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That's How We sound!

Re-articulating nation through music performance in

La Escena Independiente in Lima, Peru.



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Abstract

This thesis explores how the nation is articulated through the performance of music by analysing ways in which music performance affords the participants – musicians and audiences alike – a space to re-produce and co-articulate the nation. The research is situated in Lima, Peru. The analysis focuses on the discourses and practices of five bands and one solo artist: *Barrio Calavera*, *Eme*, *Karolinativa*, *La Nueva Invasión*, *Olaya Sound System* and *Tourista* from *La Escena Independiente* (The Independent Scene). The analysis aims to illustrate how they imagine and re-articulate contemporary Peruvianness. It concentrates on the role of space in the imagining of community and the way the participants inhabit the space of the performance as a means to negotiate Peruvianness.

The thesis draws on recent scholarship in the field of nationalism studies exploring how the ‘imagined community’ (Anderson 1983) is practised and embodied, emphasising the individual’s agency (Antonsish 2015) in the articulation and negotiation of the nation. This research builds on these approaches to study the nation in combination with the concept of ‘musicking’ (Small 1998) and the notion of music performance as a social performance (McCormick 2015) of self. Based on Auslander’s (2014) model of performance persona, the study elaborates on how the musicians ground their vision of Peruvianness and claims of musical authenticity in their biographies and how they conceive their music, performance and the conventions of *La Escena Independiente* as means to convey and enact it. Further, the analysis explores possible approaches to understanding the audience’s practices as active participation in articulating nation.

The exploratory methodology informed the decision to focus on *La Escena Independiente*. The data was collected through a mix of methods. These included the cartography of concerts in Lima, attendance of 42 concerts of different musical styles, ethnographic observations and filmmaking of selected concerts, and ten semi-structured interviews with the musicians. The data collection comprised three phases,

starting with an overview of the city and its music, followed by the attendance of concerts of different musical styles to narrow down the research site and the observation, participation at events and interviews with musicians from *La Escena Independiente*.

The thesis argues that the participants in *La Escena Independiente* reproduce common notions of Peruvianness and simultaneously re-articulate them by resignifying narratives and symbols during musical performances. The musicians combine and recontextualise musical elements, styles and aesthetics, and the audience engages with the performances, validating or rejecting the visions conveyed. The research suggests that the nation is re-articulated in a complex and multidirectional process of meaning-making and self-positioning. Moreover, it illustrates that the nation is a category that intersects all aspects of everyday life, shaping experiences and practices. The nation is simultaneously reinforced and revised through the experiences and practices it frames, for instance, a concert. Nation is not only imagined but also enacted and re-imagined through its praxis. This thesis contributes to the broader understanding of how the nation is articulated and practised in everyday life and provides insights into the relationship between music and nation.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the Doctorate in Sociology at The University of Edinburgh has been composed solely by myself and is entirely my own work, except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgement. I also certify that the work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification or has been published in any form.

I confirm that the visual and audio-visual material used in this thesis was created by the author, except when specified otherwise, with the consent of the participants in the research. The work, including the visual and audio-visual material, is the intellectual property of the author and protected by copyright.

I declare that the author has made the translations into English. I included specific terms in their original language, Spanish (in italics), to maintain their contextualised meaning and tone.

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Dear reader, thank you for undertaking this journey with me. Before embarking, I want to acknowledge all those involved in the production of this thesis and discuss some ideas about our embeddedness as researchers in our personal and professional networks because it provides background to how I conceive not just this thesis but research in general. When I started my PhD at the University of Edinburgh, I never paid much attention to the acknowledgements of books and theses. It seemed like a dull exercise listing names and institutions. Moreover, I never really understood why it was called acknowledgements. Throughout my studies and research, especially during the writing of the thesis, I began to realise that the acknowledgement is not simply a list but a part of our positionality – a twofold positioning of ourselves as researchers. It is the awareness of our position within the social space in which we endeavour our research efforts and the recognition that we, as researchers, are not (re)presenting or producing knowledge in a social or historical vacuum. One of the concepts I use in my thesis is Becker's (1983) *Art World*, describing how a work of art is not created by a genius artist but the result of a network of people assuming different roles collaborating in producing a work of art. Each world has its own conventions, enabling collaboration. They are agreements made by the participant in such a world as to how things should be done. Just as the artists, or in the case of this research, the musicians, are embedded in an art world or music world (Crossley 2015), we as researchers are embedded in a world, relying on a network of collaborators who assume specific roles and tasks according to conventions enabling us to do fieldwork, to read and to write. Similar to the musicians, we, as researchers, also articulate and present different personae. Auslander (2004, 2006a) argues that what the musicians present in public is not a reflection of the private person but a persona they create. We also enact a persona when writing our texts and presenting at conferences or seminars. We might call it our academic persona. The acknowledgements are the one space within our writing where the lines between the private person and the academic persona blur or can blur. This occurs when we concede our embeddedness in a social space that

affords us to do our work because it is socially valued and when we recognise our dependence in our quest to participate in the production of knowledge. I am not claiming that this argumentation is groundbreaking, but it is one of the things I realised during my PhD.

In this sense, I want to recognise the different roles and moments in which others have enabled, shaped, changed and facilitated my work. First, I want to thank my supervisors, James Kennedy and Nick Prior, who took me on as a student and supported my research project with patience and care through all the ups and downs, personal and academic, including an unexpected pregnancy, mental health problems and the COVID-19 pandemic. Second, thank all the musicians, artists and staff who participated, provided material, granted access to venues, and, more importantly, shared their valuable time and knowledge with me. Especially the organisers and staff from *La Feria Perú Independiente* (The Independent Peru Fair), who allowed me to move freely in this space and take my first steps as a filming researcher. Third, I want to thank the members of *Instituto de Etnomusicología* (Institute of Ethnomusicology) from La Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, where I participated in several research groups and seminars. Throughout my studies, I met some people who are not only great colleagues but also friends, especially my husband, Giofianni Peirano Torriani. We met during our master's degree in political science, and we share a passion for knowledge and research. I also want to thank Serjara Aleman, whom I met during fieldwork and who has been an important sounding board for my ideas and arguments and Sebastián Argüelles, who supported me as a concert companion, making me feel safe during those late nights of observations and great conversations about anthropology. Equally Sergio Pisfil, Delia de la Núñez, Johuseline Porcel, Mónica Contreras and Gabriela Noles Cotito. I also want to thank Cristina Pietropaolo for her friendship, support while living in Edinburgh and wonderful discussions. The most recent addition to this list is Cameron Pulley, who agreed to undertake the proofreading of my thesis.

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Introduction



The national flag is waving over the crowd. Flashing lights from the stage immerse the audience in colourful sparkles and the music roars from the speakers. The drums thump through the venue, and the bodies move to the rhythm. The band *La Nueva Invasión* (The New Invasion) is on stage, known for combining rock, cumbia and Andean music along with their political lyrics. Looking closely, one can see that the flag has been altered. A slogan is written across the red-white-red stripes of the flag: *camina con orgullo* (walk with pride). This is taken from the chorus of one of the most popular songs from the band *Camina Bonito* (Walk Nicely). The song's first half denounces discrimination and is rhythmically based on cumbia. The second half is an emphatic chant evoking hope and promising the beginning of a new era by repeating: "*Naciendo la esperanza del nuevo Perú*" (The hope of the New Peru being born¹), rhythmically emulating Andean music. Every time the band performs this song, the manipulated flag is waved by audience members.

