that used by the U.S or European artists, there is a precarious and "latecomer" feel in the music of the Peruvian band, which also contributes to the "cheesiness". And there is no way out of that conundrum, since most of the innovations in music technologies are developed in the U.S and Europe. Nevertheless, Los Shapis' recycling of electronics is very creative, and they managed to create their own aesthetic ignoring the taste judgments of the elites.

Example no.1 of the use of electronics in Los Shapis' music: experimental introductions. Many 80s chicha bands used the first seconds of their songs for

electronic experimentation. I use Collins and Schedel's definition of experimental electronic music: "rich musics that have grown through the enthusiasm and craft of practitioners on the fringes of popular music, or just simply exploring their own path in alternative and underground culture." (Collins & Schedel 2013 p. 136). The use of introductions for experimentalism was almost a contest of who could come up with the most unexpected textures using electronic devices in a brief lapse of time, but not demanding to much attention timespan from the listener. It was a modernist or avant-garde gesture within the boundaries of popular music.

An interesting example is the intro of the song "El Aguajal" which consists of a melody played by two guitars. Bongos and cymbals are doing sustained ambient sounds, and then a filtered white noise synth sound fades in (click to listen to sample). The attack and rhythm of the melody are almost robotic, recalling an 8-bit aesthetic, and the use of white noise gives it a futuristic feel.

Other examples are "El chofercito" (click to listen to sample) where the Mexican classic "La Cucaracha" is played on a new wave style synth. In "Somos Estudiantes" there is a synth arpeggiator doing a saya[21] (click to listen to sample). In all of these cases there is a contrast between the robotic feel of the intro and the human danceable groove coming after. This is another example of how Los Shapis were playing fearlessly and with some sense of humor in the frontiers of modernity and tradition, innovating with the technology they had at hand.

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[21] Saya is a genre from the highlands of Puno and Bolivia, and the pan flute also comes from that area.

Example no.2 of the use of electronics in Los Shapis' music: Electric guitars and electronic effects. According to Moreyra one of the things that distinguishes chicha from other genres is the use of electric guitar techniques such as short glissandos, grace notes, string pulling, and vibrato[22], which come from the traditional acoustic guitar of *música criolla*[23] and Andean music. Moreyra commented that

> First there were the "sonoras" in the 60s, doing Cuban son, guaracha and Colombian cumbia. Then came the pioneers of the Peruvian electric guitar style, who developed their sound in those bands in the 70s. Enrique Delgado y sus Destellos, Manzanita y su conjunto and Marino Valencia among others. Those were bands that imposed a blend between Afro-Latin musics and traditional Peruvian genres in a very subtle way, and the most important trademark was the way in which they played the guitar". (J. Moreyra, personal communication, November 28, 2014).

The fact that traditional acoustic guitar techniques are played using an electric instrument such as the electric guitar, with an extensive use of delay, overdrive and wah wah pedals that come from rock aesthetics, destabilize the frontier between tradition and modernity. Moreyra says that:

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[22] Examples of this are the grace notes and accents in figures 3 and 4.

[23] *Música Criolla* is a genre that developed in the first decades of the XX century in Lima among white criollos and urban *mestizos,* with influences from European genres such as waltz and polka, and Afro-Peruvian music. I will talk in depth about *música criolla* in chapter 2.

> People are surprised when they realize that me or any chicha musicians can play rock, Andean or *música criolla.* They can't believe that we were doing gigs playing every genre, all the time, to make money. But that was normal for us. We had to play everything in order to survive. And we brought all those influences to the chicha style of playing". (J. Moreyra, personal communication, November 28, 2014).

The characteristic electric guitar sound of Los Shapis, which mixes a myriad of genres, has been appealing to their fans, and rejected by their detractors who accuse them of dis-respecting the authenticity of Andean traditions. The cumbia styles that have made it to the mainstream have left behind the chicha guitar style. On the subject Jaime Moreyra has said: "It is true that we cannot hear Andean cumbia in mainstream media, and the use of Andean style guitar has been abandoned. However, it is also true that audiences are looking for new trends, and that is natural." (J. Moreyra, personal communication, July 18 2015). Moreyra added that there are other electronic devices that replaced the sound of the guitar:

> The 60s were heavily influenced by Cuban music. Then came the wave of electric guitars combined with the "sonora" sounds in the 1970s in elegant cumbia. Then came the chicha in the 1980s with the use of synths and guitars with effects such as flangers, delays, chorus, that followed the path of pop that came from the U.S, and also Andean music. We still used "real" percussion: bongos, congas, bells. The 1990s brought techno-cumbia, which left aside guitars and emphasized keyboards and electronic percussion. After this, in the 1990s and 2000s the orchestras from the north brought in brasses, in a salsa style. Each decade has its own sound." (J. Moreyra, personal communication, July 18 2015).

Through the decades, Los Shapis have changed their instrumentation. They incorporated electronic percussions and brass instruments in the 1980s. These days

they use a synthesizer, two electric guitars, congas, bongos, timbales, and electronic percussion in their live shows.

In the next section I will analyze how hegemonic discourses have dismissed the importance of Los Shapis, and also describe the strategies that Simeón and Moreyra carry out to gain recognition from the establishment.

1.7 In search of official recognition

It took a lot of pride and perseverance for Los Shapis to register their sound in the mainstream culture. They had to fight against the rejection of media, upper classes, and the official world. Jaime Moreyra recalls that

> When we started in the 80s, people rejected tropical and Andean music. But when they got drunk they could even sing a huayno in Quechua. Some of them were embarrassed to accept that they liked it. But when people are honest with themselves, and let go of their prejudices, they feel good, because our music is the mixture of everything that you can hear in Perú. Slowly authorities are recognizing us. For example, recently the district of Ate[24], and the town of Chupaca[25], have named us their cultural ambassadors. Also, Julio received an award from the mayor of Arequipa this year". (J. Moreyra, personal communication, November 28 2014).

Los Shapis became famous early in their career. They were the first chicha musicians to be featured on national TV as stars, to make appearances on shows, and

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[24] Ate is a district in Lima with many chicha venues.

[25] The town where Julio Simeón was born.

commercials. They were invited in 1985 to the International Youth festival in Paris. In 1986 they made a movie: *Los Shapis en el Mundo de los Pobres* (Los Shapis in the World of the Poor). They even had main roles in a popular commercial for the National Agrarian Bank. However, for the most part, mainstream media presented them as an exotic event (Bailón 2004, Romero 2008). Even today many intellectuals and hipsters in Perú see them as a kitsch act, and government policies do not consider chicha as a legitimate form of art.As I will discuss in this section, official recognition is important for them as a statement in the face of discrimination against Andean populations, and also an opportunity to take their music to broader audiences.

Los Shapis, hipster circuits and the upper classes. In their website, Los Shapis have a discourse of self-legitimization, as a strategy against a history of discrimination. One of the landmarks they mention is their appearance on “The Roots of Chicha” anthology, an album released by Olivier Conan’s Brooklyn based Barbes Records. The anthology has become a classic in world music circuits, hipster scenes, and in the Lima upper class art world. Conan has a Peruvian cumbia band too, Chicha Libre, which is also popular in the upper class scene of Lima.

One time Conan invited Julio Simeón and Jaime Moreyra to sit in with Chicha Libre at an upper class venue in Lima. It was a gesture of recognition and a tribute to Los Shapis. This is what Conan had to say about it:

> I've been in touch with Jaime Moreyra for years and he's been very good to me, and to the band. We cover one of his songs (Rica Chicha) and he and Chapulin sat in with us when we played in Miraflores [upper class neighborhood in Lima] …. They said that it was the first time they were playing a *pituco* [upper class] club (they might not have used the word *pituco*, but something to that effect) and Julio was very emotional about it. (O. Conan, personal communication, July 19, 2014).

When I asked Julio Simeón about this statement, he differed. For Julio Simeón and Moreyra playing at this bar was nothing new. Simeón said: “we have played for sons of important politicians, we have played in Europe, it was not new to us to play for upper class audiences.” (J. Simeón, personal communication, November 28, 2014). Then he added that nevertheless he appreciated the invitation to play in that concert:

> We are friends with Olivier. We taught Chicha Libre the tricks of the real flavor of cumbia. We respect them. They do something more elegant, with the baby bass, another guitar. Chicha Libre is more elegant, it's like putting a tuxedo to Chicha. (J. Simeón, personal communication, November 28, 2014)

When I asked Simeón what he meant with the term "elegant", he explained that it sounded more like an American band. Even though Los Shapis have subverted many stereotypes, they still reproduce some of them, such as the idea that a less Andean sounding cumbia is more “elegant”. As I commented lines above, Los Shapis’ agenda is not so much about subverting social structures, but about being recognized by the mainstream.

Los Shapis in the press. I asked Jaime Moreyra for the press archive of Los Shapis. I was surprised at how small it was in relation to their historical importance and success. In it, I could find two kinds of clippings: ones that came from mainstream newspapers in Lima, and those from small newspapers from Lima and the rest of Perú.

Most of the articles from small newspapers talk about awards or successful shows, and depict them as stars. In contrast, the mainstream articles depict Los Shapis as an anomaly in the history of Perú. This reflects the coexistence of two parallel realities that have survived from colonial times: the Andean, where los Shapis are heroes, and the hegemonic world, where Los Shapis are strangers (De Soto 1990). Nevertheless, some recent mainstream media articles have recognized Los Shapis as an important social phenomenon, almost as an inevitable consequence of the economic and demographic growth of “chicha culture”.

Somos, an important cultural magazine, did an article on Los Shapis and Leuzemia (a popular underground rock band of Lima). The title of the article was "Owners of the Streets: from the Periphery to the Center” (n.d), (circa 2008). Leuzemia and Los Shapis were celebrating 25 and 27 years of career respectively. Leuzemia is a hard rock band with a relatively small following, and a voluntary outsider attitude, frequently linked to punk circles. Los Shapis, on the other hand, are representatives of a vast cultural movement, and unlike Leuzemia, have been fighting for a long time for recognition from the official world. For *Somos* magazine, however, both Leuzemia and Los Shapis are “peripheral” bands. The article states that they are “Two bands that grew

in the outskirts of the music establishment, and that have ignored each other, but have involuntarily ended up together in the peak of contemporary Peruvian music" ("Owners of the streets: from the periphery to the center". n.d, para.1).

It is inaccurate to equate Leuzemia and Los Shapis. While Leuzemia was a subversive band part of a small underground urban middle class movement, Los Shapis is arguably one of the best selling bands of all time in Perú, and always wanted to bring Andean culture to the mainstream. Or to put it in another way, while Leuzemia was criticizing the mainstream, Los Shapis were the leaders of "the other mainstream": the one made up by an audience of millions of Andean migrants. The fact that the article lumps Los Shapis and Leuzemia together is just an example of how difficult it has been for the mainstream to talk about the history of Andean migrants. Instead of locating Los Shapis in the official history, they are depicted as an anomaly, even when they represent one of the most important sociological processes of the XX century in Perú.

It is also inaccurate to deny the connections between Los Shapis and Leuzemia. Although Los Shapis were not very aware of the underground Lima movement that happened at the time, Daniel F, leader of Leuzemia, has expressed his admiration for Los Shapis in several media interviews, and has acknowledged the importance of chicha as a large social movement. More significantly, Daniel F released "Karamelo de Limón", a chicha song featured in his solo demo *Generatriz del Acero Pasional* (1986). Delirios Kronicos, another important band of the Lima underground rock scene, also released a cover version of Los Shapis' song "Silencio" (1986). The isolation of chicha

from modern genres such as rock, and from the culture of middle class Lima is another way of keeping the frontier between modernity and tradition.

Los Shapis and cultural policies. I have been a direct witness to how cultural government policies discriminate against chicha. In 2008 the National Institute of Culture invited artists and researchers to make a diagnostic of the state of the arts in Perú. The project was called *Orientaciones Estratégicas para el Impulso de las Políticas Culturales en el Perú 2008-2009*. (Strategical orientations to promote cultural policies in Perú 2008-2009).

I had the opportunity to work on the music committee, which was comprised of people coming from different music scenes in Perú. The members of the committee represented jazz, rock/pop, traditional Andean music, and *música criolla.* However, there were no Peruvian cumbia or *nuevo folclor* representatives. This was a big surprise because Peruvian Cumbia and *nuevo folclor* are among the most popular and best selling genres in Perú (Tucker 2013). Why then were they excluded from the committee? When I asked one of the organizers about this issue, he explained that cumbia was not a Peruvian genre (even though jazz and rock had representatives in the committee), and that *nuevo folclor* was already represented by the Andean folklorist. (As a matter of fact the folklorist in question was not interested at all in *nuevo folclor,* but in more "traditional" genres and styles. He had an essentialist vision of Andean culture which regards chicha and *nuevo folclor* as a degenerations of Andean music).

A national congress took place to present the results of the committees. Many musicians and producers were invited to debate. I was told that cumbia and *nuevo folclor* artists, including Los Shapis, were invited to this event. Los Shapis did not attend, and as far as I know, no important figures from chicha or *nuevo folklore* attended either.

When I asked Simeón and Moreyra about their absence, they said that they had been invited, but that they were touring those days. However, they added that in general their relationship with government institutions has not been so good. "Cumbia is yet to be considered as part of the Peruvian traditions" said Moreyra (J. Moreyra, personal communication, February 10, 2015). This is a clear example of how essentialist views are prevalent in the government's conception of culture (Alfaro 2013). As a result, “hybrid” cultural practices such as chicha are not seen as Peruvian, and are excluded from cultural policies.

The fight for the recognition of chicha as Peruvian folklore. These days Los Shapis have been actively fighting for the recognition of chicha as part of “Peruvian folklore" by the Ministry of Culture. Simeón says that “chicha is an Andean genre and should be treated as such“. It is hypocritical to see huayno as a legitimate form of folklore and not chicha”. (J. Simeón, personal communication, November 28, 2014). When I asked Simeón why chicha is excluded, he said that it is because it is an innovative genre and authorities are slow to catch up with the times. Moreyra adds:

> Somebody has to propose this to the government. I think we will do it. Chicha has a history of 50 years. We have been around 30 years. Even in Colombia people play our music. We want recognition from the congress, from the government, for ourselves as artists, but mostly the recognition of chicha as a genre of the Peruvian people. Times are changing, and I think that we will have our place in history sooner or later (J. Moreyra, personal communication, July 18, 2015).

The need for recognition of Los Shapis is an echo of the agenda of Andean migrant populations who have not been included in the construction of Perú's national project. However, the fact that they are asking to be recognized as folklore also shows a reproduction of the language that has been used to discriminate against them: the modern dichotomy between folklore and serious music. It seems that this is still the only way in which Los Shapis imagine a legitimization of their work, as opposed to an acceptance of its hybridity. Nevertheless, as I discussed earlier, the strategy of Los Shapis and Andean migrants has been very effective in the construction of a more inclusive modernity.

1.8. Conclusion

The first time I met Julio Simeón and Jaime Moreyra 2014, they asked me to come to San Martin Square, where they were having a photo shoot to promote a concert. San Martin Square is a sort of liminal space where grass roots political parties

have meetings, street comedians perform, and young gay male prostitutes offer their services.

Los Shapis dwell in a liminal space too, between tradition and modernity, between stardom and discrimination. As I shake their hands, a little bit starstruck, I realize that the meaning of “Los Shapis” has changed in my mind through the years. They have gone from an exotic act I saw on TV during my childhood to cultural heroes that I deeply respect. This change runs parallel to the story of Andean migrants who in the last 30 years have gone from being a marginalized population to being one of the main socio-cultural forces in Lima. Nevertheless, the power of colonial symbolic structures maintains a sort of schizophrenic order where the ethnic majority and its cultural practices are still subject to discrimination or even ignored by the government and the mainstream. Los Shapis have managed to create their own version of modernity not only including neoliberal practices, but also influences from all around the world, and in this way not only they gave a voice to the Andean world in the modern project, while also criticizing static visions of identity. And although they also reproduce colonial discourses that perpetuate the division between tradition and modernity, and support the neoliberal market ideology that impoverished Andean populations, they have been fundamental agents for social change in Perú towards the development of a more plural Peruvian identity.

Chapter 2: Novalima, the Encounter of the Upper Class with the Afro-Peruvian World

Novalima is a Latin Grammy-nominated band founded in 2001 that combines techno, house, dub, and Afro-Peruvian music. It is a collective led by four Peruvian musicians who come from upper middle and upper classes. When the project started they were based in several cities around the world: Ramón Perez Prieto in Lima, Grimaldo Del Solar in Barcelona, Rafael Morales in London, and Carlos Li Carrillo in Hong Kong. The four of them became friends in high school in Lima, collaborated on different projects, and then left Perú to pursue professional careers in Europe and the U.S. According to Perez-Prieto, "The fact that we lived outside of Perú made us research more about our roots. Some of us were self-exiled because of the violence in Perú in the 90s. Novalima was definitely a nostalgia and patriotic thing" (R. Perez-Prieto, personal communication December 18 2014). This is how Novalima started.

These four musicians are the directing core of the band and also act as producers (from now on I will call them the producers). After their first album they called up three musicians who the producers refer to as the "Afro-Peruvian section" (R. Morales, personal communication, November 15, 2014): Juan Medrano, Milagros Guerrero, and Marcos Mosquera. The producers and the Afro-Peruvian section have different power over the decision-making and also different perspectives on Afro-Peruvian music, tradition, and modernity. On one hand the producers in many ways replicate the strategies of the *indigenistas,* using

stereotypes that fix Afro-Peruvian identity in a traditional past to legitimize themselves in an international artistic market. On the other, the Afro-Peruvian musicians use Novalima as a space to contest those stereotypes, and put across an Afro-Peruvian identity which is at the same time modern and traditional.

For both halves of the band, Novalima is a way to solve the dilemmas of living between tradition and modernity. The producers come from a cosmopolitan upper middle and upper class, and while they consider themselves Peruvians, they do not feel part of any “tradition”. The Afro-Peruvian musicians in the band come from a working class connected to the Afro-Peruvian tradition, but also had access to information and modernity referents that allowed them to break away from the historical stereotypes that frame Afro-Peruvian culture.

We could say that within Novalima there are two different “double consciousnesses”, as Dubois (1903) would put it. On one hand we have the producers who have a cosmopolitan upper middle class experience, and are the ones who establish the “official discourse” in the band, which is the one that reaches media and audiences. On the other hand we have the he Afro-Peruvian musicians who come from a working class background. Because of these two differing points of view, this chapter is divided into two parts. First I will analyze the approach of the producers and then introduce the voice of the Afro-Peruvian musicians. I will start by talking about how Novalima has a discourse with a hard division between modernity

and tradition inherited from the *fusión* movement, which in turn has been influenced by *indigenismo* and world music.

2.1 *Fusión* of Afro-Peruvian music and electronic music and the modernity/ tradition dichotomy

Novalima started in the 90s, a period when many projects appeared around the world combining electronic beats with non-western styles. Musics from international traditions were sampled and combined with house and techno. For Rafael Morales, the key influences in Novalima were "Brixton dub and Brazilian drum and bass such as DJ Marky." (R. Morales, personal communication, November 15 2014)

During his stay in Spain, Grimaldo Del Solar attended shows of artists like Macaco or Manu Chao. The latter were doing a fun, carefree collage of rock, electronics, and music from all over the world. Macaco and Manu Chao presented themselves as cosmopolitan travelers who went around the globe collecting traditional musics. This was similar to the experience of the producers of Novalima.

For Del Solar, "The most clear foreign influence that paved the path for the *fusión* of ancestral music with modern sounds was the French-Swiss-Argentinian trio Gotan Project. They combined tango, jazz, and electronica". (G. del Solar, personal communication, April 20 2012).

Novalima is part of the *fusión* movement that flourished in the late 80s in Lima. In *fusión* we find combinations of traditional Peruvian musics with rock, jazz, and electronics. In previous works (Rozas 2007) I have discussed how *fusión* was influenced by the exoticist discourses of world music (Bohlman 2002) and was the continuation of the *indigenista* paradigm[26], by which the elites took the challenge of representing traditions without really including the traditional populations intended to be uplifted. Even though *fusión* artists have an inclusive agenda, in many cases their desire to bridge tradition and modernity reinforces a hard division between modern and traditional music. Del Solar's quote shows that reinforcement when he talks about "ancestral" sounds, a typical term in the world music and *indigenista* jargon. As I will show in this the chapter, the paradox of wanting to bridge tradition and modernity while confronting the impossibility of leaving behind the modernity-tradition opposition is not only present in Novalima's music and discourse but also in different cultural policies and social movements in Perú.

By the 1990s *fusión* became the way in which people from the upper and upper-middle classes learnt about Peruvian traditions. An example of this is how the Novalima producers learnt about Afro-Peruvian music, a fundamental part of Novalima's style. When I asked Morales what were his first experiences with Afro-Peruvian music, he mentioned that "we knew about Afro-Peruvian music in its traditional version, or through *fusión* bands like Perú Jazz or Susana Baca" (R. Morales, personal communication,

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[26] See the introduction for a discussion on *indigenismo.*

November 15 2014). This meant that for Morales non-Western music was mediated by the language of *fusión,* world music, and *indigenismo.* As I will discuss later in this chapter, this is one of the key differences in the experience of the producers of Novalima and the Afro-Peruvian section, who actually criticize the language of *fusión*.

Rock was also a big part of the *fusión* movement. In Perú rock has been an identity referent for the upper classes of Lima since the 1960s. It provided a soundtrack for those who wanted to distinguish themselves from Andean migrants coming to the capital city and the old school *criollos* (Torres Rotondo 2009). The producers of Novalima were also part of the rock movement in 90s Lima, and played in bands from the psychedelic rock underground scene such as Avispón Verde and Circo ficción.

Rock has had a long relationship with non-western genres, which arguably started with the experimentations of the Beatles with Indian music, and just like world music, in many ways has also relied on the exoticist opposition between modernity and tradition (Bellman 1998). According to Juan Luis Pereira, leader of El Polen - one of the first *fusión* rock bands in Latin America (Torres 2009) - the Beatles and their approach to Indian music were the ones that triggered the *fusión* wave in Perú (J.Pereira, personal communication August 12 2007). *Fusión* inherited the British (and modern) nostalgia for a traditional authenticity, adapting it to the perspective of the Latin American upper classes. This nostalgia is an important aspect of the relationship Novalima's producers have with Afro-Peruvian music.

Fusión was very popular in the 1990s and had an important impact on Peruvian media, cultural institutions, and policy makers. In the last decade, *fusión* has become a canonized from of Peruvian popular music. When a band that combines traditional and modern genres complies with the aesthetics of world music and maintains a clear boundary between tradition and modernity, as in the case of Novalima, it is usually legitimized by the mainstream, and often called *fusión* (Rozas 2007). When it does not comply with those requirements, it will be considered a hybrid, and receive another name, such as the derogative term "chicha", as I explained in the previous chapter.

Novalima, pioneers of Afro-Peruvian electronic fusión. For Perez-Prieto, Novalima were the pioneers of the *fusión* of electronic and Afro-Peruvian music. "We were the first to develop a *fusión* between Afro-Peruvian music and new trends. There was Miki Gonzales using Andean music, Bareto with cumbia, but people were not doing stuff with Afro-Peruvian music". (R. Perez-Prieto, personal communication December 18, 2014)

This is true to a certain extent. Novalima was the first band that combined electronic and Afro-Peruvian music, and was successful among upper class audiences in Lima. But there were other artists doing so in underground spaces, such as Rapapay or Elegante. In this quote Perez-Prieto mentions Miki Gonzales and Bareto, who also played for an upper class audience. However, there were other

examples of *fusión* in other circuits, such as La Sarita and Los Mojarras, two of the most important bands of the 90s in Lima, who were mixing chicha with rock, and were big among the middle class. However, La Sarita and Los Mojarras did not receive much attention from the mainstream because of their use of the chicha hybrid.

Since chicha is an obvious example of a style combining tradition and modernity, why isn't it present in Perez-Prieto's list? He mentions upper class favorites Bareto, who were actually doing chicha covers with a jazz sound, but he does not mention chicha bands like Los Shapis. As I discussed in the previous chapter, it has been difficult for the elites to locate chicha in the history of Peruvian modernity because of its connections with political demands of the Andean working class. Hence the exclusion of chicha from Perez-Prieto's list. When I asked him why he did not mention chicha, he stated that "in the end those genre tags do not matter, what matters is good music, and when it is done from the heart and with respect it will have an audience and a place in the world of music." (R. Perez-Prieto, personal communication December 18, 2014). Perez-Prieto is right when he says that each music has its audience, but contrary to him I think that those tags do reflect a history of discrimination. In section 2.6 I will describe how public policies have favored Novalima's *fusión* as a more legitimate combination of tradition and modernity than the one present in chicha or *nuevo folklore*.

Later in the chapter I will show how Novalima reproduces many of the contradictions of the *fusión* movement, in their own version of *fusión:* a combination of Afro-Peruvian music and electronics for an upper-middle class and world music audience. But first I will provide a brief history of Afro-Peruvian music and discuss how Afro-Peruvian identity has been instrumentalized by upper classes as a way to keep control over concepts of nation in the context of the massive Andean migrations to urban areas in the 1950s and 1960s.