The concert took place on a Saturday night in the summer of 2018 at *Centro de Convenciones Festiva* (Convention Centre Festiva), a commercial venue in Lima, the capital of Peru. The event is part of a small festival titled *San Kalentin*, organised by the band *La Nueva Invasión*. The bands performing are part of *La Escena Independiente* (The Independent Scene), a group of bands and musicians interpreting various musical styles. These bands, together with other artists and activists, form a cultural movement, *La Movida Independiente* (The Independent Movement), seeking political and social change through art. While the bands do not share a musical style or taste, they share a set of values and conventions regarding "musicking" (Small 2011²) and musical production. Moreover, they share the notion that music is a political instrument, a means to convey their vision of community, political criticism and Peruvianness.

The aim of this thesis is to explore how the nation is articulated through participation in music performances. The main argument is that music performance affords the

¹ The live interpretation of the song varies from the recorded version. One difference is the chorus saying. While the recorded chorus says "*naciendo la esperanza en el nuevo Peru*", translating to "the hope being born **in** the new Peru" during the performance the the band members and audience sing "the hope **of** the new Peru being born"

² Originally published in 1998.

participants — musicians and audience alike — the space and the means to imagine a community, defining its limits and characteristics. As the manipulated flag exemplifies, the participants can engage actively through and with national symbols and narratives, negotiate and redefine their meaning during music performances. In this case, altering the national flag - instead of destroying or damaging it as it sometimes happens during protests - indicates that they do not reject categorically what it stands for but that those altering it want to change its meaning and claim the right to do so. Throughout this thesis, I illustrate how the musicians and audiences of *La Escena Independiente* reproduce existing symbols and narratives of Peruvianness and participate actively in its re-articulation. They delimit the community they imagine — delineating a ‘we’ and ‘other’ — and define its characteristics — delineating the values the imagined community lives by.

Perspectives on nationalism and music performance

Before elaborating on the research questions, I want to situate the research briefly in nationalism studies and the approaches to music performance and set out the theoretical foundation of my research. Benedict Anderson's book *Imagined Communities* (2016³) is the point of departure for my theoretical discussion. He develops the argument of the nation as an imagined community and focuses on print capitalism as a pivotal process which frames the imagining of the nation. In other words, Anderson is concerned with *how* a nation comes into existence. Following this, Michael Billig (2012⁴) raises the issue of how the nation is reproduced, often in unconscious ways, through speech or symbols, such as the flag hanging outside the post office, unwaved, and going unnoticed. Both Anderson and Billig reproduce, despite their innovative approaches, the underlying assumption that nationalism is a macro-structural phenomenon imposed by the state and groups of interest focusing on communication processes such as print capitalism but also institutions like museums, proceedings like national censuses and the presence of (official) national symbols in the everyday life. While these approaches assume that the concept of the nation intersects society and the everyday life, they do not consider how those identifying with and relating to the imagined community act upon and experience the world through it. More recent research concentrates on everyday nationhood, analysing how the nation is a category of experience intersecting all aspects of everyday life (Sumartojo 2017; Skey and Antonsich 2017). It is here, in the everyday life, where the nation is imagined but also enacted and embodied through activities and interactions.

During the concert from *La Nueva Invasión*, the flag is being waved intentionally to communicate that the official symbol is being re-signified and appropriated. The participants act upon the item, the flag, using it to enact their notion of nation, transforming its meaning and significance. This is one example of how those relating to the nation reproduce it but also co-articulate it through their actions by accepting or rejecting, engaging or ignoring, reinterpreting and altering (Fox and Ginderachter

³ Originally published in 1983.

⁴ Originally published in 1995.

2018) symbols, meanings and narratives. Nation, in this perspective, is imagined and also enacted. Moreover, it is not only communicated by politicians, illustrated by artists and writers, delineated by the newspaper editors' decisions, and marketed by national branding agencies; but equally articulated by individuals. The emphasise on human agency (Thompson 2001, Miller-Idris and Rothenberg 2012, Antonsich 2015) highlights that a nation is simultaneously a top-down and bottom-up process. For instance, the flag, commonly a symbol of the official discourse of the state, can also represent an alternative history when individuals act upon and through it.

To analyse and discuss how the musicians and audiences participate in the articulation of nation during a musical performance, I draw on different approaches to the study of music and performance. More recent scholarship moved away from the grand approaches, such as Adornos, theorising the social role and function of music, towards a sociology of music that seeks to understand the “music-society nexus” (DeNora 2000: 4). While European sociology was strongly influenced by Bourdieu and critical theory in US sociology, the turning point was Howard Becker's *Art World*, published in 1983, allowing for a more grounded approach by focusing on the activities around the production of art rather than analysing its meaning and content, applying the sociology of occupation approach to art (McCormick 2015). Becker argues that art worlds are those social networks that form around, and are necessary, for the production of any art. He establishes the analytical consideration that art is not made or produced by the artist alone but by the people surrounding the artist, making his work possible. As DeNora (2000) points out, the shortcoming of this approach lies in the way music was treated, as an “object of explanation” rather than an “active and dynamic material of social life” (ibid: 5). Music, or art, in all its forms, is not simply a representation of social life but an element through which social life is enacted and embodied, structured and changed.

In this line of argumentation, Christopher Small (2011⁵) proposes to conceptualise music as an activity. Thus, music is a verb - to music - rather than a cultural artefact. Analysing and describing events at the concert hall, he argues that music is about

⁵ Originally published in 1998.

more than the relationships between the sounds that constitute the music. It is, more importantly, about the relationships engaged in by individuals acting upon and through music. The notion of musicking goes beyond asking how music is used and its role in everyday life (Cohen 1998), or how identity is constructed through music by including the active role of all participants involved in musicking.

While these approaches focus on the social aspects of music, they neglect the artwork's meaning. As Eyerman (2015) argues, sociology has been looking at art from two opposite perspectives, differentiating between the "sociological dimension" (14), focusing on the ways of production, its context and the "aesthetic dimension" (ibid.) concerned with the meaning of the artwork. Another critique towards the sociological approaches concerned with the production of art is their neglect of the performance, often only treated as the result of the production process. This changed with Frith's (1996) analysis of non-textual elements of music and performance and Hennion's (2003) approach to mediation. Equally, Small's approach mentioned earlier directed the attention towards the music performance. Taking it further, Cook (2001) proposes to understand music as performance and treat it as a script rather than as text (McCormick 2015b: 122). Going a step further, Auslander (2013) dismisses the distinction between "what music is and what music does" (350; in McCormick 2015a: 122), stating that "music is that musicians do" (ibid.). In this line, McCormick (2006, 2009) conceptualised a framework to analyse musical performance providing a macro-sociological and meaning-centred approach suggesting to understand performance not as a result but a "[...] mode of social performance" (McCormick 2015a: 123) in itself. She argues that only through a multidimensional framework can the different elements of performance be integrated into the analysis considering text, context and action (ibid.:122).

While I use the concept 'art world', more precisely the concept of 'music world' proposed by Crossley (2015), my analytical approach is informed by McCormick's plea for a more comprehensive framework to integrate nationalism studies and approaches to music performance. The point where both lines of enquiry intersect is their emphasis on human agency, advocating to focus on the individuals as active

participants in the meaning-making process rather than passive recipients (be it of a national discourse or a musical performance). This provides a conceptual outset for my analysis of the activities, interactions, and discourses conveyed during a live musical performance to understand better individuals' active roles in the articulation of the nation. I will elaborate on the intersection of the approaches to nationalism and music performance in more detail in Chapter 2. In the same Chapter I provide a review of the imaginings of the nation in Latin America to contextualise the discussion of how the participants of *La Escena Independiente* co-articulate Peruvianness.