2.2 A brief history of Afro-Peruvian music

The invention of Afro-Peruvian tradition. Afro-Peruvian history is different from other Afro-Latin diasporas such as the ones in Brazil, Haiti, Cuba or Colombia. Unfortunately, colonial repression strategies were more efficient in Perú than in other Latin American countries. In order to undermine the sense of identity and group membership and thus avoiding possible uprisings, colonial power systematically destructed African culture. Furthermore, the majority of slaves that arrived in Lima were born in the Americas or had already passed a good amount of time outside of Africa. All of this contributed to the cultural assimilation of black populations (Baca 1992).

Although Afro-Peruvian culture is generally talked about as “ancestral”, the reality is that what we know today as Afro-Peruvian culture is a reconstruction that took place in the second half of the XX century of almost forgotten practices. According to Feldman

(2006), the term “Afro-Peruvian” was coined in the 1950s. Until then, only a few Afro-Peruvian songs were played every now and then as part of the *música criolla* repertoire, but they were not considered a genre of their own. In Perú we cannot find any traits of an Afro-Peruvian “culture” in terms of language, religious practices, or visual art. Chalena Vasquez (1982) did a seminal ethnography in the 1970s in Chincha, the most important settlement of Afro-Peruvians in Perú. She found no traces of Afro-Peruvian cultural practices, only the *atajo de negritos*, which is actually an Andean celebration adopted by the local community. Romero (1994) has stated that that there is definitely an important Afro-Peruvian influence in Peruvian culture, but it is not a culture or an ethnic group in an anthropological sense.

What we know today as "Afro-Peruvian music" is not so much a historical survival but rather a collection of fragments, cultural archeology, and invention of traditions. (Feldman 2006, Baca 1992). The corpus of pieces that constitute the contemporary canon of Afro-Peruvian music was developed by cultural activists in the 1960s and 1970s from bits and pieces of music practiced by some Afro-Peruvian families. Until then, the available songs were so few that it was difficult to think about them as “genres”. On the subject Feldman states the following:

> African-descended traditions “disappeared” from national collective memory, maintained by only a few families in the privacy of their homes or communities.… Out of necessity, the revival leaders used whatever tools were available to excavate their missing heritage, whether or not those tools were condoned by the academy: ancestral memory, flashes of the spirit, the recollections of community elders, rumors, legends, and myths, and when all else failed, invention,

> elaboration, and even transplanted cultural memories of other communities in diaspora. (Feldman 2006 p.4).

An important but almost unknown fact for the general public is that the first promoter of Afro-Peruvian culture and the one who coined the term “Afro-Peruvian” was a white upper class man called José Durand. Durand founded the seminal Afro-Peruvian art collective called Pancho Fierro in the 1950s. He was the first to put together shows involving exclusively Afro-Peruvian music played by Afro-Peruvian musicians, although he also performed every now and then in black face. Durand has been practically erased from Perú’s historic memory. Putting him in the history books would problematize the “ancestral” quality of Afro-Peruvian music, and would put on the table issues of cultural appropriation.

Another important moment in the reconstruction of Afro-Peruvian culture was the Cumanana group, led by Victoria and Nicomedes Santa Cruz. They are arguably the most important historic figures in Afro-Peruvian history. The Santa Cruz were one of the few Afro-Peruvian middle class families in Lima that had access to a higher education in the 1940s. Victoria Santa Cruz was the first Afro-Peruvian scholar to obtain a PhD and to teach in a university in the U.S, at Carnegie Mellon.

The Santa Cruz brothers had worked in Durand’s Pancho Fierro collective. In the 1960s they left him and founded the Cumanana group, which differentiated itself from Pancho Fierro because of their political stance. Cumanana was made up exclusively by Afro-Peruvian members, and refused to be a mere entertainment for white audiences.

The Cumanana project was connected to a broader pan-African project and the post-colonial black rights movement which flourished during the 1960s (Owen 1994).

Cumanana started working actively in the recovery of Afro-Peruvian memory, and as Feldman (2006) has thoroughly documented, the Santa Cruz brothers did a cultural archaeology, but also invented songs, dances, and costumes, and made them pass as Afro-Peruvian traditions. In an interview I did in 2008, Victoria Santa Cruz told told me that she got information about music, costumes and lyrics from a "genetic memory" (V. Santa Cruz, personal communication. February 12, 2008). As I discussed earlier, many of the expressions of Afro-Peruvian culture have been produced with unorthodox methods such as genetic memory, and Victoria Santa Cruz was one of the main agents in Afro-Peruvian "invention".

Cumanana had such symbolic power that even to this day their inventions are considered to be the canon of an "ancestral" Afro-Peruvian tradition, and have been used to fix Afro-Peruvian populations in a pre-modern past. There is very little production of new compositions in the Afro-Peruvian repertoire, and few projects explore new possibilities beyond the folkloric realm.

Música criolla and the instrumentalization of Afro-Peruvian culture by the upper class in the construction of ideas of Peruvian identity. In spite of its young age as a corpus of songs and genres, Afro-Peruvian music has been dubbed as an ancient art form in the popular and official Peruvian imaginary. Llorens (1983) and

Quiroz (1997) have discussed that the construction of Afro-Peruvian music as "millenary" has to do with the repression of Andean cultural hybrids that started to appear in the 1950s with the migration from rural areas to urban centers. According to Feldman "The legitimization of black arts was also catalyzed by the perceived threat of the cultural "Andeanization" of Lima, as a result of mass migration". (Feldman 2006 p. 23).

The government and elites needed a music that represented a modern yet traditional Peruvian identity, without supporting the massive Andean migrations towards Lima. The genre chosen was *música criolla*, which combined "ancestral" Afro-Peruvian musics, with European genres that became popular in colonial times, such as polka and waltz, and brought together working class criollos, Afro-Peruvian populations and white elites. As a result *Musica criolla* increased its popularity among elites and received government support. As I commented in the previous section, Afro-Peruvian cultural practices were severely prohibited during the Spanish reign, and almost eliminated. It was only in the Catholic ritual context where some syncretism between Afro-Peruvian music and European genres took place, and that was the seed for *musica criolla* (Bernal 1974). *Música criolla* was to a great extent the product of a closeness between Afro-Peruvians with the elites. Since the beginning of slavery in Perú, Afro-Peruvians were allowed in the military service and were part of the personal services of the Spanish. As opposed to indigenous people, black populations were more competent in Spanish and in the cultural colonial codes (Baca 1992), which allowed them to be closer to the elites.

However, Afro-Peruvians had less political power than Andean populations, and few spaces to express their own culture, which resulted in the disappearance of Afro-Peruvian cultural practices. By the XX century Afro-Peruvian populations in Perú identified themselves as *criollos* and with a "predominantly white coastal culture" (Feldman 2006 p.3). Hence, black populations have been preferred by the elites as a "source of authenticity" over Andeans because Afro-Peruvians were less dangerous as a socio-cultural group. This is why *música criolla* has been the elite's preferred genre to represent the encounter between tradition and modernity in Perú; through *música criolla* the elites could claim a closeness to a Peruvian non-Western tradition without supporting modern Andean migrant culture.

As Andean migration to Lima grew exponentially, *música criolla* became a national symbol, supported by different cultural policies. In 1944 the government institutionalized October 31 as the day of *música criolla,* which has become the most important official music celebration day in Perú, even though Andean and chicha music are the biggest market by far (and there is no day of Andean or chicha music). Upper classes embraced *música criolla*, and in the 1970s Chabuca Granda, (a white upper class woman), became the most important *música criolla* star of all times. In her most popular songs, she talks nostalgically about gone colonial times, when there was elegance and peace in the capital city. Today Chabuca Granda is regarded arguably as the most important music figure of all genres in contemporary Peruvian history.

Granda's status and visibility is a product of the ways in which elites and official institutions have instrumentalized Afro-Peruvian music in order to maintain the status quo by linking it to ancestral times, and erasing the history of slavery and destruction of Afro-Peruvian culture. In the next section, I will show how the dynamics within Novalima reproduce that instrumentalization.

2.3 The reproduction of the instrumentalization of Afro-Peruvian music in Novalima.

The division of labor within Novalima. During the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s the *peñas*[27]*,* bars where *música criolla* was played*,* became pilgrimage centers for many upper class intellectuals and music fans. Ramón Perez-Prieto, producer of Novalima, told me that his grandmother and his uncle owned a *peña.* There, as a child, he was exposed to *música criolla* and Afro-Peruvian music. The economical and cultural relationship of Perez-Prieto's grandmother (owner of a *peña*) and the Afro-Peruvian musicians of the *peña*, in a way is mirrored by Novalima's two clear halves: the upper class producers who have more power in the decision making, and the Afro-Peruvian musicians.

Upper class musicians representing and advocating for traditional musics can be traced back to *indigenismo* and Perú's failed Enlightenment project as I discussed in the

[27] Peñas is also the name of the venues where flamenco is performed in Spain. This is an interesting connection with a colonial nostalgia.

introduction. This is connected to contemporary world music discourses too. As Tim Murphy of *Time Out New York* mentions:

> As usual it took prominent (that is white) rock musicians to open the floodgates; when David Byrne's Luaka Bop label released *Afro Peruvian Classics: The soul of Black Perú* in 1995 … it was the first time many up north had even heard Chabuca Granda's creole waltzes or Perú Negro's pulsating rhythms. Novalima owes a debt to that tradition. But most of the group's success can be chalked up to youthful ingenuity and a near-bottomless well of tech savvy. (Murphy 2012)

Novalima's hierarchies and division of labor are marked by ethnic and socio-cultural differences. On one hand we have four white upper class producers leading the band, who have a discourse that emphasizes the pre-modernity of Afro-Peruvian music. On the other we have "the black section of the band" as the producers call them (R. Morales, personal communication, November 15, 2014 and G. del Solar, Personal communication, April 20, 2012), who come from the working class and have a discourse that subverts stereotypes of Afro-Peruvian tradition, but have less power in the decision-making. This is how the producers are described on Novalima's website:

> The children of artists and intellectuals, Ramon, Grimaldo, Rafael and Carlos were well educated and well traveled, and while they listened to traditional Peruvian folk music regularly in family reunions and in the street, they shared a fascination for rock, dub, reggae, latin, and electronic music, constantly exploring new sounds. They shared a fascination for many types of music, such as rock, pop, salsa, reggae, dance and electronic music."(Novalima 2013 para.5).

The quote defines the producers as cosmopolitan musicians who link tradition and modernity. The Afro-Peruvian section is described like this on the webpage:

> The creative core was enriched by Afro-Peruvian scene musicians, such as Milagros Guerrero, Juan Medrano (Cotito), Mangué Vásquez, Pier Padilla, Marcos Mosquera, and the live band with percussionist/timbalero Constantino Álvarez and Alfonso Montesinos in the bass guitar since 2010. (Novalima, 2014 para. 4)

This quote distinguishes the Afro-Peruvian musicians from the other members of the live band (Álvarez and Montesinos). Although the Afro-Peruvian musicians are also part of the live band, Álvarez and Montesinos are white, so there is a racial distinction. This distinction emphasizes Afro-Peruvianness as a source of authenticity that "enriches" and legitimates the producers, who are presenting the Afro-Peruvian tradition to the world. This strategy is similar to the *indigenismo* paradigm.

The modernity-tradition division is also replicated in their performance: the Afro-Peruvian musicians sing and play acoustic percussion instruments such as cajón and congas, while the producers play synthesizers, electric guitar, and laptop. The latter replicates the connections between modernity, electronics, and whiteness on one hand, and tradition, acoustic instruments, and blackness on the other.

Novalima and the prevalence of the fiction of an ancestral Afro-Peruvian music. Even though Afro-Peruvian music was part of Perez-Prieto's childhood through his grandmother's *peña,* as he grew up, he lost interest in Peruvian music in general,

and started to listen to rock, jazz, and EDM. As I commented earlier, genres coming from Europe and the U.S were an important source of identity for middle and upper class youth in Perú, who needed a connection with global modernity.

It was only when Perez-Prieto left Perú that he started to get nostalgic about his roots, just like the other members of the band. The nostalgia from being abroad drew Perez-Prieto towards Afro-Peruvian music, as a source of identity in a foreign country, even though it was not the music he listened to or played when he was in Perú.

Traveling made the producers realize that if there was something that made them unique in the cosmopolitan circuits where they moved, it was that even though they were well versed in Western cultural codes, they were also close to Peruvian non-Western traditions. The realization of their double consciousness became the key to their commercial success. Just like *indigenistas* who almost a hundred years before found in non-Western traditions a way to legitimize themselves in the international modern art circuits, Novalima embraced the blend of the modern and the traditional as their artistic identity. As I will show in the next chapter, this strategy is similar to the one carried out by Dengue Dengue Dengue.

The following quote illustrates Novalima's dynamic of revaluing traditional genres. Juan Data from "El Mensajero" describes Novalima in this way:

> XXI century brought this new tendency. Young fans of the most modern dance electronic music in the big Latin American cities started to change their focus of attention. They stopped being obsessed with what came from clubs from Europe or New York to start looking for inspiration in the native sounds of their lands …

> revaluing traditional third world rhythms, before restricted to world music. (Data, n.d, para.6)

The very idea of “revaluing” implies that “traditional third world rhythms” did not have value before Novalima’s time, or had lost it, and that Novalima are the agents able to give that value. The term “third world” is also implies the lack of value of that music. On this subject Grimaldo de Solar commented that "When we started to do some research on Afro-Peruvian music no one was talking about it. And we wanted to put it out there. It is a music that has been done for thousands of years”. (G. del Solar, Personal communication, April 20 2012). This quote perpetuates the idea of Afro-Peruvian music as something pre-historic, erasing the fact that Afro-Peruvians are not people with traditions that have thousands of years, but actually came as slaves in the XV century, suffered a cultural genocide, and were forced to adopt new cultural practices.

The elimination of these historical facts is key to creating the opposition between modernity and tradition: it erases the fact that Afro-Peruvian culture as a traditional other is a modern and recent creation. It perpetuates the idea of modernity as a clean civilizing process and the idea of tradition as a pure idyllic world with no history. By reproducing the opposition and separation of modernity and tradition, violent historical relationship between the Western world and African-diaspora populations are erased, as well as the colonial links between Peruvian elites and Afro-Peruvian communities.

On the same subject, Morales said in an interview that one of the objectives of Novalima was “to combine ancestral sounds with modern music. It is a music that has been around for millions of years and that no one cared about”. (R. Morales, personal communication, November 15, 2014). This quote also repeats the idea of a mythical Afro-Peruvian story (“millions of years”) with no political history. Added to this, when he says that “no one cared about” it, it denies credit to Afro-Peruvian artists such as Perú Negro, Teatro del Milenio, and many other young musicians who were creating Afro-Peruvian music in new ways at the time that Novalima came out, without the visibility that Novalima had.

For Perez Prieto "The most interesting thing about Afro-Peruvian culture is that it stayed very traditional, maybe that is why it has been forgotten, and started to disappear”. (R. Perez-Prieto, personal communication, March 24, 2015). This quote states that the most interesting thing about Afro-Peruvian music is not its potential to be something new, or the fact that it was a creative reconstruction from the leftovers of cultural annihilation. It is the fact that it stayed very traditional. Media and official commentaries also reproduce these kind of discourses. An example of this is the following quote from the *Daily News*, where there is a surprise about the presence of electronic instruments in Afro-Peruvian music:

> Few would have thought that the ancestral gritty sounds of Afro-Peruvian music, made from a Cajón (A wooden box) and the rattle of a donkey jawbone, would become a modern sensation.… Novalima has given a different twist to the music of its country's African slaves. (Rodriguez 2009 p.9).

This surprise is a reinforcement of the opposition between electronics and acoustic instruments, and between modernity and tradition. Novalima is presented as the bridge between these two worlds, and as the rescuers of the Afro-Peruvian legacy for the rest of the world to listen, just like Johnson (2011) states in the *Gozamos* blog: “Novalima helped bring the cultural offerings of the Afro community of Perú to the world’s attention, developing in Peruvians themselves a new awareness and pride in the immense cultural richness of the African heritage of their land.” (Johnson 2011)

Vela (2007) wrote an article titled "Colores Zambos” for *Somos,* one of the most important cultural magazines in Lima. *(*Zambo is a derogatory word used to describe Afro-descendants). Vela praises Novalima for capturing "Blackness in its purest state which becomes energy which surpasses the monitors, cables and binary beats.” (Vela 2007 p.12). The quote depicts Afro-Peruvian music as a fixed essence, and presents Novalima as the ones who connect that essence with the modernity of electronics. Vela continues, referring to Afro-Peruvian in the following terms: "Substance and matter, that Novalima transforms and reconstructs, a tradition renewed, made of souls that live in Barrios Altos, Rimac, La Victoria, and recognized by the crazy youth who loves electronic beats" (Vela 2007 p.12).

According to this quote, "souls" live in working class neighborhoods such as Barrios Altos or Rimac, traditionally linked to black populations. At the same time we have the "crazy youth who loves electronic beats", which reminds us of the upper class

rave culture. In this way the dichotomy between the modern and the traditional are linked to class and race.

Up to here I have described how old stereotypes of Afro-Peruvian culture are reproduced within Novalima and in media discourses. The producers have inherited the nostalgia of the *indigenistas* and upper class *Limeños* longing for a cultural authenticity, similar to the dilemmas of European modernists. The producers have also inherited the double consciousness of the *criollos:* they are neither indigenous, nor European, nor African. Novalima's music is the way in which the producers solve their liminal situation, connecting tradition and modernity. But, paradoxically, they do it by maintaining some of the colonial stereotypes of Afro-Peruvian culture which preserves the separation between tradition and modernity. But it would be too simplistic to say that Novalima is only an objectification of Afro-Peruvian culture. Novalima is one of the few successful projects in contemporary Peruvian music that brings together musicians from different classes and scenes. In the next section I will analyze how for the Afro-Peruvian members of the band, Novalima also represents a possibility to challenge old stereotypes.

The Afro-Peruvian members of Novalima differ from the producers in their discourse on Afro-Peruvian culture. Instead of talking about an ancestral tradition, they touch on subjects such as discrimination and stereotypes. They have no nostalgia for an authentic past. On the contrary, there is a wish for the elimination of fixed ideas of black people as folkloric figures.

2.4 Novalima as a space for a new Afro-Peruvian identity

According to Peirano (1984) many of the stereotypes that keep racism alive in Perú come from media, arts and music. It is very difficult for Afro-Peruvian musicians to find referents beyond folkloric or over-sexualized images. Juan Medrano is the main percussionist in Novalima, and the principal connection between the producers of the band and the Afro-Peruvian community. In the 1970s Medrano was part of a collective of Afro-Peruvian artists led by Grammy winning artist Susana Baca, who actively tried to dismantle the essentialist ideas of Afro-Peruvian expressions that Peirano talks about.

Susana Baca was one of the few acts that followed the political and cultural agenda of the Santa Cruz brothers after the 1970s. In an interview I did with her, she told me that before she got a Grammy she could hardly fill up a small venue in Lima, and that there was almost no support from media or audiences, “because I refused to play the typical stereotype of a black woman” (S. Baca, personal communication, March 22, 2007). By this she meant that she was not willing to use her sexuality to sell her music, and that she presented herself as an intellectual and political advocate of Afro-Peruvian culture, as opposed to a folkloric musician.

Baca paved the path for bands like Novalima. As Ramon Perez-Prieto said: "Susana Baca opened the doors for all of who are innovating in Afro-Peruvian music”. (R. Perez-Prieto, personal communication, December 18, 2014). Medrano worked with Susana Baca for 20 years before joining Novalima. According to him, Baca’s project

Figure 6. Image from a Perú Negro Show

was empowering; it created a new referent for Afro-Peruvian musicians. Describing their work together he observed:

> With Susana we did everything: son Cubano, spoken word, we got together with musicians like Pepe Vílchez, Carlos Espinoza, who were into jazz. It was a huge challenge. We were combining the roots with other stuff. It was a lab, a workshop, and we rehearsed every day. We were doing experimental stuff, musicalizing poems. At first we were seen as freaks but then we got the Grammy which was a recognition for very hard work. (J. Medrano, personal communication, December 10, 2014)

Before and parallel to Susana Baca there were acts like Perú Negro, who were very important in taking Afro-Peruvian music to massive audiences, consolidating the importance of Afro-Peruvian folklore and tradition. Artists such as Lucila Campos, Pepe Vasquez, and Guajaja also brought Afro-Peruvian music out of the folkloric context into party settings. But none of them challenged directly the folkloric and sexualized images

of Afro-Peruvians. Medrano told me that it is hard for musicians to break away from those stereotypes:

> As a young musician everybody was telling me what to do, who to be. I had to do the "roots" thing because according to them I had to do *that.* I *was* that. But inside of me I knew I could do *that* and other stuff too. Everybody saw me as the weirdo. All the percussionists I know have worked in Perú Negro. I did not. I love Perú Negro, and respect them. I really respected some of their musicians and learned from them, but I also wanted to do other stuff. New stuff. (J. Medrano, personal communication, December 10, 2014)

In this quote Medrano reflects on the fact that official discourses were trying to locate him in a position linked to an ancient tradition that Afro-Peruvians are supposed to represent. Almost in a Foucaultian disciplinary fashion, Medrano was told that he had to *be* a stereotype and there was no other option. The way to go was to follow the folkloric paradigm (in this case represented by Perú Negro's approach to Afro-Peruvian music), which reenacted slave life and the “traditional” repertoire (see figure 6). The ones that contested this modernity/tradition dichotomy were anomalies, and became the “weirdos”.

When I asked Medrano what made him feel the urge to explore new sounds and break the mold, he said that it was a combination of several things. On one hand it was intuitive, he just loved all kinds of musics; on the other, it was a matter of access to information:

> When I was young I listened to everything I could. jazz, blues, tango, classical, (I loved Rachmaninoff for example. In *Radio Nacional*, where I started to work as a professional musician, they had a huge music collection, and I was hanging out at the archives all the time, and I asked about the music. I was listening to Andean music, blues, rock. I was open to everything, and that is how I learnt about musics from around the world. People saw me as a freak, and in a way still am. But it worked in the end. (J. Medrano, personal communication, December 10, 2014)

His openness was a challenge to the modernity-tradition dichotomy. Although he was interested in musics from all around the world, he was still interested in the Afro-Peruvian tradition, and that put him in a liminal space.

> My travels changed me, they opened my mind. I met people, music, history, and it makes you appreciate what you have. But that was later. First you have to know your thing. keep it real and truthful to our own identity. (J.Medrano, personal communication, December 10, 2014)

In this quote Medrano is talking about an authenticity that is different from the *indigenismo* ideal. One that is not related to a fixed idea of culture but to a faithfulness to one's own experience, and to historical truths. For Medrano, Novalima is a space to express this kind of authenticity, a space for innovation, where he can explore the different musics he is interested in, beyond modernity and tradition barriers. In this way he is debating Afro-Peruvian identity from a double-consciousness standpoint. Mahon has described a similar process that took place with the Black Rock Coalition in the U.S in the 90s:

> Rather than capitulating to one-sided constructions of authentic black identity or an authentic rock musician, Black Rock Coalition (BRC) members responded to what I see as their contemporary condition of double-consciousness through their insistence in the legitimacy of black rock, a seemingly oxymoronic genre that links "black" and "white" categories.(Mahon 2004 p. 13)

Just like the Black Rock Coalition members, Medrano talks about Afro-Peruvian music not as an ancestral tradition, but as a contemporary and evolving genre. For him Novalima is Afro-Peruvian music expanding, and this is important because there is not much innovation in Afro-Peruvian music these days. There is a lack of new cultural production which makes Afro-Peruvian music more vulnerable to essentializing. This in turn limits the possibilities for the creation of a new music. On this subject Medrano stated that “Afro-Peruvian musicians are stuck with the acoustic guitar or cajón. These days some kids are are playing keyboards, or electronics. But they are the exception to the rule” (J. Medrano, personal communication, December 10, 2014)

Nowadays in Perú there are few bands led by Afro-Peruvian musicians using electronics. One of the few examples is the work of Laura Robles, or Teatro del Milenio. Novalima is one of the only house/techno projects exploring Afro-Peruvian rhythms. There were some predecessors such as Rapapay and Elegante, but those explorations had a short and underground life. For Medrano, there has to be a change:

> It's a matter of changing our minds, and realizing that *everything* is ours. Every genre, every instrument. Afro-Peruvian people have not said yet 'Here we are'. But it will happen. Everything is ours and we can take it if we want it. Everything is part of this world, and we are part of this world too, so we have the right to take

> it and do what we feel. (J. Medrano, personal communication, December 10, 2014)

In this quote Medrano tries to erase the borders between genres, and also the association of ethnicity with the kind of music one can do, or the instruments one can play. He uses the idea of the "world" as an argument to legitimize the access of Afro-Peruvian musicians to other traditions. It is interesting that he uses the "world" trope in the opposite direction in which world music has used it. In world music the word "world" is a way to separate tradition and modernity. The "world" represents non-Western traditions, the non-modern. For Medrano, the world is the space where tradition and modernity are there for everybody, no matter what is your race or where you come from.

So far I have attempted to illustrate how Novalima is an arena of negotiations where Afro-Peruvian musicians such as Medrano gain agency to subvert old ideas of blackness in Perú. However, as I have discussed previously, the producers have more control of Novalima's discourse, and frequently reproduce old stereotypes. In the next section, I will analyze how referents of tradition and modernity are balanced in the music, both reproducing and challenging cultural essentialisms.