Research frame and questions

This thesis aims to understand the articulation of the nation through musicking practices during the live performance of music. Under this main research aim, I question the existing literature from nationalism studies and scholarship on performance to elaborate a theoretical argumentation (see Chapter 2) and explore the musicking practices and musical expressions of musicians and audiences from *La Escena Independiente* in Lima, Peru (see Chapters 4 to 6). I will discuss five bands and one solo artist: *Barrio Calavera*, *Eme*, *Karolinativa*, *La Nueva Invasión*, *Olaya Sound System* and *Tourista* and the respective audiences. The argument I want to lay out is that the participants in music performance — musicians and audience alike — co-articulate the imagined community through musicking and thus have an active role in the imagining of the nation. In the case of *La Escena Independiente*, the participants rearticulate Peruvianness by resignifying symbols, recontextualising narratives and rearranging musical elements. To achieve this objective, I analyse the qualitative data collected through cartography, anthropological observations and filmmaking, and semi-structured interviews (I explain this in detail in Chapter 3) to answer the following three research questions:

1) *What are the conventions of musical production within La Escena Independiente?*

This question explores how the musicians from *La Escena Independiente* justify their approach to music production and the underlying social values and norms. As I illustrate in Chapter 4, how the conventions are described and justified reveals clues to how the musicians imagine a community and define its delimitations and characteristics. Three narratives are central to how the musicians conceptualise their music world as a reflection of the community they imagine: *autogestión* (self-management), a concept similar to the DIY ethos but culturally and socially grounded in Peruvian history; their lifetime soundtrack (Istvandy 2014, 2015), as their personal

musical canon; and collaborative songwriting as a practice that allows the musicians to express and combine their personal experiences in their music.

2) What is the musicians' notion of Peruvianness conveyed through their music and performance?

This question aims to describe how the musicians describe Peru, Peruvianness and community through their lyrics and music performed on stage. Despite the musical diversity of *La Escena Independiente*, the narratives conveyed through the music and its performance share the use of spatial references to signify values and represent their interpretation of history and cultural heritage. The musicians use four spatial references to articulate their vision of community and Peruvianness: the rural landscape, the *barrio* (neighbourhood), the modern city and Latin America. One musician, nevertheless, is the exception centring his discourse about community and Peruvianness on his transgender male body rather than on space. I discuss this in detail in Chapter 5.

3) In what ways does the audience interact with the performance and relate with each other and the musicians?

This question aims to describe how the audience moves and inhabits the social space of the performance, revealing patterns of behaviour and interactions. How the audience members move, where they position themselves and where their focus of attention lies reveals clues about how they embody relationships during the concert. These patterns echo the band's and musician's vision of a community without simply mirroring them. I elaborate on this in Chapter 6.

The thesis is structured in seven chapters. In the first chapter, I describe the relevant context, providing information on Lima's urban and musical history. In the

following chapter, I elaborate on the theoretical foundation and argumentation, discussing scholarship on nationalism, music performance, and nationalism in Latin America and Peru. The third chapter outlines my methodology and methods highlighting the changes and learning process throughout this research. The following three chapters elaborate on the data collected and analysed, each answering one of the research questions posted here. In the final chapter, the conclusions, I outline the findings in relation to the theoretical argumentation and discuss the limitations of my research and suggestions for further analysis.

The sounds of Lima: the music of urban imaginaries



Before delving into the investigation, I want to provide some context for this research discussing bands and musicians from *La Escena Independiente* (The Independent Scene) in Lima. The metropolitan area of Lima is a complex and vast urban space. It is challenging to describe as one connected urban space, with its diverse population and 43 districts, each with its own government and mayor. As in all Latin American countries and their cities, Peru and Lima experienced a drastic demographic change during the 20th century due to a rapidly increasing population and accelerated urbanisation. The internal migration during this period changed the city's social fabric and urban culture. Still, more importantly, it changed how Lima is thought of: as a city divided between the migrants (the new urbanites) and the established population (the old urbanites). This dualism predates the urban expansion of Lima, being engraved in how Peru as a country and society has been understood even before becoming an independent Republic in 1822. Peru, its history, culture and society have been and still are commonly understood in terms of a juxtaposition between the rural and urban, the coast (the home of the Creole population) and the Andes (the home of the Andean population and culture), between the modern and civilised and traditional and uncivilised. This dualist notion of the social and cultural fabric of the country translated into the vision of Lima as a divided city, a space of conflict and diverging world views, affecting how people think about, move and live in the city because the spaces have become synonymous with social values and desirable and undesirable virtues.

Before discussing in more detail the history of the conceptualisation of Peruvianness in Chapter 2, I focus here on the evolution of Lima and how the music reflects the process of internal migration and urban expansion. This process led to a confluence of the life worlds of the groups with different cultural and social backgrounds and found expression in contemporary musical styles. These new sounds are part of the re-definition of the life world in the urban context of 20th and 21st century Lima. This chapter aims to provide the relevant context to understand the bands and musicians from *La Escena Independiente* I discuss in my research and illustrate how they are embedded in Lima's urban space and culture.

Throughout this chapter, I argue and discuss how the notion of Peruvianness conveyed by the musicians of *La Escena Independiente* is grounded in the urban space of Lima and, more precisely, how its history is told and perceived. By outlining the city's history and how it is reflected in its soundscapes, I seek to illustrate the relevant insights to understand better the notion of Peruvianness conveyed by the musicians. Two aspects are important here. First, the use of references to specific urban spaces as a representation of virtues and values is grounded in how the history of these spaces is told. Second, the location of *La Escena Independiente* in the city illustrates where the bands and musicians primarily perform. Both aspects are intrinsically linked to the city's history, its expansion and the changes in its social and cultural fabric.

This chapter is structured in five sections to provide the relevant context to understand the band's musicking practices and discourses on Peruvianness. In the first section, I briefly illustrate the evolution of Lima, focusing on internal migration and the following urban expansion. A central theme of Lima's history is the narrative of how grassroots organisations developed neighbourhoods and districts without official urban planning. In the second section, I discuss how Lima is imagined and how this reflects the notion of Peru and its history. More precisely, how the interpretation of the history of the urbanisation of Lima is interpreted to evidence a revolutionary social change where the marginalised population invades and takes over the urban space formerly dominated and reserved for the Creole elites. In the third section, I describe the impact of urban expansion and social changes on the evolution of musical styles in Lima's different urban and social spaces, focusing on the evolution of cumbia, urban huayno, rock and punk in Lima because they are relevant to understanding the music and discourse of the bands discussed. In the fourth section, I introduce *La Escena Independiente* (The Independent Scene), describing its characteristics and structures. In the last section, I discuss the music world's location within Lima's urban space based on my cartographic work.

Lima - Work in progress

Moving around Lima is often accompanied by music. The soundscape (Atkinson 2007) - the music in combination with all the other noises and their intensity - noticeably varies throughout the city. Walking through the central square of Barranco on the weekend, a popular destination for tourists and *Limeños*, one can hear a variety of musical styles, from Creole music to hip hop, performed by street artists and sometimes at concerts on the small stage at the main square. In contrast, the Centro Histórico (Historic City Centre) has a different soundscape drowned by traffic noise and music from the shops and restaurants, buses and micros, cell phone speakers, street vendors¹ and street artists². The smell of food – *anticucho*³, *pícarón*⁴ or Quail eggs⁵ and grilled chicken – sold on street corners and in restaurants combined with exhaust fumes permeates the air. In contrast, in Miraflores, for example, a more middle-class district, music is less present in the public areas and instead confined to private spaces such as restaurants, cafés, bars, shops and discos. Sometimes, a car passes with loud music or a motorcyclist with small speakers. Increasingly, the source of music in public places is cell phones and portable speakers, from teenagers to middle-aged men riding their bikes on the shoreline. They move through the city with their personal soundtrack audible to everyone. While this expresses different ways of inhabiting the urban space, it also reflects on the city's political structure. Lima is comprised of 43 districts, each of them with its municipality and consequently diverging regulations.

¹ There are an estimated 300 thousand street vendors in Lima, of which 14% are female (INEI 2014: 55). The goods they offer vary from car cleaning products, dishcloths, sunglasses, toys, drinks, sweets or ice cream. For a more detailed discussion, see Cosamalón (2018), who discusses the street vendor phenomenon in Lima between 1980 and 2000.

² Walking through the Historic City Centre, one can find street artists performing religious rock, a Michael Jackson imitator, a pantomime artist with his own music or a sound machine and someone singing Andean songs.

³ Anticucho is a popular dish, often eaten as a starter or snack. It usually is marinated cow heart, sliced and barbecued, and served with potato and corn. Traditionally street food is now also served in restaurants.

⁴ Picaron is a deep-fried dessert made of sweet potato and served with sugar syrup.

⁵ Quail eggs are a popular snack, sold already peeled and portioned in a small plastic bag.

On the *micro*, or in one of the many informal cabs, the journey's soundtrack is determined by the drivers' radio station of choice⁶, often Latin and Peruvian musical styles (musicians interpreting various styles of cumbia, salsa, chicha, huayno, reggaeton) or less frequently radio stations playing pop and rock in English and some rare occasions European classical music⁷. On the buses, the radio soundtrack is combined with the sounds varying from vendors advertising their product, others asking for money either for food or for medical treatment; sometimes missionaries come on board preaching, trying to recruit new members; and passengers watching videos or listening to music on their phones. It can also be interrupted by street musicians playing on the bus, ranging from the performance of a child singing to whole bands with instruments, microphones and amplifiers. Their music varies but is often Andean-influenced, Creole or Afro-Peruvian music. Sometimes, other musical styles, like hip-hop, are present. Only on the new bus lines, *Metropolitano*, managed by the city and not private enterprises, are without music.

Despite the differences between the districts, some noises are characteristic of Lima's larger streets: the shouted announcements of bus routes and the screams of *¡baja, baja!* (getting off), *¡sube, sube!* (get on) and *¡avanza, avanza!* (go on, faster) to the rhythm of the collectors slapping against the outside of the car. The avalanche of old buses drones constantly, the sound of horns buzz between the vehicles and buildings, insults are exchanged between drivers, kiss-kiss noises haunt women, and somewhere in the uncontrolled traffic, a police whistle shrieks or a siren howls. Another sound is present throughout the city: the throb of hundreds of construction sites.

Lima has expanded during the 20th century, from 562,855 inhabitants in 1940 (Instituto Metropolitano de Planificación 2013: 44) to over ten million⁸ in 2022 (INEI

⁶ Popular Radio stations are, for example, *Radio Karibeña*, *La Kalle*, *Radio Romantica*, *Oxigeno*, *Estudio 92* and for news *RPP*.

⁷ One time, I travelled by bus, and the chosen radio station was *Radio Filarmonía*, a radio station specialising in classical music. This was a unique and, to some degree, puzzling experience. It was not what one customarily expected when driving on the bus in Lima.

⁸ According to the Peruvian Institute of Statistics, Lima has, counting all 43 districts, 10 million 4 hundred thousand 141 hundred inhabitants (INEI 2022).

2022), almost a third of the national population. The unprecedented economic growth⁹ during the new millennium's first decade and the high demand for office and living space have increased construction in all parts of the city. Thus, the city is growing vertically and expanding south and northward along the coast, beyond the city borders, swelling to a vast, complex and somewhat chaotic metropolitan area. The main difference from previous growth periods was the massive spatial expansion and the emergence of a middle class (Panfichi 2014) with migrant roots. By 2014, "[t]hese emergent middle-class families represent[ed] more than a quarter (28 per cent) of the total urban population of Peru today, accounting for nearly 40 per cent of the country's total income" (Malaspina 2014). This is a significant shift in the social structure reflected in the urban space.

Demographic changes and waves of rural-urban mass migration caused Lima's expansion during the 20th century. The first massive rural-urban migration took place during the 1940s. Peruvian society was still essentially an oligarchy, excluding non-Creole members from political and economic participation. Later waves of migration were equally motivated by hope and necessity but also triggered by political decisions and social conflicts, such as the Agrarian Reform¹⁰ or the violence caused by the decade-long internal conflict between the state and *Sendero Luminoso* (The Shining Path)¹¹. The city seemed to promise new opportunities, but what the migrants found was an unwelcoming urban society and a lack of institutional capacity and political will to organise the city's growth. The new urbanites established "[...] their new homes as invasive squatter settlements on the peripheral areas of Lima city. These poor populations established themselves in small camps in either private or public lands" (Sakay et al. 2011: 474). They took the initiative and started building neighbourhoods

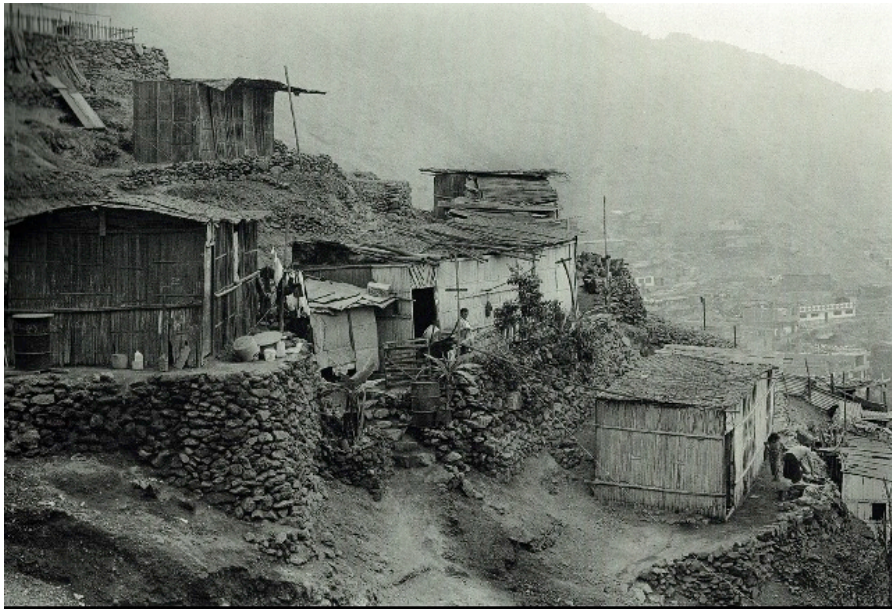
⁹ "Between 2005 and 2011, the average GDP per capita increased annually by 7.9 per cent [...]" (Malaspina 2014). This has decreased and showing a percentage of 1.1 in December 2019 (BCRPData 2020)

¹⁰ During Juan Velasco Alvarado's military regime (1968 - 1975), the Agrarian Reform was implemented in 1969. "In addition to redistributing hacienda [large estates] lands to peasants, the reform included the formation of 'rationally organized' or 'modern' agrarian cooperatives that were to generate surplus produce for the cities and cash for the members" (Turino 2003: 182).

¹¹ The Shining Path (*Sendero Luminoso*) is the commonly used name for the *Partido Comunista del Perú Sendero Luminoso* (The Communist Party of Peru Shining Path), a Maoist guerrilla organisation seeking to replace the bourgeois state, declaring "[...] its guerra popular (people's war) against the Peruvian state" (Dietrich 2015: 24) in 1980.

in the desert, organising themselves in neighbourhood associations and occupying the terrain surrounding the city (see images 1, 2 and 3).