2.5 The balance of tradition and modernity in Novalima's sound

In this section I will describe how Novalima tries to sound modern and traditional at the same time in order to be part of contemporary global trends. Their traditional sound

is an asset in the international music market, however, that tradition has to be modified in order to comply with some non-negotiable requirements of world music aesthetics. These requirements are a representation of the way in which modernity expands around the world; traditional practices are welcome in the modern project only as long as they do not question the core principles of modernity. I already discussed in last chapter how Los Shapis were too "Andean" for the upper class taste, and I will come back to the discussion of world music aesthetics in the next chapter. For now, I will describe some of the techniques used by Novalima in order to achieve a sound that is traditional, modern, and accepted by international audiences.

Negotiating with the empire of the "four-to-the-floor". Since the 90s there has been a trend in EDM, that Novalima has followed, where traditional genres from all over the world are modified to fit the typical EDM bass drum on every quarter note of a 4/4 metric. This pattern is also known as the "four-to-the-floor". The four-to-the-floor is a *lingua franca* that translates any genre into the global taste, making syncopated rhythms easier to dance to for European and the U.S crowds. In order for traditional genres such as Afro-Peruvian music to enter global EDM markets, rhythms have to be modified to fit the four-to-the-floor.

Novalima has interesting strategies to adapt the syncopated Afro-Peruvian rhythms to the four-to-the-floor pattern. One of them is their use of the cajón, the most important percussion instrument on Afro-Peruvian music. The cajón has a low and a

high sound, but in the Novalima's song "Festejo", (which is also a name of an Afro-Peruvian genre), the standard cajón pattern[28] is modified, leaving only the high sounds of the cajón, so the low sounds of the pattern do not conflict with the four-to-the-floor electronic bass drum.

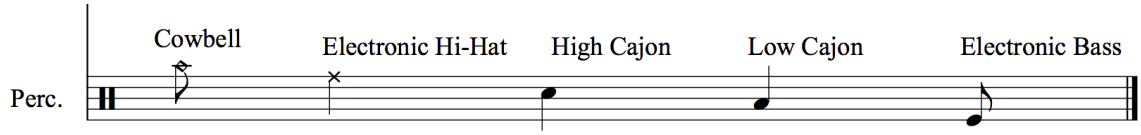

Figure 7: guide for percussion notation

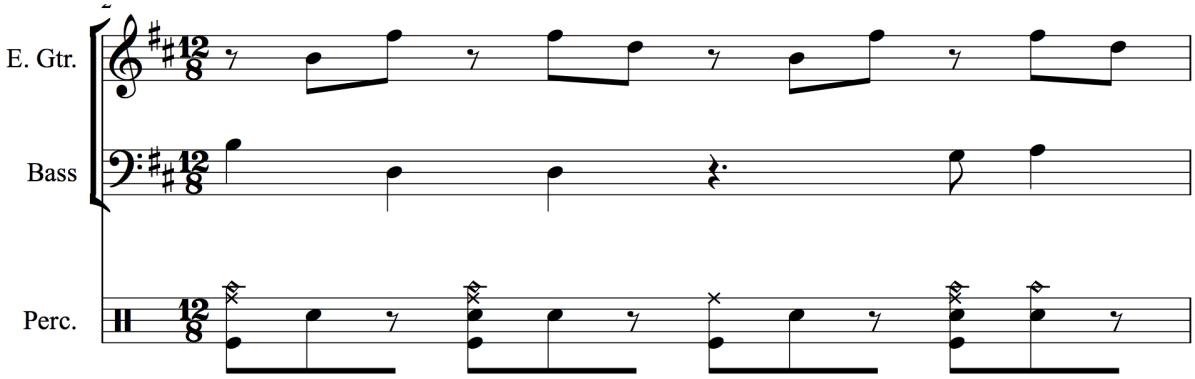

Figure 8: Excerpt from "Festejo". Listen here

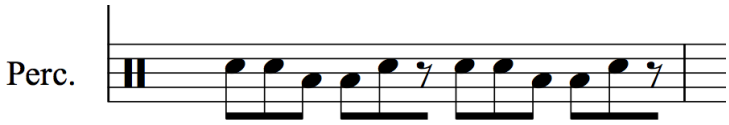

Figure 9: Cajón Pattern played on "Festejo" 0:42. Listen here

[28] In Afro-Peruvian music there is a lot of space for improvisation for percussion. However, there are some standard patterns that define the rhythms. (Santa Cruz 2008).

Many recording engineers use two microphones to record the cajón for a better mix, one for the low and one for the high sounds, but Novalima has taken this one step further. The producers sample both the high and low sounds, and use them separately or together at different moments. For example, at the start of “Festejo” we hear an electronic bass drum marking all quarter notes, and only the high sounds of the cajón. The low sound have been filtered down and restricted to quarter notes, and so they do not conflict with the electronic bass drum, as shown in figure 8.

But in minute 0:42 there is a break and for a brief moment we hear clearly both the high and low sounds of the cajón (see figure 9). If the those low sounds of the cajón continued through the entire song, they would clash with the predominant four-to-the-floor electronic bass drum. After the break, the bass sound of the cajón is filtered down again, and the four-to-the-floor electronic bass drum comes back.

In Afro-Peruvian music there are standard general patterns for each genre, but the cajón player improvises a lot. This freedom conflicts with the fixed quarter notes of the electronic bass drum and other automated patterns in the songs of Novalima. The elimination of the cajón’s improvisation in Novalima is compensated for with an assortment of different samples of fragments of live cajón performances, which are looped at different points in the song. Added to this, sometimes we can hear phrases from different performances, panned and interlocked, as if we had several cajón players.

In live settings, Novalima plays the pre-composed sequences from the laptop. The bass, guitar, keyboards, and percussion are played live. The cajón is freer, but it still has less room for improvisation than in traditional Afro-Peruvian music, and focuses on the high sounds of the cajón.

Looking for an organic sound: the bridge between electronic music and live human performance. Perez-Prieto explained that “The real Novalima sound came in our second album with the interaction with Afro-Peruvian musicians. We got together with Cotito (Juan Medrano), and also Mangué. Then Milagros Guerrero and Marcos Mosquera joined in." (R. Perez-Prieto, personal communication December 18, 2014). In the first album the participation of the Afro-Peruvian section was limited to recording percussion patterns which then were sampled in some of the songs. Now the work is more collaborative. Medrano comments:

> After the first album we started rehearsing as a band. This made it more organic. And that's how Afro-Peruvian music works. At first I was scared. I was curious about what they were going to do with the stuff we recorded. But in the end I liked it. It maintained the rhythmic patterns we played but it was different. And there was more interaction, and that’s how Afro-Peruvian music works, with interaction (J.Medrano, personal communication, December 10, 2014)

The term “organic” is key in Medrano’s quote. The word is used by all of the members of Novalima. It symbolizes the blend between the tradition of Afro-Peruvian music (which is linked to dance and embodied practices in the popular imaginary), and

the modern world of electronic music. The “organic” is the solution to the problem of the “stiffness” of the machine in comparison to the groove of Afro-Peruvian rhythms. The equilibrium between man and machine is an important element of Novalima’s formula. Too much technology would distance them from the traditional music they represent. Frith comments that modernity’s nostalgia for a pre-modern authenticity is reflected in modernity’s discourse on sound and technology: “A plays to B and the less technology lies between them closer they are, the more honest their relationship and the fewer the opportunities for manipulation and falsehoods”. (Frith 1986 p. 267)

For the members of Novalima the presence of live performance in their creative process is very important, not just as a juxtaposition over electronic beats, but as an integral part of their compositions. According to Morales, Novalima "is not a DJ project where you put things on top of electronic beats. It is an organic sound; the electronics are one more instrument." (R. Morales, personal communication, November 15, 2014).

Perez-Prieto explains that each of the producers creates a sketch of a song with a programmed track in the laptop. Those sketches work as a structure. The Afro-Peruvian section of the band provides ideas which are improvised in the studio or previously composed. The producers sample those ideas, modify them and create a final product. Perez Prieto explains that "the way we work is a bit different [to other EDM projects]. First we record the improvisations done by Cotito or other singers and musicians, and then we create beats that fit those ideas organically”. (R. Perez-Prieto, personal communication December 18, 2014)

For Medrano the key to keeping the Afro-Peruvian flavor is that the process is not only about creating an electronic beat and then playing over it, there is also a compositional interaction between beats created on the laptop and in live performance. After the percussion is recorded, the electronic beats are changed to get better results. It is a two-way street. Medrano states that Novalima's producers are very open to suggestions, but the songs end up being "completely different from what we recorded". (J.Medrano, personal communication, December 10, 2014) This quote indicates that the producers have the final word in the end, and that electronic devices are a powerful tool to modify music elements to achieve the Novalima sound.

Medrano finds that playing against a fixed computer beat not only doesn't limit his way of playing but has actually opened up new possibilities to innovation. Morales comments that "you cannot mix Afro-Peruvian rhythms into a template. You have to construct the beats with a lot of detail to keep the flavor." (R. Morales, personal communication, November 15, 2014). One of the main musical strategies Novalima uses to generate a human yet electronic feel is the looping of live recordings, a way of crossing the borders of stereotypes that link Afro-Peruvian music with live performance on traditional instruments, and modernity with the use of electronic technologies. We can find examples of this strategy in the song "Festejo". In 0:35-0:49 (listen here) two phrases from a recorded live performance of cajón have been cut, sampled and looped. One phrase is panned to the left and the other to the right. There is also a festejo

cowbell pattern from a live recording which is looped. In this way there is both a human and electronic feel.

Another strategy to cross-over modernity and tradition is the use of electronic effects in an Afro-Peruvian rhythm style. An example of this is how in the song “Festejo” an electric guitar plays a syncopated phrase that resembles a common cowbell pattern used in the genre. The pattern is achieved through the use of a delay effect and looping. This is a simple but effective combination that gives parity to human and electronic sounds, both in the timbres and the execution (listen to sample 0-0.05 here).

In minute 0:38 of “Festejo" we can hear another technique of blending the traditional Afro-Peruvian style with electronics. There is a vocal call and response, but the response of the male voices has heavy filtering, eliminating all natural acoustics, and there is a very fast fade-out, all of which contribute to an electronic sonority (listen here). The electronic modification of the voice in an Afro-Peruvian genre is an important statement since representations of Afro-Peruvian culture in the Peruvian popular imaginary have always linked the African diaspora with a “genetic” embodiment of rhythm.

We can find a similar strategy in the song “Luna Ciega”, in which we hear several *guapeos. Guapeos* are shout outs done with a characteristic Afro-Peruvian style. Traditionally, *guapeos* are improvised, but in this song four samples of guapeos are triggered repeatedly in different moments of the song. (For example, the same *guapeo*

sample is re-triggered in minute 1:19 and 1:56). In the live shows *guapeos* are done by Juan Medrano and also launched from a sequencer.

Another important aspect in the quest for an organic sound that balances the traditional and the modern, is the selection of the equipment they use. For the producers, the combination between acoustic, analog, and digital is critical. The computer is used to sequence the tracks recorded from live performances in Logic software, but the actual sounds come from analog synths, vintage amps, guitars, and acoustic percussion. Only some bass drums and snare drums are digital, and the selection of those percussion samples is very specific for every song. “A software without a good hardware is nothing. We use high quality microphones, old school brands such as Fender, Rhodes, Wurlitzer, Hammond, Steinway among others. And also new interfaces such as Motu, Sapphire.” says Perez-Prieto. (R. Perez-Prieto, personal communication December 18, 2014).

The balance between electronic and acoustic instruments, live performance and automated processes, and the closer collaboration between the band members is Novalima’s version of the equilibrium of body and machine, which are both important tropes of tradition and modernity respectively.

Essentialized and de-territorialized versions of tradition. Another way in which Novalima negotiates its popularity in the world music circuits is the way in which it represents the idea of tradition. In their discourse, at times tradition is an essentialist

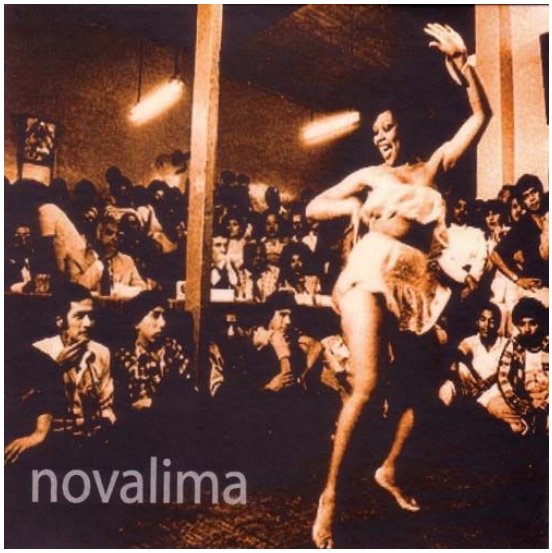

Figure10: Cover of the first Novalima album

concept that fixes Afro-Peruvian culture in stereotypical practices that are valued because of their authenticity. At other points, tradition is a de-territorialized umbrella concept, where it does not matter where tradition comes from, and what shape it takes, as long as it can be classified as traditional.

An example of the “purist” side of Novalima is the fact that many of the songs in their discography are covers of the traditional Afro-Peruvian repertoire (In their first two albums, covers were the majority). The use of samples of famous songs and the use of the voices of well-known performances of already deceased Afro-Peruvian musicians connect them to the the Afro-Peruvian canon, and give a solemnity to their music.

On the subject, Perez-Prieto comments: “We have used some samples of old recordings of Mangué, of Felix Casaverde, and Nicomedes Santa Cruz. They have passed away but we bring them back to this world as a tribute. And their performances

complement very well the songs." (R. Perez-Prieto, personal communication, March 24 2015.) This strategy links Novalima to the classic era of the genre, and is a sort of summoning of the spirits of the guardians of the authenticity of tradition.

Lyrics are also a key element in the connection of Novalima with the past. Afro-Peruvian songs often use stereotypes of black culture. Some common topics are slavery, dancing, or sex. The song "Festejo" is a typical example:

> *Negrito Manuel ven con tu Cajón* (Black Manuel come with your cajón)
> *Que la niña Jesus quiere bailar.* (Little girl Jesus wants to dance)
> *Ay baila y zapatea el festejo de mi tierra* (Ay dance and stomp to this festejo from my land)
> *Baila y Zapatea!* (Dance and stomp!)
> *Con su bembita llena de amor* (with her big lips full of love)
> *La niña Jesus besa a Manuel* (the girl Jesus kisses Manuel)

"*Negrito*" is *negro* with the suffix *ito.* This suffix is used to describe something small, a child, or to express love. It is a way to attenuate the derogatory aspect of the term. This term is frequently used in the popular and official discourse Perú, and in Afro-Peruvian lyrics. In the song a girl called Jesus expresses her love to *negrito* Manuel, kissing him with her *bembita. Bemba* is the slang used to describe the lips of Afro-Peruvians. Once again, it is a racist term with the suffix "ita".

Finally, the chorus is a call to dance. The phrase "Dance and stomp to the *festejo* of my land" reflects a connection of the Afro-Peruvian tradition with "*mi tierra*" (my land), a term used frequently to talk about nation, roots and authenticity in Perú. The connection to a land, the references to the Afro-Peruvian phenotype and the desire to

dance are all representatives of the depiction of Afro-Peruvian culture. And most of the songs in the Novalima repertoire have that tone.

Figure 10, the cover of Novalima's first album, is also an example of the link of Afro-Peruvian music to a racist stereotypical past. A black and white photograph, with the sexualized image of an Afro-Peruvian woman who is dressed with garments of slavery times that are modified to be more sexy, in front of an all male audience, a scene that could belong in a strip club. As I have commented earlier in the chapter, all of these images and discourses are common both in the popular and the official imaginary, and constitute ideas of authentic Afro-Peruvian identity.

But parallel to this authenticity discourse, the producers of Novalima also have a more "flexible" approach to tradition. On their first album the producers used musics from around the world as representations of tradition. Some of these traditions had nothing to do with their upbringings: they came from Brazil, Cuba, and many other countries. It seems as if it did not matter what tradition was included, as long as it was non-Western, and it could be mixed with techno and house.

Since their second album, Novalima has focused on Afro-Peruvian music as the non-Western element in their music. However, we can still hear unusual juxtapositions of different traditional Afro-Peruvian genres. For example, in the song "Luna Ciega", the lyrics of the song come from an Andean huayno, although the song is a zamacueca, (a genre considered both part of *música criolla* and the Afro-Peruvian repertoire), and the rhythm section patterns come from *marinera norteña* (a genre from the north coast). We

can also hear samples of the typical marching band style of *marinera norteña,* combined with the patterns of the cajón of zamacuecas. This mixture is highly uncommon. Added to this, they use agogo bells which are rarely used in Peruvian music but normally heard in music of West Africa and Brazil. This de-territorialized aesthetic is in tune with the world music ethos which erases historical and sociological processes by creating the abstract concept of "world". That "world" is made up of all non-Western practices, which become commodities that can be used as the counterpart of modernity in the *fusión* formula.

It also reflects the cosmopolitan experience of the producers of Novalima and the way in which many people around the world are self-representing their identities these days, by mixing a myriad of cultural referents available in the cybernetic public sphere, which become commodities for the construction of transnational identities (Garcia Canclini 1995).

The objective of this part of the chapter was to show how the representation of tradition in Novalima fits the requirements of the world music market, which frequently perpetuates old stereotypes and commodifies tradition. In the next section I will analyze how because of Novalima's essentialist approach to culture, some public policies have used the band as a symbol of Peruvianness.

2.6 Novalima as an ambassador of Peruvian identity in the World Music Expo Fair

One of the few institutions promoting arts in Perú is called PromPerú. It is part of the Ministry of Tourism. In 2012 PromPerú sent a commission to different world music fairs. Novalima was one of the main ambassadors of Peruvian culture in this campaign, and was appointed as one of the representatives of the “Perú brand”. Carmen Julia García (brand coordinator at PromPerú until 2014) told me that the aim of the campaign was to bring to the forefront bands that could sound "traditional but appealing to a broader international audience” (C. García. Personal communication July 15, 2014). Genres that are incompatible with *indigenismo’s* authenticity criteria, like chicha and *nuevo folklore,* were excluded from PromPerú’s campaign. On the other hand, versions of the encounter between tradition and modernity that complied with *indigenismo’s* discourse, such as *fusión* were chosen to represent Peruvian identity. In this section I will discuss the campaign designed for Perú's participation in WOMEX (World Music Expo Fair) one of the most important in world music). I will give a close critical reading of the text that can be found in the main webpage of the fair, which is available for anyone interested in Perú's music.

The text is structured as a historical timeline, starting with an extinct Andean past, going to a traditional present represented by Afro-Peruvian culture, into a future represented by the *fusión* of bands like Novalima. This chronological evolution mirrors the historical processes I have discussed in the dissertation so far: There is

an idealization of the Andean past, but at the same time the contemporary hybrid Andean cultural expressions are rejected. Instead, the contemporary Afro-Peruvian traditions are chosen as a source of legitimacy. As I argued early in this chapter, Afro-Peruvian identity has been preferred over Andean identity since it is less problematic for the elites. The historical line of the text finishes presenting *fusión* as the legitimate way to combine traditions with modern trends. Consider how the text is constructed. It defines Perú in the following way:

> Perú, a country with infinite talents, is broadcasting the wealth, richness, diversity, and originality of its culture both domestically and internationally through its music. Music professionals will really enjoy and get to know better the musical treasures of this Andean country with the new "Perú Music brand", which will make its world debut at WOMEX 2012 in Thessaloniki, Greece. (Arbelaez 2012, para. 1)

Perú is commonly described as an Andean country in the government's promotion campaigns. This is because of its geographical location, the Andean demographic majority, and the historical importance of the Inca empire. When it comes to cultural investment, government policies have privileged material culture over immaterial culture, and Inca architecture has been the main attraction for tourism and cultural industries (Cortés 2006). Ironically, contemporary Andean living culture has been actively discriminated against as "hybrid", as I have shown in the previous chapter. The praise for Inca material culture has been an effective strategy to fix ideas of authenticity in tangible monumental objects. It has served as a sort of proof of authenticity against the hybrid practices of chicha culture. The text continues:

> Its richness really manifests itself in Perú's homegrown instruments: on the coast one can find the Peruvian box drum, which in the 1970s was exported by Paco de Lucia and transformed flamenco; in the mountains one can always hear the melody of the zampoñas (Peruvian panpipe); and in the jungle there are flutes made from different animal parts and tree trunks that are transformed into different percussion instruments that can powerfully call together the dozens of local native tribes.(Arbelaez 2012 para. 2)

The information in the quoted paragraph is misleading. First of all, there has never been a "tribal" system in the Amazon. Nevertheless, it is common to hear the term “tribe” to describe Amazonian populations, as a derogatory term, or implying primitiveness. Secondly, as far as I know, there are no studies that talk about the usage of drums to summon populations in the Amazon. This image is a stereotype probably connected to West African drumming or depictions of Native Americans in Hollywood cinema. Lastly, panpipes do not belong to the mountains of Perú but to the high flatlands or altiplano. Added to this, the panpipe style that has become popular in touristic performances all over Perú and the world, is usually Bolivian.

This is the only time in the whole text when rural populations with traditional cultural practices are mentioned, and it is done through their material culture. I have commented previously (Rozas 2007) that it is very common in official discourses to link non-western practices to archeological objects/instruments, as opposed to living culture. Once again, this is to avoid the problem of dealing with contemporary “hybrid” cultural practices and political demands. The text goes on:

> Singer Eva Ayllon, official selection of WOMEX 2012, reunites like no other singer what it means to be Peruvian: ‘her voice carries the same message to the people of the coast, of the mountains, and of the jungle', according to expert Javier Luna Elias. This same critic also highlights the artistry of another singer, Susana Baca, and says that 'to go through the repertoire of Susana Baca is to take a tour through a version of the black Peruvian musical tradition, refined by Baca's extremely sensual and generously nuanced style. (Arbelaez 2012 para. 4)

In this section the text defines "what it means to be Peruvian". The artists chosen are Susana Baca and Eva Ayllon, both Afro-Peruvian musicians. Ayllon and Baca were picked by PromPerú to represent the idea of "reuniting" the coast, mountains and the Amazon. Afro-Peruvian musicians are the representatives of the nation, even though Perú is defined in this text as Andean. Once again, Afro-Peruvian culture is chosen over the Andean majority as a symbol of Peruvianness. The text concludes its historical line with this paragraph:

> Novalima, among others, represent the new *fusión* between traditional Peruvian music and chill-out. There is a lot to discover about Perú and it is for this reason that the Perú music brand has been created to spread and to strengthen the music industry of the country. (Arbelaez 2012 para. 5)

The way in which the text is built leaves Novalima as the conclusion of an evolution, that goes from pre-colonial times to the contemporary world. From archeological objects to Novalima’s cosmopolitan *mestizaje*. In this historical line, conflicts are avoided through an idealization of Andean past, and the omission of certain

cultural groups and historical events. In this way Peruvianness, tradition, and modernity, are presented in a harmonious way. This historical line is an example of how official entities have talked about Peruvian history since the origin of the Peruvian nation, maintaining colonial structures.

2.7 Conclusion

Novalima is an example of collaboration between people who otherwise would be separated by social structures, and this is very rare to find in Perú. The division of labor between the white upper class producers and the Afro-Peruvian working class musicians also marks a difference in the discourse. In general, the former reproduce discriminatory structures while the latter challenge fixed ideas of Afro-Peruvian culture. In the end, the producers are the ones who control the official discourse of the band. This division of labor structure is a reproduction of the *indigenismo* paradigm, where the elites instrumentalized tradition in order to generate a cohesive idea of nation. But Del Solar does not think that there is a clear division between the Afro-Peruvian members and the producers in fact for him

> The traditional community is supporting us always. We have some of the best Afro-Peruvian musicians in our recordings and our live presentations. Traditional people come to us, they want to record with us, they want their music to be heard because we are heard all around the world. (G. del Solar, Personal communication, April 20, 2012)

Del Solar is right when he says that Novalima is an opportunity for Afro-Peruvian musicians to enter a global music market, but it is an opportunity framed by the fraught modernity/tradition dichotomy. In the quote he emphasizes that dichotomy when he says that "the traditional community supports *us",* us being the modern hegemonic class, legitimized and supported by the traditional *other*. Indeed, according to Juan Medrano and the other members of the Afro-Peruvian section, the collaboration within Novalima is egalitarian and real, and they are benefited by it. Relationships within Novalima are complex, guided by interests, mutual benefits, and barter of knowledges, in a complex circulation of power. In the end, Novalima is a space of negotiation of identity which reproduces the predominant power structures in Perú, but also brings new and more inclusive ways of talking about modernity and tradition that, nevertheless, cannot escape from the inherent hegemony of modernity/tradition dyad. The Afro-Peruvian musicians manage to get the benefits of the world music market with the aid of the producers, but that market still maintains the symbolic superiority of tradition over modernity. The case of Novalima shows that a single social space can mean different things for different individuals, and that agendas can coincide and differ in different moments for different people in a same space.

Chapter 3: Dengue Dengue Dengue, Global Bass and the De-Territorialization of Identity

Felipe Salmón of Dengue Dengue Dengue (DDD) invited me to his apartment, so we could do an interview in his studio. He is staying at his parents' house because he is touring so much that it does not make sense to rent an apartment. He arrived late to the interview with two coconuts and some food. He lets me in and prepares something. "I love food and cooking. It's very similar to what I do in music. It's about combining different elements, putting them together" (F. Salmón, personal communication February 4, 2015). DDD's cumbia bass (a mixture of bass, minimal techno, and cumbia) is indeed a collage of a multiplicity of cultural elements.