Image 1: Settling on the slopes of Lima's hills



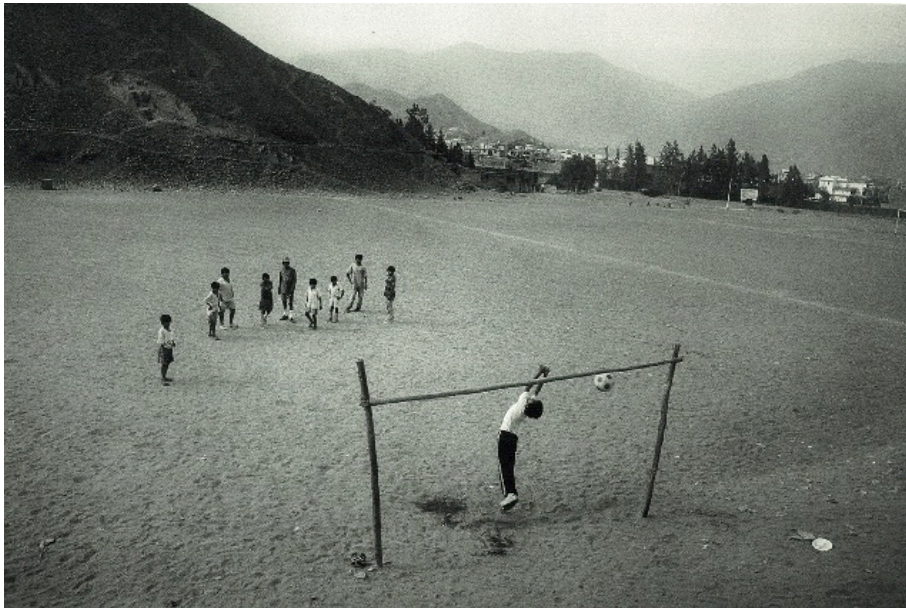
Source: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú 2006: 67.

Image 2: Water supplies in the new districts of Lima



Source: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú 2006: 150

Image 3: Football in the sand



Source: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú 2006: 157

The new urbanites built their neighbourhoods in the desert without any infrastructure or support from the state, fought for housing, demanded titles for the lots they occupied and fought for essential services such as water and electricity. Malaspina (2014) defined the concept of “reverse urbanism” to describe the particular characteristics of Lima’s urbanisation. He elaborates: “The land was first occupied and settled, and then public services, utilities and facilities for living were obtained through collective work, participation of the community, as well as negotiation with the government” (Malaspina 2014). The initial settlements, based on collective initiative and organisation, are called *barriadas*¹² and, once established, changed to *pueblos jóvenes* (young towns). Over time, these districts settled and formalised and now have their municipalities. Parallel to the process of reverse urbanism, other new districts were the result of state-guided urban planning¹³. With time, reversed urbanism has

¹² *Barriadas* is a term defined by the Peruvian anthropologist José Matos Mar to describe the emerging neighbourhoods through communal engagement and self-management (Matos Mar 1986).

¹³ The most prominent example is the case of the district of Villa el Salvador, located in the south of Lima. It was planned by the military regime under Alvarado after a group of people invaded another area of the city, demanding housing and services. For more detail on the history of urban planning in Latin America and Peru, see McGuirk (2015). For an overview of the evolution of the legal and institutional frameworks of urban planning in Peru between 1946 and 2021, see Castillo-García (2021).

become the central narrative of Lima's history, ascribing favourable virtues to the new urbanites, their descendants and the urban spaces they built and created. It is a story of entrepreneurs and visionaries taking matters into their own hands and fighting against a corrupt, discriminating, incompetent government. The resulting urban structure and aesthetic put into evidence, at least for those telling this story, an emancipatory process that empowered historically excluded impoverished people.

More than just a story, these notions of the city are socio-cultural constructs (Lindón 2007: 32), orientating interaction, movement and relations within the urban space. They are *imaginarios* (imaginaries) of urban areas associating meaning, values and virtues to the city (ibid.: 36). They are “[...] collective representations that determine the processes of social identification with which we interact within our cultures, making of them particular modes of communicating and interacting” (Silva 2006: 104). Being socially constructed, these *imaginarios* represent not only the notions about the city and its spaces but illustrate world views and, consequently, forms relating to it.

The *imaginario* works based on representations that translate a material reality or its conception into a mental image. [...] The *imaginario* contributes an additional meaning to the representations, transforming them symbolically to be both guides of analysis and action. [...] The *imaginario* creates acting images, guiding images, process guiding images, and not simply representing the material or subjective reality (Hiernaux 2007: 20).

The meaning, value and virtues attributed to the urban space are contained, though vague, associations. The city's social fabric, nevertheless, is complex and diverse. Lima is a “[...] multicultural city where 87.3 per cent of its population has immigrant roots - domestic and international” (Malaspina 2014). As a consequence of internal migration, Lima has become the largest “[...] Andean and Amazonian city in terms of population concentration [...]” (ibid.). According to the national census from 2017, around 23.1 per cent of those self-identifying as Indigenous or of Andean descent live

in Lima (INEI 2018b: 35)¹⁴. These demographic changes inevitably impacted the city's cultural and musical landscape:

From the end of the 1940s on, the processes of massive migration and the notorious presence of people from the Andes in the urban centres of the country, especially Lima, generated the emergence of new musical styles which combined the Andean musical traditions with tendencies of popular music available in the cities (Romero 2002b: 53).

The Andean cultural stamp on the city is undeniable, but it is not the only cultural influence determining urban culture. A similarly visible impact came with Chinese immigration¹⁵. For example, some popular dishes perceived as inherently Peruvian are influenced by Chinese cuisines, such as *Lomo Saltado*¹⁶. Additionally, Peruvian-Chinese restaurants – called *Chifa* – are present in all neighbourhoods. Other immigrant communities are less visible but present. One indicator of this is the schools (American, German, Swiss, British, Japanese, Chinese and Jewish schools), the social clubs (also organised by nationalities) and the products offered in the supermarkets catering to the specific demands in the communities of their neighbourhoods¹⁷. Although all of these communities leave a mark on Lima's cultural landscape, the Andean-based cultural expressions, primarily through music, “[...] have altered the public culture of the capital and of Peru at large” (Tucker 2013: 2) and became an essential element of the conceptualisation of Peruvianness. Two decades ago, expressions related to Andean culture were primarily present in the *pueblos jóvenes*. Since then, they have become generally accepted, transforming the cultural fabric of the city, be it as part of the lived culture and taste, or as an expression of acceptance and consciousness of this cultural legacy in its traditional and urbanised forms.

¹⁴ During the last census, one question was about self-identification, providing a range of categories from which to choose. Over 5 million people self-identify as Indigenous or of Andean descent, constituting 29.9% of the country's total population of 31,237,385 inhabitants (INEI 2018a: 13).

¹⁵ The 1876 census shows the concentration of Chinese workers “[...] along the coast, between eighty and ninety per cent of these immigrants laboured on the haciendas. The other ten to twenty per cent laboured as domestics, railroad workers, in guano pits, and in urban industries” (Narvaez 2010).

¹⁶ *Lomo saltado* is a meat dish prepared in a wok and seasoned with soy sauce, onions, yellow chili and tomatoes. It is then mixed with french fries and served with rice.

¹⁷ For example, the more expensive supermarket chain Wong, founded by a Chinese immigrant and bought by a Chilean corporation, offers German and Swiss products near the German social club (Germania). Most migrant communities cluster in specific neighbourhoods.

In recent years these Andean-influenced cultural expressions have gained additional meaning for the broader urban population, becoming symbols for a renaissance of Peruvianness beyond official and colonial history. While for some, it is part of their lived culture, for others, it signifies the search for a national narrative of inclusion and diversity. Part of this narrative is the reversed urbanism of Lima and the almost mythical narrative of the immigrants and their organisations as a grassroots movement. The rhetoric of the glorious rise of the oppressed population and the ability to create a city out of dust through hard work, building a thriving informal economy despite the state's incapability, became part of the foundation for the new Peruvian collective identity - a new national narrative.