DDD's music is a mixture of a myriad of cultural stereotypes that are often based on false assumptions, but at the same time it is a very honest depiction of Pereira and Salmón's experience in an urban middle class that grew up in the 1990s in the periphery of the developed world, where both modernity and tradition symbols such as Afro-Latin and electronic music have been de-territorialized as a result of a precarious expansion of modernity, and where belonging to an "authentic community" (be it modern or traditional) is neither possible nor an objective anymore.

The 90s in Perú, a turbulent period. In 1992 Alberto Fujimori carried out a coup with 80% of the population approval. During the government of Fujimori a violent

internal war came to an end, and the economy was stabilized after a decade of hyperinflation and chaos. But Fujimori also led one of the most corrupt governments in the history of the country, systematically weakened democratic institutions and violated human rights (Quiroz 2014). The 1990's were a time of social reconfiguration. Migrant culture started to gain more importance and many members of the upper class were affected by the economical crisis. This generated tensions and social disorientation. Suddenly, many former members of the upper class were sharing and disputing a space with the new migrant middle class. And none of these groups had clear referents. It was a new urban scenario at the cross-roads of tradition and modernity.

In this context there was a rise of new musics that included contemporary foreign trends and also migrant cultural expressions. This meant the possibility of an inclusive encounter, but also new forms of discrimination. DDD is a product of that tension, they are a group of young people affected by the socio-economical crisis and also by the lack of identity symbols to hang on to. In the middle of this chaotic time they found a way to generate their own cosmopolitan voice. DDD's combination of cumbia and electronic music appealed to audiences that shared DDD's middle class experience, which challenged the divisions between tradition and modernity, but also reproduced cultural stereotypes.

3.1 Who is DDD?

DDD is an audiovisual cumbia bass collective made up by Raul Pereira and Felipe Salmón. DDD was born around 2010 and had rapid success in Perú. Cumbia bass is a sub-genre of global bass, which is a sub genre of bass music, an umbrella term that includes drum and bass, bassline, dubstep, and UK garage. Global bass combines those EDM genres with traditional musics from around the world. Salmón is the one who creates the music and Pereira acts as a producer and concept maker that ties down the music, image and media discourse of DDD. Their live act consists of a DJ set and also of the performance of songs they produced. These days DDD tours around the world and is arguably the most internationally successful popular music project from Perú. They developed their career in Lima's cumbia bass scene, as a part of the "Auxiliar Collective". Auxiliar has been one of the main forces developing the cumbia bass scene in Perú, one of the fastest growing underground party circuits in Lima that attracts young audiences from the middle and upper class. The parties organized by the collective helped to consolidate the movement, bringing some of the most popular DJs from around the globe to Lima.

In early 2011 DDD uploaded their first productions to the web, and received positive reviews in major music portals that specialized in global and tropical bass in USA, Europe, and the UK. Their debut album "La Alianza Profana" (the unholy alliance) was released on October 2012 through their own label (Auxiliar Records). At the same

time the video clip for the single “Simiolo” was launched. They were an instant success locally and internationally. The album caught the attention of Berlin´s Chusma Records, who later in 2013, re-released the album in Europe, Asia, and Australia.

DDD started traveling and playing important shows like the NOVA Art Festival in Sao Paulo, Brazil and the III Iberoamerican Design Biennale in Madrid, Spain. In 2013 they started a Mexican tour and a two-month European tour, playing at major festivals and clubs across Europe. They are currently producing their second album.

In order to understand the debate between modernity and tradition within DDD’s music we need to contextualize it. In the next sections I will talk about DDD’s encounter with the two main elements in their music: cumbia and EDM.

3.2 DDD’s encounter with cumbia

Both Pereira and Salmón belong to middle class of Lima. Their contact with cumbia is recent. As they were growing up they were more interested in popular music from the US and Europe than anything else. This includes Californian punk (bands such as No Effects) and techno (such as Autechre or u-Ziq). They both admit that they never really listened to cumbia or tropical music. They actually did not even like it. As many youngsters of Lima, their contact with cumbia was through the radio programs they heard in public transportation, in the streets, or through the appearances of bands like Los Shapis on TV.

When I asked Salmón and Pereira why they did not like cumbia, Salmón answered that he specifically did not like *Andean* cumbia, and Andean music in general. He said "I do not connect with Andean cumbia, especially with the lyrics. They are kind of sad. I prefer instrumental Amazonian cumbia, or the stuff by Los Destellos[29] [an elegant cumbia band]". (F. Salmón, personal communication February 4, 2015). These arguments follow the criteria exposed in chapter one by which Andean cumbia (and contemporary Andean culture in general) has been excluded from the mainstream.

Cultural representations and media. Andean music is considered sad by many in Perú. This "sadness" refers not only to love and loss but to the social demands present in Andean cumbia's lyrics, as I commented in chapter 1. When I heard Salmón's comments I immediately remembered how back in 2012 President Alan García gave a long speech on TV on how people in the Andes were genetically sad (Racismo en el Perú 2011). After that, the president stated that black populations are inherently happier, and as a proof he commented on the happy musics of the African diaspora. This racist discourse is normal in Peruvian media, and has been embraced by DDD.

In the conversations that I had with Pereira and Salmón, we all agreed that media was one of the main ways for us to access traditional musics and migrant culture. In the 80s, in the midst of the economic crisis, internal war, and massive migrations to Lima from all over the country, intercultural and trans-social interaction was restricted,

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[29] Los Destellos is a *cumbia elegante* band. In chapter 1 I discuss how *cumbia elegante* has been preferred by Peruvian elites over Andean cumbia.

and media was the main space to generate identity symbols for young people, and in that context music was an important tool for the construction of identity.

Since the 1970s, local media (especially radio) has been key to the articulation of tradition and modernity in rural areas (Turino 1988). During the fieldwork I did in 2009 in Peruvian provinces such as Huancayo and Ancash, I visited a few local AM radio stations. Their owners stated that in the 60's and 70's more than half of the airtime was used by the audience to send regards to their communities. It was a way for people to feel that they were part of modernity, that they had a part in the construction of identity in the radio waves. (Valderrama 1987). Until the 1980s, it was rare to hear cumbia in FM radio and it had very little space on TV. In the 70s Radio Mar AM was one of the first stations to broadcast cumbia at a national scale. Then came Radio Moderna, Radio Unión, and Radio Inca. The latter was the first one to have 24 hours of Peruvian cumbia.

In contrast, since the 1980s, prime time TV broadcasted mostly pop and rock, coming from the U.S and the UK, and also the Latin American versions of those genres. Exceptions to this were shows such like *Trampolín a la Fama (*Springboard to Fame)*. Trampolín a la Fama* was very popular among the working class, and was very controversial due to its racist and sexist content, and the fact that people from the audience did humiliating stunts in order to get prizes. This was the only prime time show where one could see performances by the most popular salsa, cumbia, and huayno musicians. During the 1980s there were also shows where Andean music was featured,

and they were usually programmed very early in the morning (such as Canto Andino programmed at 5am).

In the second half of the 1990's Andean culture already represented an important market niche, and *música criolla* lost its force as a national symbol. By this time Peruvian cumbia and *nuevo folklore* also became common in mainstream TV and radio. One of the most important TV shows was *La movida de los Sábados.* The documentary *Ciudad Chicha* (Romero 2008) states that *La Movida de los Sábados* was the first show where Peruvian Cumbia was legitimized. It was a turning point in national TV. Nowadays Peruvian mainstream media is led by El Comercio group - the most powerful media consortium, with a clear right wing tendency. However, since the 1990s there has been a growing amount of newspapers and radio stations that have new migrant culture and regional urban groups as a target market.

In the 2000's, Peruvian Cumbia became the main form of national identity representation in commercials and national TV shows. Many cumbia labels started buying radio time and broadcasting their own productions. An example of this was Radio Cu. Their slogan was "Radio Cu, where cumbia rules", an allusion to the fact that before them there was no space for cumbia in the mainstream.

The fact that cumbia has gone from being invisible for the mainstream in the 70s to being the main music in media in the 2010's, is a sign of the legitimization of migrant culture. But the representation of cumbia in media also reproduces sexism and subtler forms of racism and exclusion. Also, as I mentioned in the previous chapters, and in

consonance with DDD's taste, the kind of cumbia featured in mainstream media tends to exclude Andean elements. Carrillo (2012) has commented that Andean, Afro-Peruvian, and Amazonian populations are still under-represented in media. And when they are present, they are represented in stereotyped ways that associate them with an idyllic past or with negative connotations. As I will show in the next sections, DDD both reproduces and contests these stereotypes through a complex dialogue between modernity and tradition.

How did the DDD members start liking cumbia? Even though Salmón and Pereira did not like cumbia when they were young, they say that cumbia was still a part of their upbringing. Although they never listened to it voluntarily, it was always present. This is a sonic metaphor of what was going on in Lima in the 80s and 90s: the migrant culture was growing in the outskirts of the city. It was almost invisible, but it was inevitably overheard, until it exploded in the 2000's and took over the mainstream.

It was during a trip to Argentina in 2009 that Salmón and Pereira got the idea of mixing cumbia and electronics, after seeing a show by the band Chancha Via Circuito. DDD fell in love with Chancha's cumbia bass: a global bass version of Argentinian cumbia villera (slum cumbia). On that note Pereira commented that:

> Cumbia was always there. We did not really listen to cumbia, but I always felt like it was part of us, but we only paid attention to it when we travelled outside of Perú. Before we were making music that had nothing to do with tropical or regional styles." (R. Pereira, personal communication April 12, 2015)

The idea that non-Western genres are “regional styles” is similar to the discourse of world music (Taylor 1997). I will come back to the relationship between world music and global bass later in the chapter. Another important aspect of Pereira’s quote is the fact that their visit to Argentina opened a new path for them. They realized that there was a way to integrate tropical music with electronic music in a cosmopolitan fashion, just like *indigenistas* and Novalima*,* they realized that their closeness to non-Western rhythms was key for their international success. This realization was an answer to the cultural dilemmas of middle class artists in countries like Perú, and just like with *indigenismo,* it has led to both the criticism of the hegemony of Western culture but also to the reproduction of racist stereotypes, which I will discuss in further detail later. For now, I will continue talking about the context in which DDD develops their music, the EDM scene in Lima, which was also influenced since its origins by the tradition-modernity dichotomy present in world music and in *indigenismo.*

3.3. DDD and EDM

The Peruvian pioneers: ethno-tronics. EDM started to grow in Lima in the 90s. Many of the DJs were former rock musicians, or did both things at the same time. Theremin 4 and Elegante were among the most successful electronic artists during that decade. However, it was during the 2000's that EDM entered the mainstream in Latin

America. One of the acts that opened the doors to other artists was Bajo Fondo Tango Club. Bajo Fondo was an Argentinian Grammy award winning collective that combined chill-out electronics with tango.

Just like Bajo Fondo did with Argentinian tango, Peruvian artists started combining electronic beats with samples from old Peruvian songs. The samples included field recordings, and hits from Andean music and *música criolla*. The most successful artists in this trend were Miki Gonzales and Jaime Cuadra. Both Gonzales and Cuadra came from the rock scene where they also combined traditional Peruvian musics such as Andean or Afro-Peruvian, with rock. They were influenced by the *fusión* trend, which as I discussed in chapter 2, bridges tradition and modernity but also reproduced old cultural stereotypes.

Both Gonzales and Cuadra then released albums in the chill-out electronics style which Miki Gonzales called “ethno-tronics”. Gonzales’ album “Cafe Inkaterra” (2004) was very popular among the upper middle and upper classes. Felipe Salmón of DDD was hired by Miki Gonzales to produce some tracks for that album, however Salmón was never in the forefront of the project or mentioned in the credits.

The rise of global bass in Perú. During the 2000's rave parties became very popular among middle and upper class Lima youth. The capital city became an important stop on the global rave circuit and many internationally famous DJs started to come from all over the world. During the second half of the 2000s global bass became

one of the most popular genres within the electronic music scene. It was around the second half of the 2000's that DJs and producers such as Shushupe, Deltatron, Quechuaboy, Elegante, and DDD became successful. Their party scene is very active to this day, but still moves with an underground but cohesive dynamic.

3.4. Is global bass world music 2.0?

According to Net-Costas (2013) global bass has been described as world music 2.0 because in many cases it reproduces what world music has been accused of: commodification of traditional cultures, and their standardization to fit the European and American taste. As Taylor (1997) has discussed, world music is in many cases the expression of global consumerism and the translation of traditions into a global currency (Hall 1996). As I will show in the next pages, DDD both reproduces and critiques commodification and cultural homogenization of world music and global bass.

Can global bass overcome world music's authenticity discourses? Just like in world music, the global bass recipe requires a modern and a traditional element. Pereira and Salmón have said that in the same song they can use traditional elements from different countries and mix them. This de-territorialized "traditional" ingredient will be mixed with the "modern" sounds of electronics, and the result is global bass. Pereira and Salmón are not interested in keeping an authenticity linked to a particular cultural

group. Neither they have an intention of keeping fixed borders between tradition and modernity. Pereira said that many of the musicians doing cumbia bass are not even Latin American. And he has nothing against that, on the contrary:

> It's very interesting to find projects inspired in Latin American music outside of Latin America. But the root of everything is really African music, you know? Everything is a mixture. Cumbia for example is a rhythm that was born in Colombia inside African communities, and then came to Perú and was mixed with Andean music and electric guitars. Everything is trans-cultured, so it's not strange for us to hear international versions of what we are doing. (R. Pereira, personal communication April 12, 2015)

The discourse of DDD is complex. Pereira erodes homogenizing trends by stating that all "traditions" are "trans-cultured". But on the other hand he also talks about "African music" as a common root to all African diaspora musics, omitting the fact that African music is very varied. I will return to the representation of "African" music in DDD. First I would like to focus on DDD's approach to cumbia.

Cumbia, global bass and global tradition. In the dynamics of global bass, tradition seems to be a de-territorialized global currency. There is an interest in non-Western music, but there is no intention of respecting an authenticity linked to a specific culture or geography. We sometimes find traditional musics from around the world mixed. Pereira talks about this in the following quote:

> Even though we focus a lot on cumbia, the project changes naturally. We want to continue experimenting with native rhythms, but not only from Latin America. We call the sound tropical bass and this term opens up a wider spectrum. It could be music from Africa or Central America for example. (R. Pereira, personal communication April 12 2015)

DDD is looking for new traditional elements for their music and in this quest they found the "African" sound of zouk bass. Zouk bass is a genre developed in Portugal by Buraka som sistema (superstar DJs in the global bass movement). It combines electronic music with elements of zouk, a genre from the French Antilles (not from Africa). Zouk bass made the members of DDD become interested in Afro-Peruvian music. Note that just like with cumbia, it was by listening to a foreign global bass DJs that they started exploring African diaspora rhythms in Perú. Both with cumbia and with Afro-Peruvian genres, DDD's relationship to tradition is not a direct one, it is mediated by the global bass scene's modernity/tradition dyad.

On their new found interest on Afro-Peruvian music, Pereira comments: "We started to explore how the [Afro-Peruvian populations] came from Africa, and this draws a parallel between African and American cultures". (R. Pereira, personal communication April 12 2015). Salmón adds:

> Global bass is a global movement which is based on recovering the roots of each country. In our case now we are interested in where Latin American roots come from, and a large part of that is from Africa. We tried to incorporate African rhythms. That was new to us. And we found zouk bass, which brought us back to Perú. There are cities here in Perú with African communities and zouk helped us to make that connection. (F. Salmón, personal communication February 4, 2015)

Salmón's discourse reproduces a series of stereotypes regarding Afro-Peruvian populations. First of all, the term "African" is problematic in itself. It reduces the complexities of the African diaspora to a single space. Added to this, zouk is not African, it is a European/West African hybrid that has its origins in the French Antilles (Guilbault 1993). However, the members of DDD talk about it as an African genre and many of the zouk bass fans do too. To say that in Perú there are "cities with African populations doing their own music" is also not accurate. There are some areas in the south of Lima, in the region of Ica, which indeed have a concentration of Afro-Peruvian populations, but there is a very scarce local production of Afro-Peruvian music there, as Vasquez (1982) has discussed.

The idea of "African cities" and the links between African music (as a cultural monolith) and Afro-Peruvian music are prevalent stereotypes in the Peruvian imaginary. The parallel DDD makes between Africa, zouk, and Afro-Peruvian music is more symbolic than musical. It has to do more with Pereira and Salmón's idea of blackness than with the actual history of Afro-Peruvian populations. In fact, Afro-Peruvian rhythms are very different to the zouk patterns.

This is an example of how for DDD the idea of "traditional music" no longer implies an accurate connection between cultural practices and a particular country or group. And it does not matter if different traditions from around the world are mixed. In DDD's case, zouk, Afro-Peruvian music and Africa are combined to generate an abstract global black tradition that erases a multiplicity of histories. And the thing that ties down all of

these black historic referents is that they are non-Western. In the end, what defines the histories of different African diasporas is the fact that they are not Western. They are defined by the history of modernity. This is how a global tradition is created: non-Western referents are de-territorialized and combined in a collage, and it does not matter where they come from as long as they represent non-Western cultures.

3.5 The translation of cumbia into the global bass aesthetic

Pierre Bourdieu (1961) comments that when elites are unable to erase the aesthetics they reject, they appropriate them and translate them into their own terms so they can keep control over them. Is global bass an example of that appropriation? Is it t the way in which elites are domesticating rebellious hybrids, and turning them into de-historicized world music 2.0 products? Yes and no. In the following lines I will show how DDD has modified cumbia to fit the global bass standards. But later I will also show how DDD creates new ways of talking about Peruvian identity, creating spaces for referents beyond global bass' stereotypes of tradition and modernity.

The transformation of cumbia into cumbia bass. Just like DDD got into cumbia through Chancha Via Circuito's slum cumbia bass, and into Afro-Peruvian music through Buraka Som Sistema's zouk bass, audiences and artists around the world are accessing Peruvian tradition through DDD's sound, and through global bass. But the

tradition represented in global bass is a specific kind of tradition, a standard that translates local musics into the global bass sound.

According to DDD's webpage, their sound consists of "remixing and making mash-ups from their own tracks with old cumbias and modifying classic cumbia themes into electronic versions". (Dengue Dengue Dengue 2015). But if we analyze their songs, there are really not many elements from Peruvian cumbia in their music. It's something different, a mixture of many influences that refer to different traditions. The fact that it is called cumbia is related to a very well-crafted concept that relies on a discourse and a visual language too.

The only clear music elements coming from Peruvian cumbia are the bass line and the basic rhythmic cell of cumbia and huayno (figure 11). As I described in chapter 1, this rhythmic cell has a history of its own. It is a part of the percussion pattern of Colombian chucu chucu. Chucu chucu took the pattern from traditional Colombian cumbia, accenting the downbeat. Peruvian cumbia took it from chucu chucu, and made the whole pattern less syncopated, accenting this rhythmic cell, in order to match huayno feel.

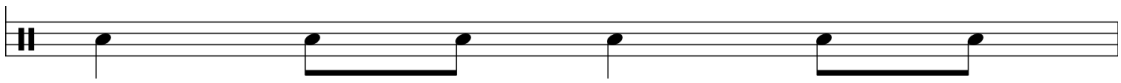

Figure 11: Güiro pattern from cumbia/huayno rhythmic cell.

Peruvian cumbia musicians modified Colombian chucu chucu to fit huayno. DDD took the güiro pattern from Peruvian cumbia, and modified it to fit an EDM aesthetic. Peruvian cumbia enhanced the Colombian pattern's accents in the two and the four., and DDD's cumbia bass enhances those accents even more, eliminating almost all of the syncopated patterns present in Peruvian cumbia.

DDD's music is minimalist and very repetitive. They use the cumbia/huayno pattern of figure 11 "obsessively". However, DDD members did not grow up listening to neither cumbia or huayno. Nevertheless, those genres were always there, overheard, in the streets, in public transportation, on the radio of the working class people who cleaned houses or worked in restaurants. DDD's extensive use of the güiro pattern reminds me of a specific instance where cumbia was overheard: the songs of child beggars. During the 1980s and 1990s it was very common to see children go on public buses to sing huaynos and cumbias and ask for money. They sang them while scratching two seashells that worked as a makeshift güiro. They played the cumbia/ huayno pattern as a loop.

The fact that this pattern is virtually the only trace of cumbia in DDD's music, can be related to this kind of experience. In my memories, that pattern became a symbol. It was the most recognizable thing in cumbia and huayno, that marginal music overheard in the streets. The pattern was the musical element that stood out; it was a fetish, a stereotype, a caricature. Back then if somebody asked me to play cumbia or huayno, I

would play that pattern. In a way, for me, DDD is the sound of cumbia involuntarily overheard by middle class kids in the 1980s and 1990s.

The güiro pattern fits perfectly EDM's bass drum on every quarter note, also known as the four-to-the-floor[30], which is arguably the most characteristic element in EDM. Anything that clashes with the four-to-the-floor is eliminated. This process of modification of local musics to fit EDM standards is replicated in every local version of global bass such as cumbia bass and zouk bass, among others.

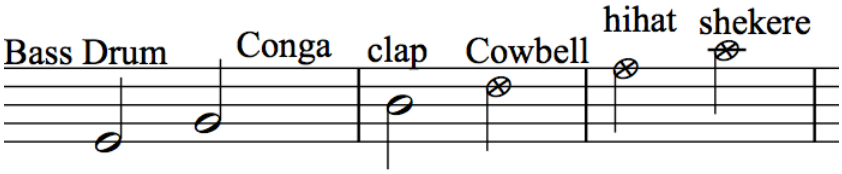

Figure 12: Percussion symbols

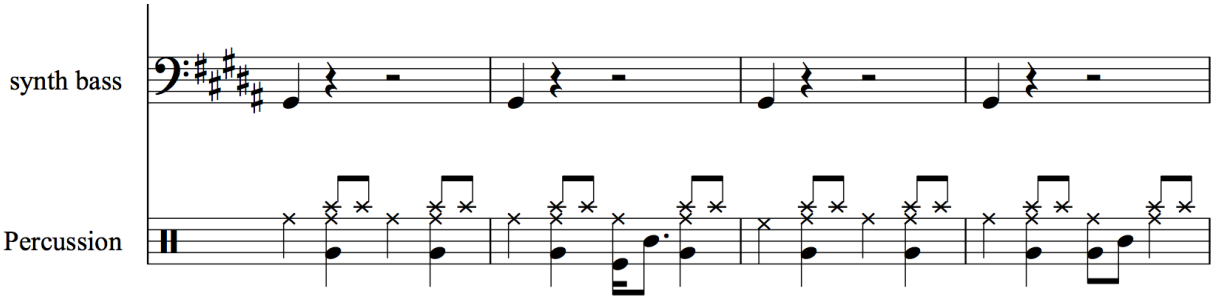

Figure 13 excerpt from "Simiolo". Listen here

[30] See chapter 2 for a further discussion on the four-to-the-floor pattern.

This modification to fit the four-to-the-floor also makes it easier for DJs and producers to sample and manipulate genres from around the world and to mix them for DJ sets, since most common software packages are generally based on a single metronome and 4/4 beat grid, which is perfect for the rhythmic aesthetic of EDM which emphasizes the downbeat. Also, according to Salmón, the four-to-the floor makes it easy for anybody around the world to dance.

Figure 13 is a pattern used in the introduction of “Simiolo”, a track from DDD’s debut album *La Alianza Profana.* The synth bass hits the first beat of every bar and a hi-hat plays every quarter note, accentuating the downbeat. The güiro pattern is modified, by eliminating the note in the downbeat, and the pattern is not played by a güiro but by a shekere, and played louder than usual. The overall effect of this is an accentuation of the downbeat and the prominence of the güiro pattern.

As I discussed in the previous chapter, the four-to-the-floor bass drum is like a visa. If a traditional rhythm fits that pattern, “you are in”. This is the sound of the global periphery, a cross over between modernity and tradition that can be consumed anywhere in the world[31]. We can draw a parallel between cultural Enlightenment policies and global bass. The genres that were tolerated by the Enlightenment policies were the secular ones, the ones that did not question the aesthetic and religious

[31] The adaptation of non-Western rhythms to EDM’s four-to-the-floor

principles of Western culture. In the same way, global bass incorporates elements of non-Western rhythms as long as they do not clash with the “universal” four-to-the-floor. There are also similarities between the empire of the four-to-the-floor and the way in which Spanish colonial regime blended with the local Peruvian culture. I will give a more detailed analysis of modifications of Andean genres during colonial times in chapter 4.

The connection between cumbia, huayno, and dub. In recent years, cumbia has become very popular in global bass circuits. Felipe Salmón says that this is because “Cumbia works well mixed with other styles because of the accents it shares with dub, and also it’s easy to dance so it's the perfect party music.” (F. Salmón, personal communication February 4, 2015). In DDD the connection between cumbia and dub is very important. Veal (2007) has commented that Jamaican dub’s experimentations in the studio opened the door for new combinations of African diaspora rhythms and electronics, and was embraced by producers in the U.S and the UK, becoming a new electronic genre leading to other genres such as drum’n’bass and dubstep. The close relationship between dub and the music of countries such as the U.S and the UK has to do with the fact that dub shared accents on the second and fourth beat with Western mainstream genres such as rock and techno. This connection enabled European and US audiences to embrace dub. According to Veal, it was the first time that electronic music from Europe and the U.S blended with the music of the

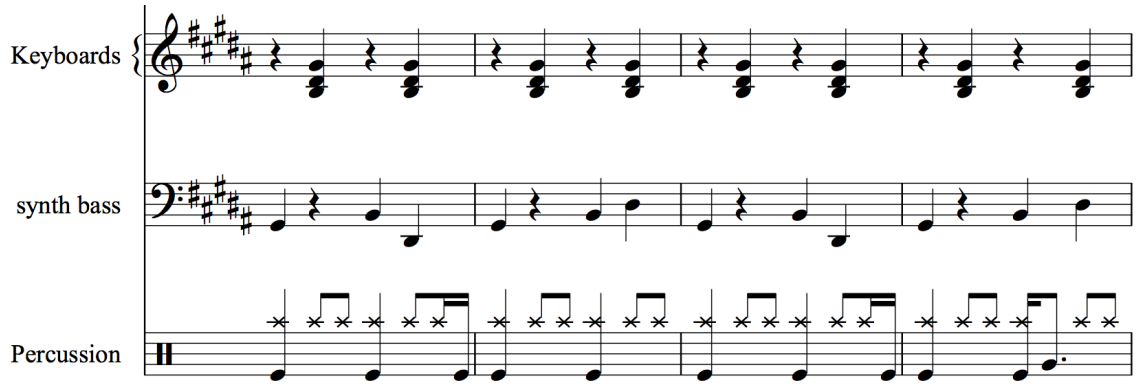

Figure 14. Excerpt from “Simiolo”. Listen here

cumbia also shares accents with dub, as Salmón commented in the quote.

DDD connect cumbia with dub’s privileged position as a significant non-Western “other” in developed countries. “Simiolo” is a good example of how DDD adapts cumbia to dub. In 0:46, when the whole rhythmic pattern in “Simiolo” is set, the reggae/dub feel is very evident (figure 14). A keyboard comes in marking the second and fourth quarter note. This is the typical guitar pattern of reggae. The presence of this keyboard makes the cumbia güiro pattern sound almost like the scratch of the guitar in reggae music.In 0:46 we have another typical element from cumbia: the bass guitar pattern (figure 14) which is played by a synth in “Simiolo”.

In this section I have illustrated how DDD has adapted cumbia to EDM aesthetics, leaving behind the syncopation of Peruvian cumbia and emphasizing its similarities to techno and dub. In the next section I will comment on how the music of DDD incorporates Andean music into their sound.

DDD and Andean music. Earlier in the chapter I quoted Salmón and Pereira saying that they did not like Andean cumbia or Andean music. Nevertheless, Andean music is present in different ways in their music. From a rhythmic point of view, the modification of cumbia patterns to fit the four-to-the-floor bass drum and dub, take DDD's music closer to Andean huayno than Andean cumbia itself. While Andean cumbia includes the syncopation of cumbia and Afro-cuban, DDD's cumbia bass eliminates that syncopation, bringing the basic huayno rhythmic cell to the forefront. Many of DDD's bass patterns have an Andean feel.

Figure 15. Clockwise: Aj Fossik's, Kwakiutl's, DDD's, and Daft punk's masks

In figure 14 the Andean feel is achieved with the emphasis on the last eighth note on bars 1 and 3. The latter is not common in Peruvian or Colombian cumbia, but is commonly heard in huayno. Once again, the Andean aesthetics that are kept (consciously or unconsciously) are the ones that do not conflict with EDM aesthetics.

There is also an Andean influence in the visual discourse of DDD. Both Pereira and Salmón use masks in their live shows, and publicity photos. According to Pereira, although he is not interested in Andean music, their use of masks is related to Andean culture. He told me that they started wearing masks during their performances and then it evolved into giving out masks to the audience. The results were surprising. For them the use of masks is a tool to unleash primal energies in themselves and the audiences, and is inspired by Andean rituals. It is true that the use of masks is very extensive in Andean ceremonies, however DDD's masks are not based on Andean designs. Actually the designs are very similar to the art of Aj Fosik, an artist from the U.S who is influenced by (or some might say has appropriated) native American art of the Kwakiutl (see figure 15).

Last year a Facebook user accused DDD of plagiarism for the similarity of the masks to Fosik's art, and informed Fosik of the situation. There was a brief dispute. In the end the problem was solved and DDD announced on their Facebook page that it was all a confusion and that from now on they had the permission from Fosik to use the

masks. The use of masks can also be read as a Latin American version of Daft Punk, a French EDM duo who always wears them.

DDD's masks are a great example of how sampling culture generates complex circulations of tradition and modernity, and how authorship, representation and appropriation get lost in a maze of information. It is also an example of how traditions and modernities from different parts of the world interact in a de-territorialized way in the aesthetics of global bass, erasing the histories and contexts of the cultural elements represented. In the case of the masks, native American art is merged with Andean references through the mediation of DDD, Aj Fossik, and Daft Punk.

3.6. DDD and Amazonian cumbia

Psychedelia as a cultural translator. When I asked Pereira why he liked Amazonian cumbia more than Andean cumbia he said that "Amazonian cumbia is very organic, psychedelic, it has soul, and we just like it more". (R. Pereira, personal communication April 12, 2015). In chapter one, I commented that Amazonian cumbia is more popular than Andean cumbia among the upper and middle class in Lima. Amazonian cumbia avoids political issues addressed by Andean cumbia, and does not use the always problematic Andean aesthetics. But there is another important element in Amazonian cumbia: it has a psychedelic rock sound, and frequently talks about the use of hallucinogens in Amazonian culture. As I will detail in this section, psychedelia is

a concept that allows the translation of the non-Western practices of Amazonian culture into the language of the Western mainstream.

Ayahuasca is the most important psychotropic in the Amazon, and it has been central in the representation of Amazonian culture in the Peruvian imaginary (Bendayan 2014). It has attracted new age audiences, fans of rock, and electronic ravers, all of whom have found parallels between the 1960s hippy/rock culture, the rave party ethos, and Ayahuasca rituals. This is why Amazonian culture is so important for DDD. Psychedelia is a bridge between tradition and modernity, it connects the non-Western Amazonian ritual ingestion of Ayahuasca with pop, rock and global bass.

DDD's visual aesthetic also incorporates psychedelic elements, including the typical phosphorescent colors in the style of the banners of Andean cumbia as figure 16 shows. In this case Andean aesthetics are incorporated by DDD, and it happens because Andean cumbia's visual aesthetic is compatible with Salmón and Pereira's love for psychedelia and kitsch sci-fi. The concept of psychedelia facilitates the translation of the bright colors of Los Shapis' banners and ayahuasca rituals into the discourse of global bass and world music, in a process of de-contextualization and re-contextualization. In this way, practices such as ayahuasca ingestion and chicha aesthetics, which are disdained by upper middle class Peruvians, are legitimized; but at the same time they are detached from their original contexts and commodified.

In the next section I will provide another example of cultural de-contextualization. I will show how in most of the cases there are no traces of Amazonian music in what is

known as Amazonian cumbia, and how DDD has re-contextualized the trope of Amazonian music.

Figure 16. Los Shapis banner and DDD live *mise-en-scene*

A silent tradition: the absence of Amazonian music in the representation of Amazonian music in Perú. Even though DDD makes a lot of verbal references to Amazonian music, on close listening I could not find any Amazonian music elements on their album *La Alianza Profana*. I asked Pereira about this contradiction, and he answered the following:

> It's difficult to explain, because it's quite abstract for us and hard to put it in a context that makes sense to more than just us, but graphically we like how it looks. We have a VJ and she makes psychedelic, trippy visuals. For me, our music is a reference to mind-traveling induced by psychoactives like ayahuasca from the jungle of Perú. (R. Pereira, personal communication April 12, 2015)

It is not a coincidence that DDD represents Amazonian music only metaphorically, and focuses on the visual aspect of it. In general, it is very hard to have access to traditional Amazonian music in Perú. Even in the academic world there are very few publications or field recordings. As Bolaños (2003) comments, Amazonian music has been virtually erased from Peruvian history. This has to do with centuries of exclusion and geographical isolation. The Amazonian region is in the east of Perú, crossed by large rivers such as the Amazon and Ucayali. Even though it has a great cultural diversity (12 ethno-linguistic families), for the press, academy, and cultural policies, it is still a world to be discovered (Ortiz 2001).

There is a common word in Peruvian jargon to classify people from the Amazon: *Chunchos.* It is also used as a derogatory term that implies primitivism or lack of manners. The word *chuncho* can be traced back to pre-colonial times. It is a Quechua expression which means "feathers", making a reference to the garments used by different Amazonian groups. Guaman Poma's XVI century *crónica* (Guaman Poma 1993) describes how the Incas thought Amazonian populations were inferior, and describes how the Inca state had either conquered them or ignored them.

During the Spanish occupation Amazonian populations were relatively isolated, since the geographical conditions made it difficult to connect the area with the rest of the country. The Franciscan order was the first link between Amazonian areas and the colonial government. Amazonian populations were regarded as a less valid interlocutor than Andeans by the Spanish government, and the Catholic church carried out an

aggressive evangelization campaign based on a blockade of the salt commerce and tool exchange ordered by viceroy Manso de Velazco (Varese 2006).

In the contemporary Peruvian imaginary, the Amazon has been constructed as an unknown space, mysterious and uncivilized, and this has been critical in facilitating the expansion of mining and wood industry in the area. The press and media talk about Amazonian populations as either an obstacle for modernity, or as the mythical guardians of nature. It is difficult to find mid-point solutions when the discussion is so dichotomized (Daigneault 2011). There have been many shameful episodes, such as the mass murder of the Mayoruna ordered by president Belaunde in 1964, because they refused to leave the area to let the wood industry expand. Neither Belaunde nor the army were ever tried for that. Recently, mining projects in the region of Bagua have also caused deaths of police and civil population as a result of social conflicts.

In the last decades, the historic exclusion of Amazonian populations has led them to adopt a discourse of cultural independence from official Perú, or even of an independent Amazonian nation (Manrique 2000). One of the most important organizations in the dialogue between Amazonian communities, the government, and mining companies is AIDESEP (Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Rainforest), which is fighting for the constitution of an independent Amazonian nation. The “independent nation” concept allows Amazonian populations new possibilities to access citizenship and modernity, but also leads to authenticity discourses that generate new forms of commodification and isolation of their culture. As

urban centers and mining industries expand, ritual contexts disappear and with them their music. But parallel to this, there is a revival of traditions, which are re-enacted and performed for tourists and anthropologists (Rozas 2004).

Manrique (2000) has noted that the “independent nation” political strategy distinguishes Amazonian from Andean populations; the latter rarely use the independent nation discourse. As I discussed in chapter one, Andean populations have gone through a process of historical integration between tradition and modernity since colonial times, producing hybrids that are harder to essentialize as authentic, traditional, or “independent”.

In contrast, hegemonic discourses easily essentialize Amazonian culture. It has been a target for authenticity guardians due to its marginality from the official world, and to its independent nation discourse. Hence the “preference” for Amazonian music over Andean music in projects like DDD, which move in a global music market where tradition is treated in an essentialist way.

Why is there no Amazonian music in Amazonian cumbia? One of the ways in which Amazonian culture has been essentialized in official and popular discourses in Perú is by erasing its music. Traditional Amazonian music is absent in media and official discourses in Perú. Nevertheless, Peruvian media and official discourses extensively use Amazonian *cumbia* to represent Amazonian music. But in reality there are hardly

any Amazonian music traits in Amazonian cumbia. It is more of a metaphor and a marketing strategy. Commenting on this absence, Tomás Tello said that

> It was really difficult for me to find field recordings of Amazonian music. People do not really know anything about Amazonian music. They think that traditional musicians in the Amazon play psychedelic Amazonian cumbias but that is not the reality, it has nothing to do with that. (T. Tello, personal communication July 23, 2014)

DDD cites Amazonian cumbia as one of their main influences, and Juaneco y su Combo in particular. The Amazonian cumbia movement blossomed in the 1970s in cities like Iquitos and Pucalpa, in the Peruvian jungle. Juaneco y su Combo was the most popular band of the Amazonian cumbia scene. Their sound drew from psychedelic rock, and they used electric guitars and organs, and just like the *cumbia elegante* movement happening in Lima at the time, it differentiated itself from chicha through the absence of Andean elements in their music, and it was mainly instrumental.

The representation of Amazonian identity was a big part of Juaneco's act. They presented themselves as ambassadors of the Shipibo ethnicity using costumes and cultural references in their lyrics, and linked ayahuasca to the American psychedelic culture of the 1970s. However, none of the band members were Shipibos: they were part of the Andean settler community in the region and their music did not draw from Amazonian music. The Amazonian aspect of their act had more to do with cultural performance and marketing strategy.

I talked about this with Joaquín Mariátegui, the guitar player of the cumbia band Bareto. As he explained to me in an interview, it is common to hear somebody shouting "Sabor a Selva!" (Jungle Flavor!) in Juaneco's songs. But the truth is that every time somebody shouts this it is "because they are playing some licks from popular urban Brazilian music, not from Peruvian Amazonian traditions as many believe".(J. Mariátegui, personal communication, March 27, 2007)

Amazonian cumbia was the product of urban interactions between Andean settlers and Amazonian populations who were adapting to a new urban life. It was a combination of hip tropical music that came from Colombia and Cuba, rock, Brazilian music, and cultural referents of Amazonian traditions. It was a way to create a new modern sound that at the same time represented the life in the Peruvian jungle.

While chicha (also known as Andean cumbia) bands like Los Shapis have based their lyrics on the problems of Andean immigrants to Lima, Amazonian cumbia bands like Juaneco y su Combo have tended to avoid socio-political issues. Instead there was a tendency to use Amazonian stereotypes in their performance, both in their visual discourse and in their lyrics. An example of this is Juaneco's biggest hit "El Abuelo" (Grandpa). *Abuelo* is a term used in Amazonian culture to refer to old community leaders and ancestors. In the song, an *abuelo* dies drinking *masato,* an Amazonian drink made of yucca fermented with saliva. An *abuela* dies eating zuri*,* an Amazonian dish made of worms. These images reproduce the stereotypes of Amazonian populations and their "lethal" and "uncivilized" cultural practices. The album

covers and photos of Juaneco present the band members with traditional Amazonian garments, which are actually costumes. It is a form of commodification of culture that is compatible with the way in which world music and global bass represent tradition. Once again it does not matter if there is a connection between the people, the artifacts, the history, the culture and the geography. What matters is the presence of a "traditional" element in the tradition/modernity formula, no matter what.

3.7. DDD and the sampling of tradition

Sampling culture is directly related to the experience of interculturality in a capitalist economy; there is a tendency to commodify cultural identities through stereotypes and symbols that can be easily moved around and modified (Miller 2008). Contemporary global bass musicians such as DDD have mastered the art of the cultural collage, sampling referents from different moments and places. An example is their use of Amazonian chants in their upcoming album. Salmón comments that:

> In the new record, maybe half of the tracks have samples of icaros, which are chants sung in the jungle to induce people into different mental states in the ayahuasca trip. That kind of thing gives our track different layers (F. Salmón, personal communication February 4, 2015)

The fact that the chants mentioned above are sung in non-Western style and in an Amazonian language makes it easier to re-contextualize their meaning. This is true in a

cultural but also in an economical sense. The sampling of traditional chants is much easier because there is no registration or copyright laws protecting them in Perú.

Identity as sampling. The construction of identity as a sampling and mixing of diverse cultural elements is not new in Perú. As I discussed in the introduction, most of the population in Perú is mixed race, and the exchange between hegemonic and oppressed cultural groups has been fluid since colonial times. Almost every cultural referent and ethnic trait is shared by both hegemonic and oppressed groups. That is why criteria of inclusion and exclusion are not given but constructed, and keep changing. Hence, the combination of Afro-Latin music and electronics can be a form of agency for Andean and Afro-Peruvian populations, and at the same a tool for discrimination, as I have shown in previous chapters. Sampling and mixing diverse cultural referents to create new criteria of inclusion and exclusion has been a common practice in Peruvian history.

Salmón and Pereira have mastered the art of cultural sampling and have been able to portrait how their generation (the Lima middle class born in the 80s) grew up surrounded by both local and foreign cultural referents, but not belonging to any of them. DDD has created powerful symbols out of the available cultural samples in the Peruvian imaginary. DDD's success has a lot to do with their ability to construct an identity that exemplifies the condition of their generation, which grew up with a cultural sampling dynamic and the experience of being at the cross-roads of modernity and

tradition in a developing country. In the next sections I will describe some of the tactics of DDD's cultural sampling: Afro-Latin futurism, neo-tropicalism, and the trope of transcendence.

Afro-Latin futurism. As Griffith (2008) comments, Afro-futurism tries to solve the historical opposition between African-diaspora cultures and technology. Afro-futurism presents an African-American version of modernity, but also cannot escape the language that has actually created the opposition between tradition and modernity. In Afro-futurism there is not a complete detachment from the stereotypes of blackness and modernity. The term Afro-futurism itself is fraught, it implies the assumption that the combination of modernity and African diaspora expressions is something rare.

DDD's approach has a similar problematic. On one hand it tries to relativize the modernity/tradition binary, but they do it by sampling stereotypical symbols that underpin the binary. A great example of this is the video clip of "Simiolo", where DDD presents an aesthetic that can be described as "Afro-Latin futurism".

The video opens with two exotic dancers that look like the ones featured in cumbia shows, known as *vedettes.* The borders of the image wobble with a psychedelic effect. Curtains open, and we see an image of outer space, and the name DDD appears in neon letters. The typography makes a reference to Star Wars. (see figure 17)

After this we see Salmón and Pereira on their knees in some planet, with 80's sport clothes with phosphorescent colors, that also reference chicha culture. A UFO approaches them, and shoots them with a laser making them unconscious.

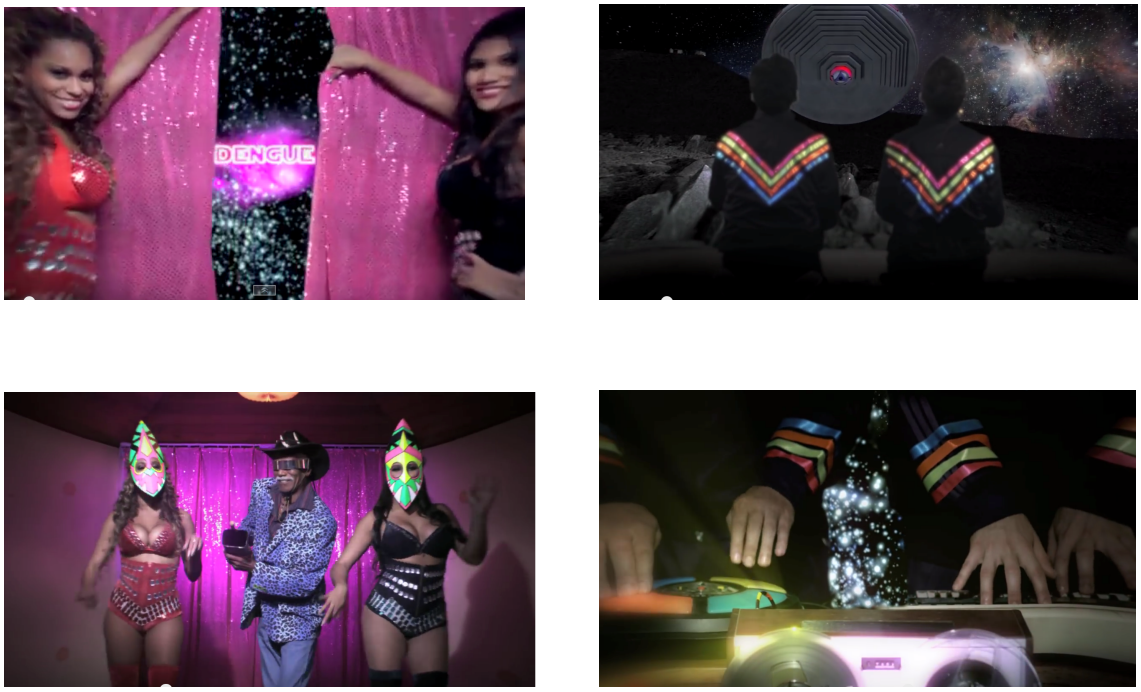

Figure 17. Frames from the “Simiolo” video

The video continues with a cheap sci-fi aesthetic, which at once praises and makes fun of chicha. DDD are connecting cumbia aesthetics with hip contemporary trends, but the connection is done with a conscious irony. The bright colors, the cheap special effects, and the *vedettes* are all symbols of migrant culture’s precarious

modernity. There is an intelligent and fragile balance between the tribute and the joke, a tense equilibrium in embracing chicha as part of their visual discourse but at the same time making clear that they are conscious of its “cheesiness”. Just like Bourdieu (1961) states, anything that tries to escape the modernity/tradition dichotomy will be controlled and classified as bad taste by the elites, and DDD displays their understanding of good and bad taste through their humor.

But it would be too simple to say that it is pure racism and sexism. It is also a transgression of the cultural barriers that separate tradition and modernity. They are actually using chicha aesthetics, and in a way they are transforming it into something cool for the elites. But DDD’s transgression is different from Los Shapis’. For example. DDD are hip and appealing for international audiences because they understand why precarious modernity is funny for elites, as opposed to Los Shapis who are trying to look modern in their own terms, beyond the taste criteria of the elites.

Los Shapis look “cheesy” for the elites, but heroic for their migrant Andean audiences, as I argued in chapter 1. Salmón and Pereira on the other hand, have no pretensions of being heroes. They locate themselves as cultural orphans, neither belonging to tradition or modernity. Their cultural orphanage gives them an outsider perspective that allows them to understand why audiences from the U.S and Europe think Los Shapis are cheesy, but they also embrace their closeness to chicha aesthetics, making clear that they are Peruvian, and not U.S citizens or European. There is a dose of cynicism in their juggling and sampling different cultural references.

Another example of the balancing out of consciousness of cheesiness and pride of Peruvian culture is how after watching a series of stereotypes of Amazonian culture (of which I will talk in detail in the next section) and sexist representations of Peruvian women, suddenly we see a male break-dancer, who is wearing a mask similar to the ones the DDD members use in their shows. In this way DDD connects Peruvian cumbia to the global African diaspora, legitimizing it in a global urban context linked to the international "coolness" of hip-hop culture.

The balancing between modernity and tradition is key in DDD's Afro-Latin futurism. In "Simiolo", the fact that the cumbia/huayno rhythmic cell is played not by a güiro but by a shekere (coming from West African traditions) is an important decision. It connects DDD with a broader conception of African diaspora that comes from a world music ethos. This generates a distance from Peruvian cumbia without losing its feel. The same can be said of the use of electronic cowbell and clap sounds, which are cliches of tropical and electronic music respectively. The percussion sounds chosen come from old school drum machines, which have a kitsch factor too, a nostalgia for the dawn of electronic music, where real sounds were precariously imitated by machines.

Another important element in their Afro-Latin futurism are the visual references to the history of technology. For example, after seeing several cheap futuristic sci-fi scenes in the video clip, an old magnetic tape player enters the scene, in the middle of some plant pots that look like a tacky tropical *mise-en-scene*. We also see some 1980's technology such as a Nintendo video game console (see figure 17). Unlike working

class Peruvian Cumbia musicians like Los Shapis, who use all the technology they have available to legitimize themselves and look modern, DDD makes fun of the precarious modernity of Latin America. And they mock the desire for nature (potted plants simulating the tropical jungle) or technology, in a cynical hipster fashion.

DDD are very conscious about their precariousness. They laugh at their attempts to be modern, and through this humor they find success with their audiences. But there is also something very serious in their project. The craft of the whole concept is detailed and professional, and their audio visual production has a very high quality.

Neo-tropicalism and Amazonian stereotypes. Another strategy in DDD's cultural collage is the use of Amazonian stereotypes. In the "Simiolo" video, the first image we see are two exotic dancers doing sexual movements, which are directly related to the representation of Amazonian women in the Peruvian imaginary (Romero 2008). It is important to point out that in contrast, the Andean female body has been denied a public sexuality (Romero 2008), because the Amazonian body has been tamed and objectified in the Peruvian mind as opposed to Andean bodies (Canepa 2001), which still seem to be dangerous when it comes to the expression of pleasure.

In the video a "tropical pimp" joins the two girls (figure17): A dark skinned man with a cowboy hat, mustache, leopard skin suit, playing a cowbell with a big smile, wearing cyborg-like glasses. This character comes more from a Hollywood depiction of African American masculinity, than from the Peruvian imaginary. In the next scene the dancers

start pouring alcohol in the mouth of an office worker in a sexual attitude, continuing with the depiction of Latin female sexuality as dangerous and out of control.

Figure 18. Shaman from the “Simiolo” video.

So far we have mentioned several elements and characters and all of them are cartoonish. There is only one character in the whole video that is real and serious: An Amazonian shaman (figure 18). He is dressed with typical garments of the Shipibo group, and he appears accompanied by a “mysterious music”: He arrives during a section of the song with a chromatic melody.

Why is the shaman the only serious character in the video? It is because Amazonian culture is DDD’s connection to a tradition that legitimizes them as Latin

Americans. It is the exotic ingredient necessary for their global bass formula, an ingredient as powerful as Western technology. The closeness to the shaman gives Salmón and Pereira an element of authenticity that makes them stand out in the Western world.