Today, artists incorporate and reinterpret elements and aesthetics, referencing different pre-Hispanic cultures and the urban versions of contemporary Andean culture. Graphic designers and artists, for instance, reinterpret and adapt the style of the posters used to advertise Andean and chicha music, displaying their works in art galleries (image 4 on page 22) or selling prints and t-shirts. Musicians look for new ways to combine different musical styles, elements and instruments. Fashion designers incorporate fabrics and patterns of traditional clothing into their designs (image 5 on page 22), and chefs experiment with ingredients typical of the highlands and Amazonian regions¹⁸. These expressions, rather than being a reproduction of the regional cultures, represent the vision of the urbanites in the Andean region. This vision homogenises the Andean cultures and promotes the articulation of an *imaginario* rather than regional cultural expressions and traditions in all their diversity. In recent years, the Amazonian region has gained popularity as another source of inspiration and reference for artistic expressions and production in the urban space of Lima (image 6 on page 23). In the next section I discuss the way the urban space of Lima is conceptualised and perceived.

¹⁸ The most prominent and internationally successful Peruvian chefs are Gastón Arcurio and Virgilio Martínez.

Image 4: Eliot Tupac preparing an exhibition in Sao Paulo, Brazil



Source: Official Facebook, retrieved: 05.26.2020

Image 5: Warmichic — redefining the pollera¹⁹



Source: Official Facebook, retrieved: 05.26.2020

¹⁹ The pollera is a traditional skirt worn in the Andean region.

Image 6: Design *Amazonía Resiste* (Amazonia resists) from *Amapolay Manufactura Autónoma*



Source: Official Facebook, retrieved: 05.26.2020

Urbanisation as social revolution

The particular way in which Lima developed during the 20th century and its former significance as the capital of the Spanish colony and later of the oligarch republic shaped the city, dividing it not just in terms of urban infrastructure and architecture but moreover into different socio-cultural spaces. The uncontrolled growth transformed the city radically and gave way to an extensive and disorganised conglomerate of spaces of distinct nuclear urban areas with diverse functions (Panfichi 2013: 103). In contrast, the *imaginario* of Lima revolves around one central notion: that the city is divided into two sociocultural spaces. While Lima is a complex and chaotic urban space, it has been and still is imagined in terms of two juxtaposing social spaces and cultures: that of the migrants and that of the settled Creole elites. Depending on the perspective, the perception of the socio-cultural spaces differs.

From one perspective, the emerging settlements in the desert are commonly denominated *invasiones* (invasions). This has a positive connotation, signalling empowerment, emancipation and agency, and symbolising the re-conquering of the city, as most of the inhabitants are of Andean origin, referring to the mythology of the Inkarrí (I elaborate on this in detail in Chapter 2). Moreover, the new urbanites and the new urban spaces they build are symbols for *empreendedurismo* (entrepreneurship), the “[...] Peruvian version of the ‘self-made man’ myth that has become common sense, stating that effort and perseverance are the keys to climbing the formerly insurmountable steps of Peru’s social ladder” (Callirgos 2018: 490). In contrast, the old urban spaces and their inhabitants are depicted as references to bad character and habits, for instance, laziness and corruption.

From the opposite perspective, the new urbanites and their spaces are depicted negatively, an intrusion and a place of informality and poverty, signifying the decay of the urban society and space. In contrast, the old urbanites are cultured, educated, and civilised and consequently, their urban spaces are modern and exemplary. This dualist vision is at the core of the *imaginario* of Lima, influencing how the city is imagined and how the country is described, analysed and understood. The Peruvian anthropologist

Matos Mar (1986) famously denominated the particular urbanisation process *desborde popular* (popular overflow), describing it as the consequence of the massive mobilisation of the popular sectors of the population. This process, as he argues, questioned the authority of the state because the internal migrants had to turn to strategies and mechanisms to survive through which they altered the established rules, changing the face of Peru (Matos Mar 1986: 17). In his later work Matos Mar (2016) describes Peru as a divided country, split between the small coastal belt, the modern and developed part of the country, *El Perú Oficial* (*The Official Peru*), and the Andean and Amazonian macro-regions, *El Otro Perú* (*The Other Peru*). The massive rural-urban migrations of the 20th century altered the cultural and social fabric of the cities of *El Perú Oficial*, transforming and altering the traditional order (ibid: 27). Therefore, Matos Mar argues, this was not just a process of rural-urban migration, but a revolutionary process changing the state and society.

It is like this that the massive and growing migrant population ended the predominance of the rural world and altered the face of the cities in which *El Perú Oficial*, representative of the national, traditional and Creole power, maintained the illusion of being the stakeholders of identity and of being the agents of a limited elite society, traditional and Creole, whose capital, the great city of Lima, was the headquarters of a centralist republic (Matos Mar 2016: 27).

The dichotomy of the Creole and the Andean has been the primary way of conceptualising society, state and culture, and framed research as well as political ideology and activism in Peru by imposing an apparently insuperable dualism. More recent historiographical research argues that academic perspectives were often characterised by this dichotomy between the Creole and the Andean (Ypeij 2013: 70). Mallon (1995), for instance, argues in her analysis of the “factors that determined state-society relations” (312) in Peru and Mexico during the 19th century, that “[...] the dualism between Indian and white, between highlands and coast, became the Peruvian palimpsest on which most twentieth-century Peruvian intellectuals, no matter what their political position or goal, were forced to write” (Mallon 1995: 25). She underlines the difference between concrete historical factors and the discourse as a

means to create alliances and an instrument in power struggles. While the nuances of the dualism discourse changed according to the conceptions of ethnicity, race, class and the position of culture within them – which in turn depended on interests or ideologies – the division remained and kept alive systematic discrimination and marginalisation. The notion of the two Limas presented by Matos Mar, where the heirs of a millennial culture and civilisation displaced by colonising forces and subjugated to a capitalist system reconquer the city and the country by migrating to the city, almost invading them, perpetuates this dualism and has shaped the general notion of Lima as the site of power struggles and domination.

The urban expansion and the massive rural-urban migration were not peculiar to Lima but a process that marked all Latin American cities during the second half of the 20th century. In the case of Peru, similar to México or Chile, the rural-urban migration was concentrated in the capital, causing an unprecedented urban expansion and an ambiguous perception of the new Latin American urban realities. While generally considered a process of modernisation, an apparently positive development, the influx of migrants and the consequent changes in urban and social structure have been understood as a negative development, denominated as *desborde popular* (popular overflow), monstrous city or city of the masses (Filgueiras 2014: 173).

The massive migration and the subsequent transformation of Lima, which was from an oligarch and bourgeoisie point of view perceived purely as a process of decomposition and deterioration, constituted in reality, in the first place, a process of singular modernisation (Degregori et al. 2013 19²⁰).

The magnitude of these processes held academic and political debates captive. Concerned primarily with the new urbanites and their settlements, either seen as a problem or as part of a positive development, other popular and marginalised neighbourhoods of the city were largely ignored. Or opinions and ideas were uncritically adopted, reproducing prejudice and assumptions about their inhabitants. For instance, the perception of the decaying middle-class neighbourhoods of the old

²⁰ Originally published in 1986.

city was associated with unemployment. Its population comprised of day workers or drug dealers lacking any work ethic because they were descendants of the popular sectors of Lima's Creole society (Panfichi 2013: 83). While the new districts became somewhat ambiguous symbols of poverty, discrimination, and chaos, they also symbolise perseverance, strength, community and *empreendedurismo* (entrepreneurship). At the same time, the marginalised and impoverished neighbourhoods of Central Lima came to stand for criminality, laziness and *criollismo*²¹ (Creolness). This is notwithstanding the fact that both notions of the popular neighbourhood and districts are homogenising concepts, obscuring diversity within those populations and ignoring others altogether.