DDD's transcendental point of view in the modernity/tradition dichotomy. The only times we see Salmón and Pereira in the "Simiolo" video is when they have contact with a UFO and when they meet the shaman. The scene with the UFO is a sci-fi half-joking situation, a comment on the precariousness of Latin American modernity. The shaman scene, on the other hand, has an almost documentary aesthetic and reflects DDD's need of tradition's legitimization to be able to compete with artists who are part of European or US modernity. The latter is very similar to *indigenismo's* instrumentalization of tradition discussed in the introduction.

The encounters with the UFO and the shaman are both meetings with transcendent entities which come from modernity and tradition respectively, and give powers to the members of DDD. In the UFO scene the spaceship shoots them with rays and leaves them unconscious. When they reappear in the shaman scene they have masks, as if the contact with the UFO had given them a new identity. The shaman gives them a drink (it is implied that it is ayahuasca), and after they drink the potion, the two musicians take off their masks, and we see that they have lost their faces. After that they go into the spaceship and leave. The facelessness, the UFO, and the ingestion of

ayahuasca all imply transcendence. The epic quality of outer space and facelessness is accentuated by its contrast with the caricature quality of the cultural stereotypes that we see throughout the video.

Transcendence is a key trope of modernity. It is a characteristic of objectivity, of the enlightened. It exemplifies the immutability of the *res cogitans* facing the mutable *res extensa*; and the objectivity of modernity facing cultural relativity. Movements such as Enlightenment and the avant-garde gave their leaders a transcendental historic position.

Authors like Fuenzalida (1995) and myself (Rozas 2007) have noted that the modern trope of transcendence is reproduced by movements like new age, hippism, or world music, which try to find a sort of modern universality in non-Western traditions. Global bass and DDD also connect tradition and modernity by positioning themselves in a transcendent space above the modernity/tradition dichotomy, but with a cynical and skeptical postmodern irony.

3.8. DDD's complex essentialism

Although DDD has a big fanbase, some musicians accuse DDD of copying Chancha Via Circuito, and criticize the fact that they did not even like cumbia only a few years ago. Others think that they are making a profit out of stereotyping Latin American culture. There is definitely a use of clichés and fetishization in DDD, and in a way that is inherent to the EDM sampling culture. When I asked Pereira about this, he differed. He

believes that DDD has been important in the history of Perú because thanks to them many people who rejected cumbia have changed their minds:

> Many come to our shows saying they don't like cumbia. But they like techno or house. And after our shows they start liking cumbia. Also there are many purists who only like electronica, or punk, or cumbia, and think that we are disrespecting the genres. But music is always mutating. (R. Pereira, personal communication April 12, 2015)

Surely DDD has brought chicha to spaces were it was despised. However, they have done so in very specific terms, through the global bass aesthetics. As I discussed, the global bass ethos in many cases reproduces the mistakes of *indigenismo* and modernism. However, there is something that sets Pereira and Salmón apart from those movements, or even from more contemporary scenes such as *fusión*[32]. As opposed to the movements just mentioned, DDD is not interested in being loyal to the authenticity of traditions. They even take the idea of belonging to a culture, be it modern or traditional, with a sense of humor. Pereira says the following:

> Music is always changing. And we are part of that change. I never listen to old music, I am always looking for the new. And with this I don't mean that I don't listen to music from the past. I only listen to it if it gives me something new. (R. Pereira, personal communication April 12, 2015)

It would be too simplistic to accuse DDD of cultural appropriation and exoticism. In a way they are making fun of Western modernity too. They are also moved by a need to

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[32] See chapter 2 for further discussion on *fusión*

understand the mutability of their culture, which defies essentialism, and by a need to find new referents that respond to new ways of thinking themselves in the context of contemporary Lima. Salmón completes Pereira's idea: "If a genre does not mix with others, it gets stuck". (F. Salmón, personal communication February 4, 2015).

Authenticity and honesty in DDD. As Appadurai argues (2005), identities in the contemporary world are created in the midst of accelerated flows of information, and DDD are good at this kind of dynamic. While their detractors accuse them of disrespecting tradition, their honest embrace of their lack of connection to tradition or modernity is appreciated by their fans. Still, the first time I heard DDD's cumbia bass I did not like it. To me it was the soundtrack for people who had never really paid attention to Peruvian cumbia, and were just creating an exoticist version of it. When global bass started to become successful, I felt that the old stereotypes were taking a new form. A form that was more adequate for contemporary times. I still saw discrimination behind cumbia bass' apparent cross-over between modernity and tradition; now that the elites could not erase cumbia, they were trying to control it. But my point of view has changed. It took some time for me to appreciate the craft of DDD, and understand what it was all about. When I started to listen more carefully to DDD's music, it was impossible to deny their originality and their ability to juggle around with different cultural elements.

One of the things that made me appreciate their music was to understand their background. Salmón, Pereira, and I grew up in the 1980s, one of the worst times in the history of Perú: a civil war, a world record inflation, followed by a twelve-year dictatorship limited cultural interaction between different social groups. We saw Perú through our media's cultural stereotypes.

Their middle class background left them in a sort of cultural orphanage, not belonging neither to modernity or tradition. Their "superficial" and essentialist approach to tradition and modernity is honest in this sense. It is an attempt to be happy in the middle of the remnants of decades of cultural fragmentation and social chaos to which Perú was pushed by the expansion of modernity.

When I interviewed Salmón, he was living at his parents' house, in the poor part of an upperclass neighborhood of Lima, which used to be fancy, but now you can run into prostitutes and drug dealers there at night. Salmón told me that the 1980s and 1990s crisis hit his parents hard, and that they went through some economic problems. The down-at-heel neighborhood is metaphor of what happened to his family.

Salmón's studio is located in what would have been the maid's room. In Peruvian architecture there is always a tiny room for maid, but his family cannot afford one any more. I asked him how he became a musician. "I studied to be a cook. I also studied graphic design. But I never finished any of them. I never wanted to work for a boss." (F. Salmón, personal communication February 4, 2015)

I had a prejudice against DDD. I always thought they were ambassadors of an elite. I guess they are in a cultural sense. But economically, Salmón was on his own when he started. He could have followed the expected path of the middle class, but he bet on music in an environment were the arts have no support or cultural referents at all. DDD's music is made to sell. Period. It is a product. Salmón stated that the marketing aspect is not in his hands: "I don't think much about those things; I just do it from the heart. Sometimes it's weird to work like that, with a plan and a concept, but I can't deny it has brought a lot of good things". (F. Salmón, personal communication February 4, 2015)

It would be too simple to classify DDD as an exoticist act. This makes me think of what I expected from Los Shapis: I wanted them to be more subversive. But in reality Los Shapis were very interested in making money. Are DDD less honest than los Shapis, who are closer to Andean tradition and migrant culture? In a way all of these artists share a will to be somebody in the context of modernity, and be somewhere in its map, and they do it in different ways.

Is sampling cultural appropriation? When I asked Jaime Moreyra and Julio Simeón of Los Shapis about cumbia bass, they both agreed that sampling other people's music is interesting but, as Moreyra said: "I advise the people doing electronic music to create their own stuff. It is easy to copy things but it will not last the test of time. The act of building something from scratch brings in more possibilities." (J. Moreyra,

personal communication, November 28, 2014). Although he did not condemn sampling culture, there was definitely a tension with the idea of sampling and cultural representation.

I asked Salmón and Pereira if they were conscious of the ethical problem of using the culture of marginalized populations for their own profit. They know that they are using musical material that they do not necessarily understand deeply, and that it can be seen as cultural appropriation. But for them it is not just a “copy and then paste” dynamic. Salmón says "I am basically a collage artist. I wish I knew how to play an instrument but I can't. I can understand that some people don't agree with this, but there is an art in doing those collages.” (F. Salmón, personal communication February 4, 2015). After analyzing the music of DDD, I have to agree with the last statement. There is a craft to what they do. The music is full of simple but careful choices, and full of subtle details that combine simple polyrhythms with very carefully selected textures, which make up for the lack of harmonic and rhythmic complexity. Pereira comments that sampling is not only about using traditional musics, but also using musics from Europe and the US. He said that if they had money, they would buy synthesizers used in big studios in the U.S and Europe, but instead they use the laptop as a sampler to emulate expensive synthesizers that are not affordable or available in Perú, or to use bits of music from producers around the world. In this way they also subvert the European and U.S monopoly of technology.

Looking for the organic. Many accuse EDM producers of not playing the laptop live, and of lying to the audiences when they pretend to do so. Once I opened a show for DDD, and while on stage I noticed that they were not doing much with the knobs in their live performance. When I enquired about this, they accepted it, saying that their live intervention was minimal. However, Pereira states that the work of electronic music producers is a new way of doing things, closer to the one of a classical composer, and the laptop is the orchestra: "The laptop is a tool, a medium, the new guitar. It's a new way of doing things". (R. Pereira, personal communication April 12, 2015). Both Salmón and Pereira know that it is difficult to compete with a live band. In fact, for them it is a challenge to create music that sounds “organic” using only a laptop. They use the term organic in the same way that the producers of Novalima do, it is a quest for a human feel in electronic music. However, for DDD it does not make sense to compare human performance with what laptops can do. DDD’s minimalism takes us closer to machine music, and further away from human performance. Through the concept of the “organic” they are exploring new ways in which Latin American dance music can integrate technologies that have been developed in the Western world, giving Latin Americans a voice in the growth of new music experiences.

3.9 Conclusion

It is interesting that DDD's music is identified as cumbia by the media and by themselves, even though they have few elements of cumbia in their music. Just like Los Shapis, DDD uses the term cumbia as an umbrella to incorporate elements from different origins, emphasizing and hiding certain cultural elements in order to put across their concepts of tradition, modernity, and the combination of both. More than a fixed genre, cumbia-bass is a symbolic arena where tradition and modernity are debated.

Cumbia bass is the prism that translates locality into globality for a Peruvian crowd trying to make sense of its double-consciousness, the liminal state between tradition and modernity. It is also the way in which an international crowd consumes Latin American locality, and relates to the traditions of developing countries. DDD share with *indigenismo* and world music 1.0 the desire to solve the encounter between tradition and modernity, but they represent a new stage in global modernity. The difference between DDD's global bass with *indigenismo* or world music 1.0 is DDD's cynicism. Pereira and Salmón are not interested in the authenticity of traditions or modernity, on the contrary, they own the instrumentalization of both tradition and modernity. For DDD, cultural symbols have become de-territorialized elements that are instrumental to creating an identity that is global and local at the same time, and that occurs in a virtual world that erases historical trajectories. This is a result of their upbringings. More and more, the expansion of modernity in developing countries corners people into a liminal

space where tradition has become something exotic, and modernity is close but unreachable. In this context, identities cannot be rooted in either tradition or modernity and become commodities. This dynamic gives us clues to the relationships of modernity and interculturality in the contemporary world.

Chapter 4. Tomás Tello: Creating a New Language Beyond the Tradition/Modernity Binary

Tomás Tello is a musician who combines many different genres in his work. A big part of it focuses on chicha and Andean music, using an array of electronic devices that he hacks and builds. Although he is one of the most important figures in Lima's underground scene, and has been featured in very important festivals in Europe, he has a significantly smaller following than the other artists in this dissertation. He is reluctant to give interviews or to promote his work, and he deliberately avoids using marketing tags that would facilitate the circulation of his music. He publishes his and like-minded artists' work through Andesground[33], a label he runs in an artisanal fashion, releasing cassette tapes which are recorded one at a time.

Out of the four case studies on the dissertation, Tomás is the most openly critical of the colonialism behind the modernity/tradition divide, as I will show along the chapter. His unorthodox use of Afro-Latin genres and electronics reveals an openness to both Western and non-Western musics, with a complex cosmopolitanism which is constantly questioning fixed discourses of authenticity, tradition and modernity.

Rosaldo (1991) states that the more access we have to knowledge and citizenship, the more we are able to define ourselves beyond fixed ideas of identity, and contest hegemonic forces. Indeed, Tello's middle-class background, travels, and

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[33] Andesground is a word play that combines Andes and the word underground pronounced with a Spanish accent.

education, have allowed him access to both traditional and modern trends, and have influenced his ability to define his identity beyond authenticity discourses produced by the elites or international music trends. Tello proposes that the way out of the hegemony of Western music is not to make tradition prevail, but to actually eliminate the modernity/ tradition dichotomy. However, the cost of going against dominant trends is an unstable economic situation and lack of recognition from artistic circuits in Perú.

In this chapter, I will show how Tello's work combines the benefits of being part of the middle class, and the burdens of rebelling against contemporary definitions of tradition and modernity in Perú. Tello's music is an expression of his ability to use the tools he has at hand to develop a subversive discourse, but also illustrates the power of pervasive essentialistic practices that have virtually erased his work from Perú's contemporary artistic debate, even though he is one of the most interesting voices of his generation.

Tomás Tello's background. Giddens (1994) points out that one distinct consequence of the expansion of modernity is the 'phantasmagoric' separation of space from place. Tello's work and story are an example of a 'phantasmagoric' identity: a Latin American double consciousness marked by cultural mobility and a de-territorialized identity. He was born in 1980 in the district of Barranco, a middle class neighborhood in Lima and home to many intellectuals and artists. He grew up in Cuzco and Arequipa, both Andean cities, and then came back to Lima at the age of 15, and got involved in

the experimental underground scene. As I will describe later in more detail, his early exposure to Andean music de-centered his perspective on music cultural hierarchies and differentiated him from his peers in the experimental music scene in the capital city.

When he came back to Lima from Arequipa he became interested not only in experimental and avant-garde music, but also in chicha and marginalized Amazonian and Andean genres. Although he was very open to a great variety of scenes, at the same time he felt like an outsider in all of them. There were few people with whom he could share his horizontal approach to both Western and non-Western genres, or to popular and academic musics. He felt ostracized and as a result he left Lima for good in 2010. After playing at Poland's Audio Art Festival, he decided to stay in Europe as an illegal immigrant. He currently lives in Portugal. In the following section I will describe Tomás Tello's education as an illustration of how concepts of tradition and modernity shaped the development of his career.

4.1 The popular/serious music divide in Perú

Most people in Perú face the impossibility of studying music as a professional career for several reasons, mainly economic ones. It is very difficult to work and study at the same time due to the low wages and unfavorable working conditions. In most cases, parents support the education of their children, given that there are hardly any

scholarships. Usually only the children of upper class families can afford a music education.

There is also a limited number of music education options. At the time when Tomás Tello was studying (the 1990s) there were no institutions in Perú giving a degree equivalent to a B.A. It was only in 2011 when the first professional music school was created. Until then there was only the National Conservatory of Music, which only started to offer B.A degrees in 2012 (100 years after its founding).

According to Tello, the teachers and aspiring musicians around him frequently told him that in order to be a "serious" musician you had to either study jazz or classical music. I agree with Tello. In my experience as a musician in Lima I have found that jazz and classical music are powerful symbols of music proficiency while other styles are derogatorily dubbed as "popular" or folkloric. This has to do with the fact that both jazz and classical music comply with the dexterity concepts of the modern Western canon.

Jazz and Classical education as the only options for serious music study.

Jazz is a very small scene in Lima. Yet it is symbolically important, especially among musicians. Jazz came to Perú in the 1960's, with pioneering artists such as Jaime Delgado Aparicio, Black Sugar, and Bossa 70, who were the beginners of the *fusión* movement, a trend that combined rock, jazz, and traditional Peruvian genres. Bands like Los Hijos del Sol, Perujazz, and Wayuro, and soloists like Manuel Miranda, Andrés Prado, Gabriel Alegría, and Jose Luis Madueño are among the main artists continuing

the *jazz fusión* legacy. As I commented in chapter two, the *fusión* movement has created bridges between traditional and modern genres, but at the same time has perpetuated modernist authenticity stereotypes. As Tello has argued, it is rare to find Peruvian musicians with a jazz background interested in genres such as punk, noise, or "cultural hybrids" like chicha, all of which differ from the classical Western canon. On the subject, Tomás Tello said that for him "jazz is harmful" for Perú, not musically, but in the way it has been appropriated: as an elitist canon that praises Western values over other possible aesthetics. (T. Tello, personal communication July 23, 2014).

The conservatory is a classical music oriented school run by the government, and its direction has been influenced since its founding by the *indigenismo* movement (Pinilla 1985). As I have analyzed in previously, the *indigenismo* focus has been reluctant to accept the transformation of tradition. The continuity of the *indigenismo* paradigm is confirmed by the separation between the conservatory and the National School of Folklore (also run by the government). The term "folklore" reflects the West-centered distinction between serious and popular music. The "folklore" concept generally opposes tradition with modernity and does not embrace hybrids that cross the boundaries of academic and popular music (Llorens 2001).

Composers of the generation of the 1950s such as Edgar Valcarcel, Celso Garrido -Lecca, and Armando Guevara Ochoa started a new wave within the conservatory that questioned the separation between popular and serious music. But their efforts did not

depart completely from the modernist canon, and just like jazz musicians, they avoided "cultural hybrids".

One interesting moment in the history of the conservatory was the creation of the *Taller de música Latinoamericana* (workshop of Latin American music) in 1975 by Celso Garrido-Lecca. Garrido-Lecca comments that the origins of the *Taller* came from an experience he had in Chile with the group Inti Illimani (Guerra 2001). Inti Illimani was one of the leaders of the Chilean *fusión* movement, which was very close to the *indigenista* ideology of the Peruvian *fusión scene. Taller de música Latinoamericana* was an important attempt to break the frontier between popular and serious music. Sadly, after Garrido Lecca left, the direction of the institution the *Taller* was dissolved.

To this day, there are still few academic explorations of musics that problematize the *indigenista* concept of tradition. There are few composers from the conservatory using elements of the so-called "hybrids" such as chicha or *nuevo folclor*[34], for example. The approach to tradition still comes from the "folkloric" paradigm in general. As researcher Fiorella Montero expressed in an interview:

> I have not found any musician from the conservatory using elements of chicha. Not even Amazonian cumbia. Only things like Shipibo chants for example. There are many pieces with Afro-Peruvian or Andean music, but the academic vision is still reproducing purist ideas of cultural authenticity. (F. Montero. Personal communication September 1, 2015).

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[34] For a discussion on the hybridity of chicha and *nuevo folclor* see chapter 1.

There have been some encounters between conservatory musicians and members of the underground experimental scene in Lima, but they are exceptional. Some important moments were the festivals *Ciclo Abierto de Exploraciones Musicales*[35] in 1979, the *Semana de la Integración Cultural Latinoamericana*[36] in the 80s or Arte Urbe in 2006, but unfortunately they had no continuity.

Tomás Tello was interested both in jazz and classical, but also in “folklore”, rock, experimental electronics, and Andean music, among other genres. It was difficult for him to access an education that crossed the still strong popular/serious music divide.

The popular/serious music divide. As I have described in previous chapters, the serious/popular binary is an echo of the modernity/tradition dichotomy, which puts Western culture at the center of the history of music. The history of the serious/popular divide can be traced back to colonial times (Llorens 2001). The Council of Trent (1545-1563) established the necessity to control cultural practices and to evangelize Native Americans (Toulmin 1992). As I discussed previously in chapter 1, ritual musics in Perú were eliminated while secular practices were tolerated. And in general, aesthetics that were too different from the beauty criteria of the colonizers were severely controlled. Locke's *Second Treatise of Government*, and Descartes' *Discourse on Method* emphasized the need for the control of the state of nature of the colonized and

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[35] Open Music Explorations Cycle

[36] Latin American cultural integration week

their cultural practices. This became an official form of bio-political control of non-Western populations (Foucault 2003), and the division of popular and serious music was a result of that control.

Nevertheless, as Chadabe comments, the “protective parapet that has long kept high art and popular art mutually exclusive seems to be showing signs of vulnerability" (2000. p.9). In the next section I will show how Tello’s self-education was a strategy to erode that parapet.

4.2 Tomás Tello’s self education as the subversion of the serious/popular music divide

Since the beginning of his career Tello was interested in following an education that subverted the modernist scale of values. Tello comments that he wanted to study Andean music without an essentialist *indigenista* approach*,* and to explore experimental electronics without an elitist avant-garde attitude. But it was not an easy task since the only educational referents around him were the Western-centric Peruvian jazz and classical schools of music.

The conservatory was not an option for him so at the age of 15 he began to study music with private teachers. The first one was the renowned guitar player Andrés Prado, who introduced him to jazz harmonies and techniques, but Tello soon expressed his interest in other aesthetics. Prado offered him to study “unorthodox” Western

composers such as Eric Satie, but Tello was still not happy, so he decided to explore other traditions. He started collecting field recordings from Perú and other parts of the world, and records by experimental artists to analyze their techniques.

The encounter with Martin Choy: Chicha as the third way. One of the genres Tello collected was chicha. In the 90s and 2000s it was very difficult to find chicha CDs, or any information about it online. Used vinyl was the main educational source, and Tello was one of the first people I met who had of a collection of 45s and LPs. Back then records were sold for 1 dollar. Nowadays, as the hipster vinyl fever grows, Los Shapis' first LP is worth $300.

At the age of 19, Tello went to a concert of a band called La Sarita, who was opening for Manu Chao, in the year 2000. La Sarita was one of the first bands in the underground scene to combine chicha with rock. Chicha was starting to gain some prestige among middle class artists and intellectuals, but it was still marginalized among the upper classes. La Sarita's music was a statement against discrimination, an act of affirmation of chicha culture in the context of a Western genre such as rock. The use of the "hybrid" chicha differentiated La Sarita from *fusión* bands and from the *indigenista* canon, and this attracted Tello's attention.

La Sarita's concert in 2000 was a turning point in Tello's life, mostly because he was impressed by Martin Choy's guitar style. Choy's guitar technique was unique in its blend of chicha, *música criolla,* and alternative rock. Tello approached Choy after the

show and asked him to teach him how to play chicha. I interviewed Choy and he remembered this encounter:

> Tomás is a character. He is crazy. And for me it was very weird to have a kid from Barranco interested in learning cumbia. Upper middle class musicians were not interested in studying it. Tomás was good. I also remember that he did not want to eat regular food. Just cookies or candy. He was very unusual in every sense, but very talented. (M.Choy, personal communication February 3, 2006)

It is very significant that Tello preferred Choy - a working class underground rock/ chicha guitar player- over jazz star Andrés Prado, who is considered one of the best guitar players of his generation according to the official canon. Tello's open mind and drive for new sounds, challenged Western hierarchies and generated a third way between jazz and classical music. This is more meaningful if we understand that for a young musician in Lima, it was scary to trespass the official discourse since there were no alternative educational options or referents at hand.

The act of approaching Choy also created bridges between the middle and working classes. The members of La Sarita came from poor families, and many of them, including Choy, were part of the seminal group "Los Mojarras" which led the Agustino district scene in the 90s. At that time El Agustino was a neighborhood known for being very dangerous. As Cachuca, bandleader of Los Mojarras told me, some members of the El Agustino scene ended up in jail for their connections with the Shining Path terrorist movement. (H. Condori, personal communication February 3, 2006). I mention this to illustrate the fact that back in the times of the internal war it was quite meaningful

for a middle class teenager from Barranco to cross social frontiers. The teachings of Choy opened a new world for Tello who found in chicha a new way of combining the musics he loved. Chicha's mixture of electronics, huayno, cumbia, and salsa was a door to overcome the predominant modernity/tradition dichotomies around him.

"El Palteado" by Tomás Tello: The first Lima underground experimental chicha. Even though cumbia is very popular these days among intellectuals and artists, Tello says that it is very rare to find people in middle class intellectual circuits who are really interested in studying chicha seriously. And it was even more rare back when he started. I was very close to the underground scene of Lima, and as far as I know, Tomás Tello was the first musician in that scene that dedicated serious study to chicha. Other musicians in our community were interested in chicha too, but it was usually a superficial approach that ended up in the use of clichés and common places. Although cumbia was starting to become popular among middle class, there was always a kitsch factor in the act of listening to it and performing it. Even La Sarita had a dose of humor based on clichés of chicha culture.

For Tello, on the other hand, cumbia was very serious. "El palteado" (figure 19, Listen to track here) is one of Tello's first cumbias, and it is an important song because it is probably the first chicha recorded by a musician from the contemporary underground experimental music scene in Lima. It anticipated the boom of Bareto's jazzy cumbia,

DDD's tropical bass, and the hipster fever for old school chicha, that took place almost ten years later.

The track was recorded live in 2003. It has an experimental electronic feel to it and at the same time the groove and style of 1970s chicha. With "El Palteado" Tello makes a statement, it is a respectful approach to both chicha and the world of experimental electronics. In "El Palteado" one can hear a detailed study of cumbia guitar technique in combination with subtle electronic textures and improvisation. It is an example of cultural collage. Pavis (2006) defines "cultural collage" as a strategy carried out by artists at the cross-roads of modernity and tradition, who cannot identify themselves with a particular ethnic or cultural group. Pavis distinguishes cultural collage from intercultural performance. Intercultural performance relies on essentialist concepts of culture, as in the case of *indigenismo,* while in cultural collages, cultural referents are not seen as essences. Instead, the referents become elements for a patchwork with no intention of being faithful to an "authentic" culture.

El Palteado

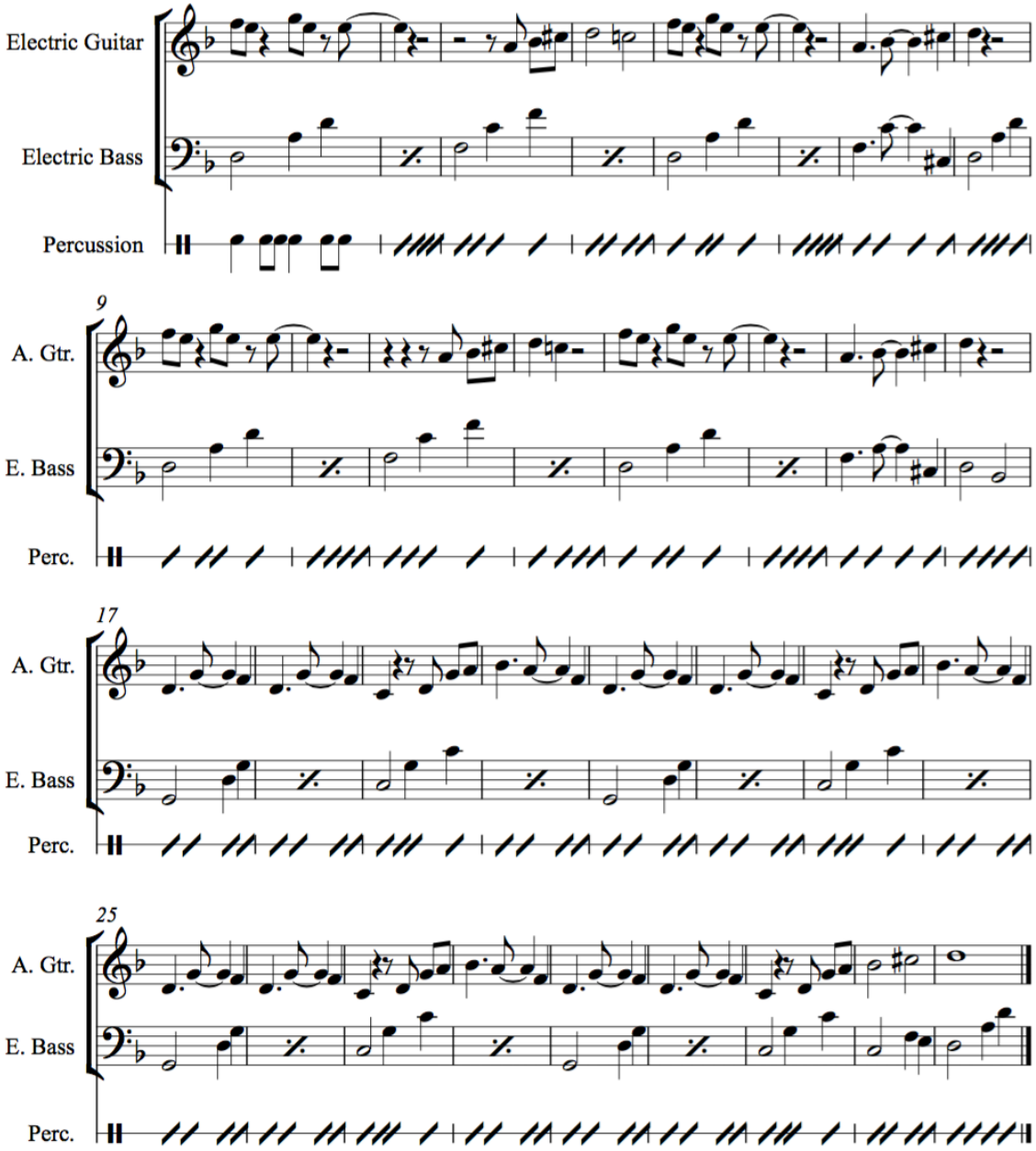

Figure 19: “El Palteado”. Listen to track here)

In “El Palteado” Tello takes elements from experimental electronics and chicha without an essentialist approach to tradition, as in the case of Novalima, or without a sarcastic and cynical attitude as in the case of DDD. El Palteado is successful in breaking the barriers between Afro-Latin music and experimental underground electronics, between serious and popular music, without neglecting any of those traditions. It is a pioneering piece that still sounds contemporary, 15 years later.

The track combines a minimalist electronic feel with an Andean cumbia style. It starts with the standard cumbia güiro pattern. As I commented in chapters one and three, Peruvian chicha musicians borrowed the pattern from Colombian chucu chucu and made it less syncopated. In “El Palteado", the feel is even less syncopated, and has a different timbre; it is not played by a güiro but by guitar scratches with a subtle distortion effect, and it is looped with an endless tape. This drives the feel of the song even further away from Afro-Colombian cumbia, and closer to electronic music, noise music, and minimalism.

The repetitiveness of the güiro pattern is balanced out by improvised distorted sounds of a guitar doing phrases that resemble Afro-Latin timbal fills. In 0:20 the bass comes in a minimalist fashion too, doing a standard cumbia pattern. In 1:08 a second guitar comes in playing chords with a triplet feel over the 4/4 of the other instruments. The chords give an open and spacey feel, which is accentuated by the delay effect and wah wah pedal. And although the effects used are common in Peruvian cumbia, in “El

Palteado" they are used more intensively, bringing influences of psychedelic and kraut rock.

In 1:51 the theme is played with short slides, glissandos, delay, and wah wah, which are also characteristic of chicha guitar technique. The wah wah pedal creates interesting rhythmic cells that add up to the ornaments. In 2:26 there is a repetition of the theme, and in 3:20 the guitar solo starts. The solo is done with an overdrive effect on the guitar, not very common in Peruvian cumbia. In 4:06 the song goes back to the theme, but this time with the overdrive's noisy sound. After this the music fades out.

The overall form follows a jazz style structure; a theme is presented, then there is an improvised solo over the form and then the theme is presented one more time. This form is innovative, because in Peruvian cumbia we usually have songs with lyrics and a brief pre-written instrumental solo, or instrumental songs with not much improvisation. Also, it is very rare to hear chicha in Peruvian jazz contexts.

In “El Palteado" different elements are combined in a very subtle way so that the song keeps a chicha feel to it, and at the same time an experimental/ rock/ electronic/ minimalist style. Chicha gave Tello the possibility of combining elements from different geographies in order to represent his experience in a delocalized city such as Lima, blurring the boundaries between tradition and modernity, beyond the popular/ serious music divide.

Tello's quest for other education options took him to Spain. There he spent most of the year 2005 at the Taller de Musics school in Barcelona, studying the oud. When he came back to Perú he studied again with Andres Prado, and also with Gustavo Urbina, a master *musica criolla* guitar player. He also took courses on sound engineering at the Orson Wells Institute. After that he went to Argentina to study Robert Fripp's Guitar Craft Method. In Buenos Aires he also took some courses on psychoacoustics. All of these experiences gave Tello an eclectic profile, and as years went by, he abandoned the style of "El Palteado" and went for a more experimental sound, less identifiable with specific genres. As I will show in the next section, Tello is interested in transcending the modernity/ tradition dichotomy, and for him that implies avoiding obvious references to both tradition and modernity.

4.3 Challenging the modernity/tradition divide

De-mythologizing tradition. Tello became interested in traditional Peruvian aesthetics very early in his career and one of his main sources was the *Música Tradicional del Perú* series, a collection of several CDs with field recordings from different parts of Perú, published by the Institute of Ethnomusicology of the Catholic University of Perú between 1995 and 2002.The *Música Tradicional del Perú* anthology was very important because for many musicians from the Lima middle class it was one of the few ways to access contextualized field recordings from different regions of Perú.

I remember discussing with Tello that until then, Andean or Amazonian ritual music was almost a myth for us, mediated by essentialist discourses that came from world music, *indigenismo, fusion,* or new age. While the latter genres frequently located traditional music in an abstract ancestral world, the *Música Tradicional del Perú series* contextualized the music in a social, geographical, and historical setting.

The texts that came with the records of the anthology had information on organology, locations, musicians' names, dates, and a brief explanation of the social and historical context of the examples. The typology used in the series proposed two poles of a spectrum to classify Andean music: indigenous (ritual music in rural areas) and *mestizo* music (connected to urban areas, in secular contexts), and many levels in between, relativizing the monolithic concept of tradition present in the Peruvian imaginary. It also highlighted the micro-regional differences in styles and relativized ideas of monolithic Andean or Afro-Peruvian traditions. In an interview, Tello expressed that these field recordings revealed that the ideas of tradition he had been taught were not accurate. For a middle class aspiring musician from Barranco, it was a great tool to deconstruct his relationship with tradition and the Western canon. This is important because as I analyzed in the chapters on Novalima and DDD, middle and upper class musicians in Lima have historically accessed tradition through *indigenista* and racist discourses.

Tello and I used to listen together to the *Música Tradicional del Perú series*, and looking back I realize that that experience changed our relationship with tradition.

Instead of the reverence for anonymous ancestral sounds proposed by *indigenismo*, we developed a “fan” dynamic towards the musicians featured in the anthology, a relationship which was similar to our connection with rock or experimental bands from Europe and the U.S. In this way the division between Western and non-Western music was broken; Andean, Amazonian, American, and European musics were all equally foreign to us, and we respected them equally, beyond the modernity/tradition divide.

Connecting avant-garde with tradition. Tello was especially interested in Andean ritual genres such as harawis and uancas. The particular thing about uancas and harawis is that they are genres from rural areas that have kept some of the pre-hispanic traits rejected by the Western canon, as Turino (1988) has pointed out. Uancas and harawis offered Tello an alternative referent to the music concepts that came from the U.S, Europe, and the Peruvian mainstream.

An interesting example of the modification of Andean ritual genres to fit the *indigenista* taste is the development of the genre known as yaravi. Yaravis are played in different parts of Perú, and they are considered part of the national folklore and an important symbol of Andean identity in Perú’s popular imaginary. The "Flight of the Condor" is a yaravi, and is arguably the most popular Andean song in Perú and the world. It was covered by Paul Simon who made it a number one hit in 1970. Many people in Perú know it and think it is an Inca traditional song, but it is actually part of a

zarzuela (Spanish opera) composed by Daniel Alomía Robles in 1913. Robles was a pioneering *indigenista* classical composer and researcher.

Yaravis are a modification of harawis to fit Spanish aesthetics (Turino 1988, Arguedas 1975). Even the word yaravi is a Spanish version of the Quechua word harawi. Harawis have irregular metric and tempo, improvisation, and their harmonies and textures can sound dissonant to the Western ear. All of the latter elements were eliminated in yaravis. But Tello is precisely interested in the elements that were eliminated. He criticizes how modernity has classified some sounds as errors or mistakes, and how the official proficiency standard has neglected the richness of uancas and harawis. For Tello elements such as soundscapes, timbre, and textures are all very developed in Amazonian and Andean music, and should have more attention.

In order to explore those elements, Tello has experimented with his electric guitar, using it to play uancas and harawis, among other genres. One of the techniques he practices is the addition of a screwdriver between the strings, near the pickup. "This generates uncontrollable sounds that I control after they are generated. It's a combination between chaos and control, the way I like it" (T. Tello, personal communication August 1, 2014). He also uses a slide, rubbing the strings to get harmonics. The tone he gets is rough, with a lot of random sounds and it takes a refined technique to control them. (Listen to an example, the track "Danza elegante" here)

The avant-garde of the XX century re-discovered the music elements that colonialism rejected, such as texture, timbre, and atonality. Tello draws a parallel

between the avant-garde and Andean aesthetics but refuses to use Western new music's jargon:

> I am playing santiagos, harawis, uancas or chicha with this new electric guitar technique. It's a sort of 'prepared' electric guitar, in the XX century avant-garde sense of the word. But I don't like to use that term because you can find 'prepared' instruments in any culture. It's not something special. That is just the Western way of saying it, as if they invented something. But there is ignorance in that term, with all due respect to classical musicians. (T. Tello, personal communication August 1, 2014)

I had the opportunity to collaborate briefly on some projects with Tello in the 90s. Back then Tello was also experimenting with different kinds of notations. He used maps as scores for example. This was very unusual among young musicians who aspired to be professional: we were interested in learning to read and write, trying to achieve modern proficiency, but Tello was rejecting the obsession for written music and structure. But his approach was also unusual for the Peruvian conservatory avant-garde musicians, he was using avant-garde strategies to perform harawis and chicha, a combination that was hardly ever heard.

For Tello there is also a connection between harawis and Western genres like noise and ambient music. He comments that listening to field recordings of ritual music of the Andes in their original contexts made him realize that noise or ambient does not have to be too direct and obvious. Tello mentions Inoyama Land, a Japanese ambient band, as an example:

> At first you may think Inoyama sounds like Brian Eno, because they are both ambient music. but I prefer Inoyama because of its character, it is more warm. Japanese musicians don't take themselves so seriously, as opposed to musicians of the American/European ambient scene. That lack of seriousness actually makes it more serious, more honest. It's not dense. It breathes. I hear that in field recordings of harawis too. (T. Tello, personal communication August 1, 2014)

The quote is important in the fact that it opens up a dialogue between tradition and modernity, situating Andean music as an aesthetic canon as valid as the one coming from Europe, the U.S or Japan.

Ritualism as a tool to erode the modern cult of personality. Another way in which Tello discusses the relationship between modernity and tradition is the context in which the music is played. As Schechner (1985) has argued, modernity has tended to de-ritualize artistic expressions. In the following quote, Tello talks about the importance of rituals, and the problems of music in contemporary society:

> The fact that music has become solely an entertainment is a sign of the disaster in which we live in. Of course music is still a ritual, but it is a mediocre ritual. Now people have another relationship with music … It is necessary to give a freshness back to music through ritualism. When I do a concert, I turn the lights off. I try to make sound matter, and not other things. We have to ritualize urban life. Do things for a special reason, we need to do that. It is necessary to feel good. When I play I try to ritualize. I try to generate a moment. People don't get together anymore. We are more fragmented. Rituals change that situation for a moment. (T. Tello, personal communication July 23, 2014).

Tello tries to incorporate ritualism in his work through several strategies. One of them is the avoidance of the audience-performer divide, which according to him is a

"modern structure that is an obstacle to collective states of attention” (T. Tello, personal communication July 23, 2014), and enhances the cult of personality. In concerts I attended, Tello sometimes stood in the middle of the audience or invited the audience to come on the stage.

I had the opportunity to participate in one of Tello’s projects in 2002. One of the aspects that he emphasized was that all of the members of the band should play all instruments. Even if we were not “good” at them. He insisted that we should exchange instruments every once in a while, in the rehearsals and on stage. Also, during live performances he invited random people from the audience to play. He would also bring, without previous notice, people we had never met to perform with us. Sometimes they were not even musicians. With these acts he was trying to abolish hierarchies between artists and audience.

He considers himself as part of a broad DIY scene that includes not only experimentalists but also anyone who learns to play music on their own, as a game. "I am a member of a scene of magicians. People who lock themselves up in their room trying to learn things on their own… little tricks.” (T. Tello, personal communication July 23, 2014). With this quote Tello criticizes the idea of musical proficiency. He also points out that a lot of his favorite music (usually traditional field recordings) is played by people who don’t even consider themselves musicians, and that one of the main problems in contemporary music is the cult of personality, that divides the layman from the music genius:

> In Perú we see that people who are not professional musicians can still get together and play. For me that is the key, not being professional. Western music wants to make us believe that they are at the peak of music evolution. But everything we need in order to make good music is already there. A musician in a town in the Andes does not want to play like Paganini, but there is a lot of subtle work behind his sound. (T. Tello, personal communication August 1, 2014)

The quote also states the problematic of seeing music as part of capitalism logic, as a solely economic activity, as opposed to an integration of music into every aspect of life. So far I have described some of the techniques that Tello uses in his attempts to collapse the modernity/tradition binary. In the next section I will focus on his use of electronics with the same aim.

4.4 Electronics as a tool to erode the modernist canon

Tello was part of the Lima experimental electronics scene, which was made up of musicians coming from punk, jazz, and academic music. Collins and Schedel define experimental electronic music as a broad genre that includes people in the fringes of academia and popular music, “exploring their own path in alternative and underground culture”. (Collins & Schedel, 2013 p. 136). According to Luis Alvarado, Peruvian curator and researcher, the term "experimental electronics” was initially used in the 2000's in Lima by art galleries and visual artists who started to work with musicians. The Lima experimental electronic music scene is fragile and it has expanded and contracted in

different moments. It is difficult to even call it a scene. It would be more accurate to say that it is a series of efforts, some individual, some collective, that have taken different shapes through history.

In Perú the first examples of the use of electronics in music came from the U.S and Europe as a symbol of modernity. It started in the 1950s with the first experiments of the avant-garde (Alvarado 2009) and with the boom of rock and roll music (Torres 2009). We can trace its origins to the 50s with artists like Cesar Bolaños and Edgar Valcárcel, who came from a classical tradition of experimentation with technology, with an avant-garde ethos in their approach. In the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s the experimental electronic scene was not very active. During the 1980s and 1990s electronic devices became more available and their use in popular music and underground movements was very common. During the 2000's Raul Jardín, Jaime Oliver, and Christian Galarreta had some encounters with harawis, Peruvian cumbia and pre-Hispanic instruments, however it is probably Tomás Tello who has had the most constant interest in traditional genres.

The lack of access to technology as an impediment for the dialogue between tradition and modernity. Tello's use of electronics came as an aesthetic choice but also grew out of frustration. One of his ideas was to become a one-man-band, with the aid of his electronic devices, in order to make things logistically and economically more convenient. But the need to work alone was mainly a result of the fact that he could not

find musicians who shared his span of interests, which included popular, academic and experimental musics.

As I have shown, there are many artists in Perú using electronics and traditional music, but few challenge radically essentialistic ideas of modernity and tradition, as in the case of Tello. He said in an interview that for him the pervasive stereotypes of modernity and tradition are a consequence of the lack of access to information and spaces for collaboration between musicians with different backgrounds: “In the 1970s only Brian Eno had enough money to experiment with technology. Nowadays anyone can do it. Nevertheless, there are still prejudices among musicians that prevent them from seeing interesting elements in other kinds of uses of electronics.” (T. Tello, personal communication August 1 2014)

Tello’s quote illustrates how the economic hegemony of the Western world was fundamental indicates that the establishment of the Western electronic music canon. The quote also discusses how even though music technologies are available now for the general public as a possibility to subvert to hegemony of Western aesthetics, the latter still prevails as I have argued in previous chapters[37]. One of Tello’s main strategies to disrupt modernity’s aesthetic hegemony is the hacking and building of electronic instruments, with a “do it yourself” attitude. With this he questions concepts of “sound quality” and “error” which for him are the pillars of the Western canon. As I will describe in more detail in the next sections, for Tello, mainstream concepts of error and

[37]See chapters 1 and 3 for further discussion.

sound quality hinder deeper connections between traditional musics and modern electronics.

What is "sound quality"? In one of my first meetings with Tello, in 2001, we were at his house and he showed me an old cassette recording of his music, from when he was 15 years old. I was really surprised by the creativity in those songs, they had a very simple yet original approach to the electronic resources he had at hand. Noisy sounds and cheap Casiotone keyboards were used, but not with an ironic/hipster, "lo-fi" or kitsch aesthetic. They showed a serious appreciation of unorthodox timbres.

As I analyzed in chapter one, in the case of Los Shapis, the rejection of precarious technology as cheesy by the elites is an important way of excluding original electronic musics from the periphery. One of the ways to overcome that exclusion is the embracing of cheesiness using kitsch humor, as in the case of DDD. But Tello, like Los Shapis, defies the Western canon, ignoring the elite's sense of cheesiness. Instead he looks for serious beauty in "low quality" and cheap electronics.

Tello hacks and builds electronic instruments, and he sees himself as a tinkerer, playing around with devices and letting his ear and intuition lead the way. Even though he took some courses on sound engineering, he says that he has forgotten the technical terms and that he is not interested in becoming an expert. He commented that for the last couple of years he has been around a lot of sound technicians, learning non-musical concepts of sound and transferring them to his own work. As a result, he has

become more conscious of different qualities of sound. But for him in reality there is no such a thing as "quality" in a hierarchical sense. There is no better sound than other, as marketing wants us to believe. There are just different types of sounds:

> Sub-woofers and all that stuff… people have to know that it's a standard created by someone. I sometimes like to put the volume down in my shows, so people have to be quiet. When there is a lot of volume, people are not listening.… I love mono sound. It's not a bad sound, it's another kind of sound. I got bored of stereo. (T. Tello, personal communication July 23, 2014)

Accroding to Schelling (2000) identities in the contemporary public sphere are mediated by old and new technologies of communication. Tello uses a wide array of old and new recording techniques, types of microphones, of amplification, and media such as cassettes and vinyl. Especially in the production of the sound collages that he calls “impossible soundscapes”, where he uses field recordings from many locations that include both ambient sounds and music. Soundscapes drew his attention since he was young. During his childhood he witnessed religious rituals in rural areas of Cuzco and Arequipa, where the music was integrated into other activities, and there was no divide between the act of making music and the surrounding sounds.

Soundscapes also started to interest him when he started collecting field recordings of music from around the world. The fact that the musicians in those recordings were not in a studio but were just part of a “real” social event was appealing to him. “When people don’t know they are recorded, or just care more about being in the present, magical things happen” (T. Tello, personal communication July 23, 2014). This

idea has also influenced his way of recording his own music. Tello's albums are always recordings of live performances. In a way they are field recordings of his work. The sound of the room (which includes the architecture and behavior of the audiences), amplification, recording techniques, audience reaction and performance are all one for him. This differs from the modern paradigm which tries to erase noise from recordings in order to have the "best" sound quality, and music making is detached from its social and sonic context.

What is an error? For Tello, there is something lost in the automation of electronic devices. One of the main problems for him is that machines "don't make mistakes". While the idea of error has been neglected by the Western canon, many of the strategies that Tello carries out are directed to generate "errors" in electronic devices.

According to him, 50% of the activity in his shows is electronic instruments making "mistakes", which then are managed by him in a very detailed way. He takes advantage of unpredictable elements such as electro-magnetic variations, differences in the amplification of different speakers, variations in recordings made and played in different formats, and real time use of radio signals. He also hacks devices in order to enhance this chaos: "In this way the sound is more organic" he says. "Electronic automation is limited. There is no real randomness. Computers cannot be random" (T. Tello, personal communication July 23, 2014). This is why he says that he prefers analog devices, and take advantage of the glitches they generate.

Afro-Latin groove and electronics. I asked Tello why there are few projects in Lima combining a deep interest both in Afro-Latin groove and experimental electronics. He explained that "it is not possible, to have human groove in a sequencer because there is no error, which is part of human performance" (T. Tello, personal communication July 23, 2014). He added that the groove in genres such as cumbia, salsa or Andean rhythms is very difficult, and needs a particular attention and study. That is why it is rare to find somebody who is proficient in both experimental electronics, which are also difficult, and those grooves.

But then he stated that it is too easy to oppose groove and electronic textures. Tello mentions that "the idea of swing, groove and danceability is too obvious. In a way Western music has erased the 'noise' present in the groove, and the groove that noise has." (T. Tello, personal communication July 23, 2014) In the same line of thought, Ramos has argued that "the essentialized opposition between rhythm and melody re-inscribes a stereotype that has a European origin and deserves more attention". (Ramos 2011 p.70).

For Tello sometimes a dense West African polyrhythm can be heard as "noise music": "The rhythm is not the only important thing there, but the texture that is generated, just like in the music of XX century avant-garde or noise music". (T. Tello, personal communication August 1, 2014). Tello continued:

> There is no such a thing as an abstract electronic sound without rhythm. You cannot separate timbre from rhythm or melody. Rhythm has many different levels: patterns that occur in a year in the nature around us, patterns that occur in a single bar and patterns that occur in one second in a sound wave. (T. Tello, personal communication August 1, 2014).

Tello is interested "micro-rhythmic patterns" that occur in sonic textures, the vibrations and repetitions that can happen in a time span of one second. He considers them as an integral part of the rhythm section of his pieces:

> For me it is very difficult to get that cumbia groove. My concept of groove is closer to a tradition of noise and rhythmic chaos … I am more interested in creating micro-rhythms within the steady and traditional rhythms of cumbia, rock or Andean music. (T. Tello, personal communication August 1, 2014)

The idea of creating micro-rhythms within Afro-Latin rhythms is exemplified in songs like "El Palteado" and "Cumbia para Yuko" (listen here), where both Afro-Latin grooves and the irregular metrics and repetitions of noise are combined. In "Cumbia para Yuko" Tello's approach to rhythm is neither focused on the accuracy and the repetition of Afro-Latin grooves, or on the unexpected rhythm patterns or aleatorism of the avant-garde. He connects both worlds with his multi-level concept of rhythm that goes from standard Afro-Latin patterns to the micro-rhythms of sonic textures. Where an orthodox Afro-Latin musician may hear rhythmic chaos he hears complex polyrhythms. And where an essentialist experimentalist might hear a boring repetition of a "folkloric" pattern, Tello hears new possibilities of rhythmic interactions. It is not very common to hear Afro-Latin rhythms in experimental music or avant-garde, and vice-versa. On the subject Davis has observed that

> The polyrhythmic potential of EDM still remains in many ways untapped. The club remains dominated by the easy sell of four-to-the-floor, while most self-consciously avant-garde electronic music continues to keep the [African diaspora rhythms] at arm's length. (Davis 2008 p.69).

Tello's rhythm concept is important because it proposes new directions in which experimental electronic music and Afro-Latin rhythms can be combined. Tello has also integrated dance into his work, a fundamental aspect of Afro-Latin music, collaborating for several years with dancer (and wife) Yuko Kominami. Kominami also draws from many traditions, including contemporary dance and Butoh. Butoh focuses on different levels of rhythm in the body, and that concept of rhythm is similar with Tello's.

In this section of the chapter I have commented on how Tello uses electronics to problematize the modernity/tradition dichotomy. In the next section I will analyze in more detail Tello's concept of culture, and his agenda related to avant-garde and traditional music.