While academic literature has focused on the new and old urban spaces, it has neglected to discuss the modern city. If at all, modern Lima is depicted as a space of privatising interest, corrupt politics, privilege, discrimination and capitalism. Moreover, it is a symbol of modernisation and disenchantment. It is the space of the elites, thought of as white and Creole, the European descendants, dominating politics and economy for their own gain rather than the national interest. This modern Lima's cultural expressions are envisioned as strongly influenced by international aesthetics and trends from food to music and fashion. In contrast, the new urbanites' cultural influences are regional traditions they brought with them to the city.

However, Lima's urban structure and social and cultural fabric are much more complex and diverse than the dualist *imaginario* implies. For instance, looking at Lima's social structure through the geographical organisation of the economic activities, especially employment indicates that Lima is a polycentric city (Gonzales de Olarte and del Pozo Segura 2012)²². These patterns disprove the implied centre-periphery hierarchy by showing that the "[...] intensity of urban segregation in Metropolitan Lima is not as high as previously considered because the socio-economic characteristics and ways of grouping of the population do not conform large homogeneous areas" (Fernández de Córdova et al. 2016: 37). The assumption of the segregation of migrant

²¹ This term is generally used to describe a person who attempts to be astute and gain advantage wherever he can by circumventing the rules and the system, whether through corruption or persuasion.

²² On Lima as a polycentric city, see also Panfichi 2014.

population in the areas of urban expansion has been refuted by showing that there was “[...] no greater concentration of immigrants in a single district” (ibid.: 33). This underlines the argument, that Lima cannot be understood under a simple dualist perspective. This does not deny social and cultural segregation, especially through economic differences and, consequently, access to housing, education and employment opportunities. These cultural differences and social boundaries are observable, for instance, in the distribution of musical life performances²³ but also in the urban infrastructure itself, sometimes in quite brutal ways, such as the *Muro de la Vergüenza*²⁴ (The wall of shame), which divides one of the wealthiest neighbourhoods called *Casuarinas* from the expansions of a district on the other side of the hill, *Pamplona Alta* in the district of *San Juan de Miraflores*, one of the poorest districts in the city. More than a physical barrier, it is a symbolic border delineating a social division. As this example illustrates, there might be structural diversity, but the everyday life experience of Lima is still one of segregation, racial and ethnic discrimination, violence and inequality.

The dualist *imaginario* still determines how Lima is understood and experienced and, therefore, shapes the everyday social reality of its inhabitants. The division of Lima into urban spaces with different cultural and social spaces is not accidental but intrinsically linked to the overall view of Peruvian history and society. It is a history of conquest and the establishment of a small elite annihilating, oppressing and displacing Indigenous populations, destroying their civilisation and ridiculing its cultural expressions and worldviews. It is also a history of resistance by movements, organised uprisings and attempted revolutions by those oppressed. The *imaginario* of Lima is the continuation of this history of conflict between conquerer and conquered and is often thought of as a new phase, one of the reconquest of the country through the *invasión* (invasion) of the city, the space of the Creole elite, by the marginalised rural, mainly Andean population. In the next section I elaborate briefly on the evolution of the music worlds in Lima relevant to understand *La Escena Independiente* research.

²³ As I will illustrate later, there are clear patterns of which musical style is consumed where in the city.

²⁴ The wall has gained attention from international media, such as the DW Channel documentary and BBC Español. For a more scientific discussion, see Fernández Dávila (2021) and Vich (2004).

The changing sonorities of Lima

The extensive internal migration of the 20th century brought together people from different regions with varying cultural traditions and expressions and distinctive world views. The exclusion of the new urbanites by the state and the old urbanites created a common ground despite their regional differences. In parallel, it forced the internal migrants and urban society to confront different world views, life experiences, cultural heritage, memory and, consequently, a distinctive way of expressing and sharing. They had to create a common space live together. Music provides the soundtrack of the city's history but also illustrates the "social reshuffle" (Frykman and Löfgren 1987: 89) of the city and country. Due to this new lifeworld, Peruvianness needed to be reimagined, a work in progress, such as the city itself.

For those internal migrants coming to the city during the 20th century, the new urbanites, music played a crucial role, allowing them to maintain and reproduce a link to their region of origin, as Romero (2002a) explains:

As the population in these shantytowns increased, so did the demand for Andean music, the main cultural expression that the migrants brought to the cities. Having had to leave behind other cultural habits like clothing, language, and food in their quest to adapt to urban habits and strategies, music was one of the cultural manifestations that could still express their identity, regional nostalgia, and, most importantly, their resistance to cultural assimilation to urban life and values (220).

Andean music adapted to the new urbanites' changed socio-cultural and economic circumstances. Turino (2008) points out that the migrants "[...] reproduced selected aspects of hometown music [...]" imitating the sound "[...] because it communicated their [...] identity [...]" (117). This afforded them the ability to maintain a cultural link to their hometown and simultaneously express their "new urban sophistication" (ibid.: 105). Significant innovations of urban huayno representing the urban aspect of the new urbanite's culture are the solo singer and the introduction of new instruments, such as electric guitars and drums. Moreover, this urbanised and mediated version of huayno "[...] transcended local and regional barriers and expanded into the national context"

(Romero 2002a: 221) while maintaining regional links and references. This development is also related to the changing ways of consuming music. In the city, live music was performed at concerts with several artists in the *Coliseo*²⁵ on Sunday afternoons (presenting both modernised and traditional versions) instead of local festivities or social gatherings, and recorded music was listened to on the radio (Romero 2002a; Turino 2008). Despite those common spaces of consumption, the regional differences and references remained strong and were carried on through the so-called *clubes regionales* (regional clubs or associations).

The music consumed and listened to was and still is influenced by international trends, especially rock music. While national music, mainly traditional, was and still is very popular, other musical styles gained popularity too. During the 1960s, cumbia gained popularity in Colombia and Peru. Regional bands started playing cumbia at festivities and concerts without altering the original musical style. One of the most well-known songs is *La Chichera* from *Los Demonios del Mantaro*. Some groups started introducing different elements to cumbia, creating their particular style. For instance, the group *Los Destellos* combined it with huayno²⁶ or introduced some references to Amazonian culture²⁷, while other groups, like *Los Mirlos*, emphasised the Amazonian elements in their songs²⁸ (Romero 2002a: 224-228).

Parallel to this, from the 1950s onwards, another musical world was growing: rock and roll. Cornejo Guinassi (2018) describes: “Rock’n’Roll arrived in Lima on the 15th of September 1955. That day, the old cinema Metro premiered the movie *Blackboard Jungle* [...], one of the first portraits of the youth once they had been inoculated with the virus rock’n roll” (11, italics in original)²⁹. The first bands sang and composed mainly in English for two reasons: a notion that English was the original language of rock and also the socio-cultural context of the members of those bands, who often would grow

²⁵ *Coliseo* is an expression describing a big venue. “[...] the masses of Andean migrants would gather in the venues, usually on Sundays and holidays, to see their favourite professional performers and even aficionados” (Romero 2002b: 54).

²⁶ For example, in their songs: *Valicha* and *Carnaval de Arequipa* (Carnival from Arequipa).

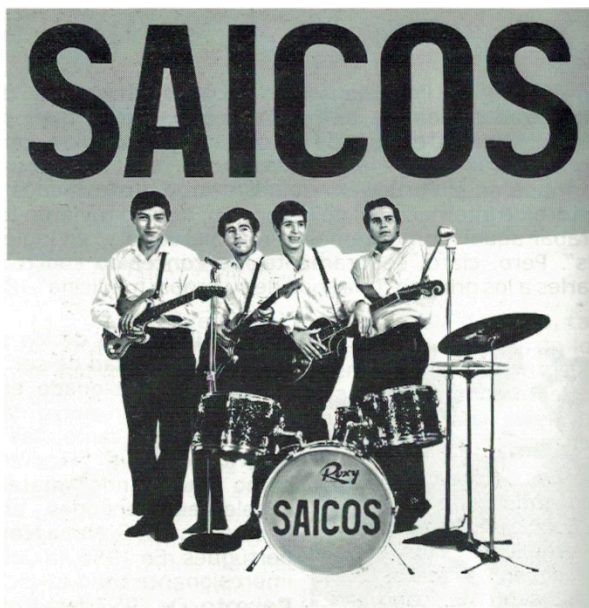
²⁷ For example, in the song *La Charapita*.