4.5 The de-territorialization of the modernity/tradition binary and the possibility of a non-Western avant-garde

Tello tries to avoid terms such as "modernity" or "tradition" because for him they are reproductions of a modern and colonialist language. For that reason, he was skeptical about my research: "You want to put down in words something that should not

be put in words. I guess that is your job." (T. Tello, personal communication February 2, 2015). He criticized my "obsession" with underground and avant-garde artists experimenting with traditional music. He said that I should also look among "traditional" populations and their way of creating their own electronic aesthetics:

> Since machines have existed there have been experiments between traditional music and electronics. There are very interesting things in chicha guitars. Also the use of electronics is not necessarily the use of electronic instruments. I think the way people listen to music in the Andes, listening to music on a cheap AM radio is like experimenting with music technologies. In Laos there are people that make songs imitating the sound of airplanes or trains, with their voices. They too have an interest in electronic sounds, using the human voice or non electronic instruments. (T. Tello, personal communication July 23, 2014)

I was never able to get a definition of tradition from him. Nevertheless, I found one in one of his few interviews available online, made by the Chilean magazine *El Ciudadano:*

> El Ciudadano: What is the best way to approach [tradition] without being colonialist or superficial?… As a holistic thing, in a relationship with everything, cosmos and history, not only as a cultural object?"
> Tomás Tello: Tradition is always changing, all the time. For me tradition is the particular way of changing that each place has. Sadly, in Perú tradition is understood generally as something dead, from an ancient time, something that has to be maintained intact so it can survive. That for me is the last stab of a colonization process: make people be afraid of the disappearance of their culture. (El Ciudadano 2012 para.5)

Tello's concept of culture is process oriented, as opposed to the essentialist cultural policies which define tradition as a fixed entity. In the next paragraph of the

article the reporter expresses his surprise towards the fact that Tello's music challenges a series of dichotomies that are common in Latin American popular culture:

> It is strange that, even though an electronic atmosphere predominates, almost robotic and sci-fi, Tello's music sounds organic, as if it was a living thing … Likewise this quality is perceived in his music strategies: they do not generate dichotomies between harmony and noise. (El ciudadano 2012 para. 6).

Tello is interested in doing a music that transcends the dichotomy of modernity and tradition, and his ideas on the subject have some resonance with the thought of a philosopher he is interested in: Gilles Deleuze.

Tello and Deleuze. Deleuze is probably one of the most ambitious philosophers of the second half of the XX century: he takes up the challenge of a new ontology, a process oriented one, and in that project music has a special place because of its linguistic indeterminacy. The idea of "becoming" is key in Deleuze's process ontology. According to him "Social coding operates by way of asymmetrical binary oppositions.… A becoming, on the other hand, de-territorializes such codes". (Bogue 2003 p.35). An example of a "becoming*"* is a *becoming-animal.* The concept of animal in the modern popular imaginary is understood as the opposite of man, as part of a binary. On the other hand, a *becoming-animal* is a space to contest the idea of humanity and animality. Deleuze uses the term *becoming* because it does not imply a new fixed meaning of animal. It uses the notion of animal as a point of departure for subversion, opening up

an indeterminate and porous field where animality and humanity are not opposites. In this way the idea of animal can become a hole in the hegemonic system, and a possibility for a new order. For the French philosopher music is key in the creation of becomings: “all genuinely creative composers, proceed… inventing diagonal, transverse lines of de-territorialization” (Bogue 2003 p.35). In this sense

> genuinely creative music always implies a becoming. An example of this is Messiaen’s de-territorializing use of bird’s sounds as the creation of a *becoming-animal* space. Or Webern’s work [which] abolished the contradiction that had formerly existed between the horizontal-melodic and the vertical harmonic. (Bogue 2003 p.35).

Tello’s work also aims to de-territorialize the pervasive modernity-tradition binary, creating something like a *becoming-tradition*, which uses the idea of tradition as a point of departure to de-center the opposition between tradition and modernity, generating links between them.

Tello’s de-colonial cosmopolitanism. One criticism that can be made of Deleuze is the lack of presence of musicians from non-western traditions in his examples of becomings and de-territorialization. Deleuze does not mention the fact that avant-garde’s rejection of cultural boundaries and praise for individual originality is connected to the colonial dimensions of the enlightenment project, and its exclusion of non-Western traditions. As Lewis (2002) has pointed out, the Eurological concept of artistic

freedom many times disconnects the artist from his social context and erases important historical processes and in many cases neglects non-Western musics.

Put in another way: Is it possible to do a music that frees us from conservative social constrains, that at the same time sounds traditional or non-Western? Is there a "de-territorializing music" that is not part of the Western avant-garde? This is one of the dilemmas of the populations that are born at the cross-roads of modernity and tradition. It is the dilemma of the post-colonial double consciousness: How to be modern and traditional at the same time? How to be part of the avant-garde but at the same time be rooted in non-Western history?

Indigenismo, fusión, and the music of the generation of the 50s were efforts to root modernity in a Latin American tradition, to de-territorialize modernity and create a Latin American cosmopolitanism. They did so by combining classical music or jazz with traditional Peruvian musics. But in many cases they still relied on essentialist concepts of tradition, which tend to exclude non-Western musics that challenge the modernity/tradition binary. Hence the absence of modern/traditional hybrids like chicha in the repertoire of *fusión* and contemporary Peruvian academic music.

Tello is an interesting figure because he manages to create a music that sounds punk, Andean, experimental, traditional and hybrid at the same time: a becoming-tradition. Tello connects the philosophy of Deleuze with the hybrid modernity of cumbia, rooting modernity in a locality that does not rely anymore on *indigenista* authenticity.

Instead, Tello embraces hybridity, and proposes a *becoming-tradition* which praises neither tradition nor modernity.

When I asked Tello to give examples of music which challenged the modernity/ tradition binary, he mentioned a song by a cumbia band, Los Pakines (listen to "Amor de Fantasia" listen here):

> Amor de fantasia is a song by Los Pakines, a group that is famous for their cumbias, but that also played rock with a Peruvian touch during the 70s. I love the fact that they were playing cumbia and rock, and that they did not care about genres, they just loved any music. Amor the fantasia is a rock track that has subtle elements from *música criolla* in the guitar phrasing and from Peruvian cumbia in the guitar sound. And they do it without a non-dichotomized way of listening to music. (T. Tello, personal communication July 23, 2014)

With the term "non-dichotomized" Tello was referring to the avoidance of the modernity/ tradition binary. Tello gave me another example of non-dichotomized music. It was a field recording of an Aymara song from Bolivia called "Baile Chiriguano". The song is part of the sikuri repertoire, where a troupe of pan flute players play all night walking in the fields (Listen here).

> The song has no intention of joy or sadness. It's balanced. It sounds like a walk. I imagine that when people are doing that, it must be a trance. That idea moves me. There is another type of delicacy in that music, different from 'professional musicians'. I believe music is made to forget about duality, not to be nice or ugly. Each one of us puts meaning in music. For me the idea is to put sounds as the main thing… musicians disappear, and individualities dissolve. (T. Tello, personal communication July 23, 2014)

In this quote Tello is talking about the ambiguous content of the piece, but his reference to professional musicians also discusses the difference between the role of composers and performers in Western culture and in Aymara culture. Deleuze, on the other hand, talks about the content of the music, but he does not delve into the social and professional position of Webern or Messiaen (Bogue 2003). Does their social role as Western avant-garde composers de-territorialize the hegemony of the Western canon? or does it reproduce that hegemony? Tello raises these kind of questions by moving critically between traditional and modern referents, practicing what Mignolo (2011) calls a de-colonial cosmopolitanism. While colonial cosmopolitanism adapts tradition to the Western taste, de-colonial cosmopolitanism challenges the hegemony of Western culture. Tello by-passes European or American avant-garde in his music and in the examples of non-dichotomized music cited above, showing that it is not necessary to oppose avant-garde to traditional music.

Tello and the idealization of pre-industrial times. Even though Tello is critical of the Western canon, he also shares the modernist nostalgia for pre-industrial times. He thinks that back then people paid more attention to the details in music, and that music was seen as a holistic experience. Tello now lives in Europe, and observes the following:

> You see personal rituals in Europe. But there is no collectivity. Sure, I like both individuality and collectivity but I have not heard pre-industrial musics in Europe. It

> seems to be dead. I have only heard stuff played with old instruments in museum contexts. In Perú there are still pre-industrial practices. We still have a hope. (T. Tello, personal communication July 23, 2014).

Tello sees his work as one of a monk. For him music has had a healing function since he was a kid. When he lived in Arequipa there was a lot of hostility towards him because of the fact that he came from Lima. To this day Tello feels that music gives him a position in society, a protective shield, and also a legitimized marginality:

> Music has transforming powers when performed and lived in a ritual, and we are loosing that. We have to pay attention to details, and in that moment meaning and divisions are transcended. I try to create a sonic space that allows us to rest from our own mind, an inexistent place, aim to the healing capabilities of music, sound. (T. Tello, personal communication July 23, 2014).

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Tello's discourse sounds similar to new age and world music discourses at some moments. Fuenzalida (1995) states that new age thought is moved by a will to go back to a pre-modern human condition in equilibrium with nature. But these ideals are influenced by a romantic view of traditional societies, and end up reproducing essentialist stereotypes that promote discrimination.

Is Tello reproducing the modernity/tradition dichotomy he tries to avoid through his pre-industrial nostalgia? I confronted him with this contradiction, and he said he is probably idealizing the past, but he still beliefs that the commodification of music has diminished dramatically the ritual aspect of arts, and that ritualism is very important for humans.

In the only article I could find online on Tomás Tello, Tello was depicted in a new age fashion. The article featured in *El Ciudadano* (2012) is titled "Tomás Tello: a Cosmic Bridge that Unites Past and Present in a Single Line". This is a typical new age rhetoric. As Berzano (2001) has argued, the cosmos is a very common trope to depict the links between technology and traditional musics. The impersonal/ahistorical character of the cosmos allows us to imagine the encounter between tradition and modernity in a-historical ways, which also erase colonial histories. Along the same lines, Llorens (2001) has argued that music that is dubbed as traditional tends to be depicted as anonymous and detached from its socio-cultural reality.

But Tello insists that this is not his case. On the contrary, he is a very critical of new age and world music discourses. He says that in general he does not like to talk about his music because it generates contradictions. Indeed, it is definitely very hard to find interviews or articles about him, since he avoids doing any marketing campaigns for his art. His reluctance to market his music has led him to have economical difficulties, due to the lack of interest from the world music or *fusión* circuits, and from cultural institutions in Perú.

4.6 Conclusion

Tomás Tello is trying to generate a new language to talk about tradition and modernity. Although at times he reproduces that binary, his efforts represent an

important moment in Peruvian music: a de-centering connection between avant-garde and tradition. Tello is the only one among my subjects that has intentionally avoided the modernity/tradition binary which, as I have shown in the dissertation, frames the way in which Peruvians talk about their identity and underpins the superiority of modernity over tradition. His reluctance to use the language of modernity has turned him into a marginal figure, and because of his radicalism, Tello is practically invisible for both the academic and the popular music scenes. However, I have no doubt that as essentialisms make way for process-oriented ontologies in Perú, his voice will be recognized as one of the most important of his generation.

Conclusion: The Domestication of Tradition

Sing it softly, for the song is wild.
-Langston Hughes

The most dangerous form of non-freedom,
is the non-freedom that is not perceived as such.
-Slavoj Zizek

Zizek (1998) has discussed that framing the language in which people talk about themselves is an important form of hegemonic control, and that true freedom cannot be achieved with the language of the oppressor, because the language of the oppressor in itself creates his hegemony. Modernity has established the language in which Peruvians talk about Peruvian identity. The opposition between tradition and modernity and the implicit superiority of modernity over tradition within that opposition have become almost unavoidable in the identity debate in Perú.

It is difficult to escape the modernity/tradition dichotomy, but not impossible: all the musicians I have worked with erode the dichotomy to a greater or lesser extent. However, even when the the opposition between tradition and modernity is questioned, hegemonic forces exert their power and end up perpetuating the dichotomy. Any attempt to shed a light on the colonialist root of the modernity/tradition binary will be excluded or erased, while the perpetuation of the dichotomy is favored.

Los Shapis managed to create an alternative referent for Andean audiences, challenging the historical exclusion of Andean culture, and gained professional and

economic success among migrant Lima audiences, but are still face discrimination from the elites and official policies. The Afro-Peruvian musicians of Novalima have created a space to express their subjectivity beyond generalized black stereotypes, but they have only been able to do it within Novalima. In fact, the official discourse of Novalima, controlled by the producers, reproduces racist stereotypes. Tomás Tello has also created an individual space for himself, actively contesting the modernity/tradition dichotomy, but with no recognition or financial benefits at all.

Out of all of the cases, the producers of Novalima and DDD are the most successful in terms of official/mainstream recognition (which has led to an economical success too) and this is because their discourse reproduces the hierarchical opposition between modernity and tradition. The dangerous thing about Novalima and DDD is that they reproduce symbolic exclusion using a language that seems to be inclusive. The latter is one of modernity's most efficient strategies, the use of the codes of subversive forces to eliminate those subversive forces. It uses the language of inclusion to exclude, to create an illusory inclusion. In this way, domination is legitimized and even becomes desirable.

I have demonstrated that although all of these artists are creating new spaces for a more inclusive modernity, in the end hegemonic practices are by far more powerful than the efforts of those who want to create a more inclusive order. As a conclusion, I want to focus on how colonial hegemony works. On how it has reproduced itself in the modernity/tradition dichotomy, and how it continues replicating itself. As the title of the

dissertation suggests, the expansion of modernity has historically worked as a domestication of tradition. In the next lines I will compare the domestication of tradition with the domestication of dogs. This comparison should be taken as a rhetorical strategy that seeks to deepen the understanding of the problem of the pervasive colonialism of modernity in Perú and not as an essay in comparative biology. It is a metaphorical exercise to put across questions that were raised during my work but exceed the scope of this dissertation.

Figure 20. Paris Hilton and Tinker-bell

Haraway (2003) has stated that the process of domestication of dogs has been complex. It has been a negotiation with benefits for humans and dogs, but also an act of violent bio-engineering. Like Haraway, I think that domestication reveals many interesting and hidden aspects of modernity's expansion. I want to underline that I have nothing against dogs or against pet owners. However, in the next lines I will focus on the dark side of domestication of dogs, as a tool to understand colonialism, the dark side of the expansion of modernity.

Pets. If we compare a domestic dog to a wolf (dog's direct ancestor), there has been a change in their behavior but also in the overall brain size and in specific brain areas related to hunting skills (Morey 2010)[38]. One of the main aspects of domestication was the process of making dogs useful to humans and the elimination of dangerous traits. Of course dogs also benefited from the relationships with humans, they gained protection and easy food, among other things. Studies have shown that domestication was a two-way street. To a certain extent dogs submitted voluntarily, and humans were also changed by their relationship with dogs. But an important part of domestication was also the elimination of those dogs that were rebellious, while stimulating the reproduction of dogs that were collaborative.

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[38] All of the information related to the domestication of dogs has been taken from Morey (2010) and Haraway (2003).

Something similar happens in the relationship between tradition and modernity. Modernity has domesticated tradition. The ones who try to empower themselves in order to challenge modernity's hegemony are excluded or eliminated (as in the case of Los Shapis and Tomás Tello), while the ones who take traits from tradition and use them in a way that benefits hegemonic discourses also benefit themselves and their reproduction is stimulated by official discourses (as in the case of Novalima and DDD).

Tinker-bell, the Chihuahua that Paris Hilton carries in her purse (see figure 20), is an example of the dark side of domestication: all of Tinker-bell's survival skills have been eliminated, the dog is totally dependent on Paris. Tinker-bell has become *pure* need, and Paris *pure* fulfillment. It is unconditional love. But, as Haraway has commented, "unconditional [pet] love might be the neurosis of caninophiliac narcissism" (Haraway 2003 p. 33).

The trope of Tinker-bell can be used to understand the music of DDD. Their cumbia bass is in a way a domestication of chicha. It is chicha with all of its historic and subversive content erased, reduced to the huayno/cumbia rhythmic cell and the four-to-the-floor beat, modified for the satisfaction of global modern audiences. Global modernity loves DDD and DDD has benefited from global modernity too. As I asked in previous chapters, is DDD's cumbia bass still cumbia after all these transformations? Is Tinker-bell still a dog? Does global bass still have traditional traits? What is the limit of the domestication?

Tinker-bell is domestication's dark side taken to its logical conclusion, the result is the perfect communion of the domesticator and the domesticated, it is love. Paris loves Tinker-bell more than anything. It's her favorite being. They are closer to each other than to anyone else. It is hard for us to see the domestication of dogs as the history of a genetic modification aimed to diminish their survival skills. It is difficult because we love dogs and they love us. And even if we accept that we did deprive them of their survival skills, in the end dogs have benefited from the process of domestication: we feed them and take care of them. And most of all, they have learned how to love us and to receive love. You cannot love a wild dog, and wild dogs don't love us. At least not in the way in which we love domesticated dogs, or in the way domesticated dogs love us back. Domesticated dogs have learned the art of human love. The latter sounds similar to the Enlightenment's civilizing discourse, which puts Western culture at the center of the history, and Western man as the domesticator of the wild (men and animal) for the benefit of all species.

Is Tinker-bell the future of the relationship between tradition and modernity? A total absorption that looks like unconditional love? When domestication becomes pure love, any reminder of the dark side of domestication is seen as irrelevant because in the end it was worth it, Paris loves Tinker-bell more than anything right? The story has a happy ending. And even if we decide to remember the dark history of domestication of dogs, what is the point? What can we do? Pocket Chihuahuas are already here and there is nothing we can do but love them and protect them.

But how did we reach this point? How did we allow ourselves to produce defenseless pocket Chihuahuas just for our enjoyment? We managed to get to that point because of an efficient erasure of histories that narrate the dark side of domestication. When we see a dog we do not see a history of bio-engineering. We see an a-historical present of love, which is not false, but is an incomplete story. Modernity also erases its violent history, and focuses on the here and now. Can anyone blame Paris for loving Tinker-bell? DDD and Novalima love tradition and are honestly invested in bringing Peruvian traditions to the forefront. Unfortunately, they do so using colonial stereotypes with which they grew up, erasing colonial histories and depriving tradition from its subversive side. They bring traditions to the forefront but they also end up reinforcing the hegemony of modernity. Can we judge them for that? There is no easy answer to that question, and my dissertation does not pretend to answer it. This is an example of how difficult it is to criticize modernity's domestication of tradition.

Modernity uses domesticated traditions to hide its colonial side and to legitimize the expansion of modernity. Domesticated tradition is a proof of the alleged democratic and inclusive spirit of modernity. How can we accuse modernity of eliminating non-Western practices when we have DDD and Novalima at the top of world music charts? Domesticated tradition is the proof that modernity encourages interculturality, and this proof is fundamental to the legitimization of capitalist expansion. But the support of domesticated tradition goes hand in hand with the elimination of rebellious traditions, just like the domesticator encourages the reproduction of the tame and eliminates the

unruly. This is why acts like Los Shapis and Tomás Tello are systematically attacked, or ignored, by the mainstream.

Domesticated tradition is the carrot on the stick that keeps people in developing countries believing that they can also be part of an inclusive modernity even though the chances of being part of it are slim. In the case of Perú, the combination of Afro-Latin music and electronics is a symbol of the hope for a place for Peruvians in the developed world. All of my case studies are looking for a way out of their subaltern condition. The most successful ones in this task have been the ones who have reproduced the hierarchy of modernity over tradition. However, as I have demonstrated, the hegemony of modernity is perpetuated.

It is difficult to accept the dark side of domestication of dogs. It deeply questions the institution of pets as a whole. The solution is neither to get rid of dogs nor to re-direct our love towards wild dogs. Loving domesticated dogs here and now is good, but it does not stop the inherent human-led bio-engineering side of domestication. The problem is structural, ontological: we modified dogs, but they modified us too. In the same way, accepting the colonial history of modernity is painful and it seems that there is no way out of it because we are all part of it, we were made by it, we *are* it. Even Tomas Tello, with his subversive discourse cannot escape this conundrum, and Los Shapis also end up reproducing the stereotypes by which they have been discriminated against. Tradition was made by modernity, and modernity needs tradition to expand.

Love for dogs is linked to bio-technological processes in which human domination has had a big part. The top ten ranking of world music is also an example of a love with a dark side, it is the colonial domestication of musical traditions. We solve these contradictions by forgetting the perverse side of the history of domestication, and by putting love at the forefront. This is why artists like Tomás Tello and Los Shapis, who raise painful questions about the history of the domestication of tradition are excluded by the mainstream, and artists like DDD and Novalima, who encourage love for domesticated forms of tradition, are praised. Love becomes the antidote against remembering.

So far I have talked about how the domesticator discourages the reproduction of the rebellious, and encourages the reproduction of the tame. But there is another important technique of domestication which is making submission desirable for the domesticated. Many of modernity's hegemonic strategies are directed to establish modernity as the best possible order, and as the peak of a natural human evolution. Modernity advances by creating an environment where traditional practices are not suitable anymore. In this way the claim that modernity is superior to tradition becomes a self fulfilled prophecy. Modernity also invests a lot of energy in naturalizing the environment where traditional cultural practices are not apt anymore, hiding the fact that that environment is itself a product of modernity. For example, I have analyzed in previous chapters how the music of Novalima and DDD hides discrimination behind the concept of good musical taste. Taste cannot be criticized by anyone because taste it is

in my body, it is mine, it is *natural.* By creating enjoyable forms of discrimination hegemonic forces naturalize an environment that is favorable for domesticated traditions, and adverse for the rebellious ones.

Studies show that domestication was a mutually beneficial process. In a way, domestication was a choice for the dogs who managed to adapt to human behavior, but definitely not for rebellious ones who were exterminated. The same happens in the relationship between modernity and tradition. I was talking to a friend about using the metaphor of domestication for my conclusions, and she said that many people in Perú, including herself, wished the U.S conquered Perú so our third world problems would be solved.

One of the key ideas that emerge from my research is that for the domestication of tradition to be successful on a large scale, domestication has to be desired by the domesticated. And the domesticator replicates the colonial aspects of domestication not as a conscious act of discrimination, on the contrary, he does so by loving tradition. Domestication is not carried out by a few evil individuals. It is a collective and self-replicating process where the domesticated becomes the domesticator.

If domestication of traditions did not present itself as something righteous and desirable, the process would be unbearable both for the domesticators and the domesticated and the system would collapse. Hegemonic institutions spend a lot of their energy in turning discriminatory discourses into something desirable and respectable. In the cases I have studied, the legitimization of discrimination as something desirable is

more important than the actual elaboration of discriminatory discourses in the works of hegemony.

Epilogue: One last attempt to escape the modernity/tradition dichotomy.

The main motivation to write this dissertation was to contribute to a representation of Peruvian identity beyond the modernity/tradition dichotomy. For Tomás Tello, the only subject of study who shares my agenda, my dissertation has failed because I too ended up reproducing colonial modernity's language to talk about Peruvian identity. I agree. I wonder if by doing so I have also neglected the poetic honesty and artistic truths that go beyond a cultural critique, and are present in all the four cases I have analyzed. Even though I have criticized their practices, I believe all of them are very honest, and that honesty creates a connection with their audiences. Is there a realm in the aesthetic experience of my subjects of study that transcends the power dynamics I have analyzed? A realm of artistic truth where a language beyond the modernity/tradition binary can blossom? If so, how could it be included in a document like this? I think these are very important questions that, however, cannot be answered with the language used in this document.

As a last attempt in eroding the modernity/tradition dichotomy language I present some music of my own, in the hope that it will allow me to escape the language I have criticized. Music has the power of formulating feelings. I present this music in an attempt

to enter the “structures of feeling” where according to Raymond Williams, new ideas originate. O’Connor describes William’s concept in the following way:

> Hegemony, which can be thought of as either ‘common sense’ or the dominant way of thinking in a particular time and place, can never be total, Williams argued, there must always be an inner dynamic by means of which new formations of thought emerge. Structure of feeling refers to the different ways of thinking vying to emerge at any one time in history. It appears in the gap between the official discourse of policy and regulations, the popular response to official discourse and its appropriation in literary and other cultural texts. Williams uses the term feeling rather than thought to signal that what is at stake may not yet be articulated in a fully worked-out form, but has rather to be inferred by reading between the lines. If the term is vague it is because it is used to name something that can really only be regarded as a trajectory. (O’Connor 1989)

The music I present has the intention to formulate new questions, in a way that my text has not been able to. They are questions not yet articulated in a fully worked out form, as the quote states. It is music that attempts to sound both experimental and popular, both Afro-Latin and electronic, both modern and traditional without appealing to stereotypes of Afro-Latin culture or to the over used four-to-the-floor aesthetic. I have made these pieces entirely with a software sequencer I developed on my own in the Max/Msp platform. The particular thing about this software is that it allows me to easily manipulate in real time variables that are key in Afro-Latin music: polyrhythm, displacement, improvisation, multiple tempos and phasing, and also generates aleatory patterns according to parameters I have defined, following an Afro-Latin logic of rhythm. I created this sequencer as a way of freeing myself from the limitations of software and hardware sequencers available in the market. Common software and hardware in

general are not friendly to composers whose music is centered in an Afro-Latin sensibility of rhythm which relies on the variables listed above. Listen here.

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