²⁸ The references are not just musical but also reflected in the lyrics and song titles, such as *Contigo a la Selva* (With You to the Jungle) or *El poder Verde* (The green power).

²⁹ The Spanish translation of the film’s title is *Semilla de Maldad* (Seed of Evilness).

up bilingual (Cornejo Guinassi 2018: 18-9) being part of a cosmopolitan upper class. Rock, strongly influenced by Anglo-Saxon music³⁰, became the music of the urban youth gathering for the concerts, the *matinales* (matinees), generally on Sundays in different cinemas throughout the city. In 1964, the band *Los Saicos*³¹ (see image 7) released their album *Demolición* (Demolition). They are often referred to as setting the grounds for the rock music world in Peru, not only because they sang their songs in Spanish but also because of their particular sound and attitude.

Image 7: *Los Saicos*



Source: Daniel F 2013: 66

With the military regime of the 1970s, the possibilities of musical production changed. The *Gobierno Revolucionario de las Fuerzas Armadas* (Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces; 1968 - 1980) banned the *matinales* and started controlling the media. Rock was seen by the regime as an alienating culture and foreign to national traditions (Vich 2015: 316), thus not conforming with the regime's anti-

³⁰ Cornejo Guinassi (2018) names the mid-sixties bands like The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, The Hollies, The Beach Boys, The Hollies, Dick Dale and the Surfari, The Venturers and The Kinks (15).

³¹ The meaning of the name might be the phonetical equivalent to the English word 'psycho'.

imperialist notion. Only in the 1980s, after the end of the military regime and return to a democratic system, rock was again a prominent part of the music scape of the city, especially with the release of the album *Avenida Larco* (Larco Avenue) (1981) from the band *Frágil* (see image 8). A few years later, other bands followed, now considered the stars of commercial Peruvian rock, such as *Río*, *Del Pueblo*, *Arena Hash* and *Micky González* (Vich 2015: 317). The latter would become a leading figure for bands combining rock and musical styles considered traditional (Afro-Peruvian, Andean, Amazonian). His album *Akundún* (1992) combines rock and Afro-Peruvian music and continues to be an essential musical reference.

Image 8: *Frágil*, concert poster



Source: Rotondo 2012: 34

Towards the mid-80s, an alternative movement formed around a group of bands: *rock subterráneo* (underground rock). The most prominent band was *Leuzemia* (see image 9 on page 34). While the overall attitude and aesthetic was inspired by punk, especially its DIY attitude and the “aesthetic of underproduction” (Greene 2016: 289), this music world also embraced bands categorised as “[...] fusion (Del Pueblo, Soljani,

Seres Van, Diario), metal bands (Oxide, Massacre, Almas Inmortales, Orgus, Sacra, Kranium, Mazo) [and] Hard rock (Temporal)” (Cornejo Guinassi 2018: 88). While musically diverse, they shared a critical stance against the political system and social reality. Another circumstance they had in common was that their music was not broadcast by radio or any other media. The term *rock subterráneo* denominates both a music world and, more importantly, describes a group delimited by shared values. As Torres Rotondo argues: “It is a matter of friendship, it is being with people with particular ethics and a similar vision of the world” (Torres Rotondo 2012: 17). This is a view the bands analysed in this research share. They understand the *La Escena Independiente* (The Independent Scene) as a contemporary revival of this movement, including music and artists and designers using various media to communicate their values, norms and notions about society, both positive and negative.

The cultural policies of the military regime promoted what they perceived as traditional cultural expressions regarding music, especially Andean as well as Creole music and aesthetics. The latter became the official national musical style, and several songs are still the unofficial national hymns, sung enthusiastically during sports events, national holidays and similar occasions, especially the song *Contigo Perú*³² (With you Peru) written by Polo Campos (1977) and commissioned by the then President Francisco Morales Bermúdez³³. The cultural policies of the military regime also promoted Andean music and other cultural expressions as part of Peru’s national heritage and culture.

³² This song was sung during the match against Australia in the 2018 football World Cup. See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3MfJoAYsdm8>
Retrieved: 15.06.2022

³³ Francisco Morales Bermúdez was the second president of the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces between 1975 and 1980.

Image 9: *Leuzemia* in concert



Source: Torres Rotondo 2012: 131

Parallel to promoting the official culture, the process of merging and combining musical styles, especially elements of cumbia and Andean music, continually evolved, and a new urban musical style emerged: chicha. The official cultural policies and the most recent influx of migrants due to the agrarian reform implemented by the military regime under Velasco caused another wave of rural-urban migration. It refreshed the influences of Andean music in the city. Chicha was a sound reflecting the taste of the new generations of urbanites, expressing the experiences of city-born children and grandchildren of the Andean migrants. While their parents still had strong links to their heritage, experienced and expressed through urban huayno and the regional associations, younger generations, both new migrants and descendants from former migrants, found their reality and struggles reflected in chicha music, especially in the lyrics addressing social issues and everyday life experiences. Ferrier (2010) lists the

following themes of urban huayno songs, inspired by the urban life of the migrants: “[...] poverty, lack of employment, the conditions of streets vendors, domestic worker, alcohol, machismo [...]” (30). The musical style reflected the new urbanites’ experiences due to its ability to convey the migrants’ situation based on a combination of different signs. While huayno melodies indicate the Andean origin, the cumbia rhythm symbolises their new urban and cosmopolite identity, and the use of electric guitars, bass, and keyboard are musical references to the rock youth culture (Turino 2008: 120).

The first chicha group to be noticed by the media outside the *pueblos jóvenes* was *Los Shapis*³⁴ (see image 10 on page 36), although the primary focus was on the musicians’ social background rather than on the music they produced and performed (Romero 2007: 229). Their first hit, *El Aguajal* (The Swamp), clearly made musical references to Andean music in contrast to other bands that had a more ‘tropical’ sound. Besides the combination of musical elements, chicha songs also directly addressed the experiences, frustrations, values and dreams of the new residents of Lima in some of their lyrics. For instance, *Chacalón* and his orchestra *La Nueva Crema* (*The New Cream*) sang about the struggle to make a living in the city³⁵ and stories of a broken heart and the longing for romantic love. Chicha became the most popular and massive music market during the 1980s, but urban huayno and cumbia continued to have an audience and still do today³⁶.

More than just a musical style, chicha soon became a label for “[...] the culture of migrants in Lima, characterized by survival strategies, informal procedures, and emergency arrangements, the main symbol being the *pueblos jóvenes*, the *micro* [...], and the *vendedor ambulante*”³⁷ (Romero 2002a: 229; italics in original). The aesthetic of this musical style and market, as well as the urban spaces and forms of living

³⁴ For example, the song *Somos estudiantes* (We are students).

³⁵ One of his most famous songs is *Soy Provinciano* (I am from the province). It tells the story of a rural migrant struggling in the city by himself and dreaming of a better life he can achieve by working hard.

³⁶ Contemporary concerts often feature urban huayno, more traditional Andean music and cumbia. Chicha is a term less used today, and the differentiations between the musical styles blur.

³⁷ *Vendedor ambulante* is the street vendor selling a vast array of goods. They are part of Lima’s landscape, often positioning themselves at street crossings and traffic lights, others at strategic street corners. The modality varies from small kiosks to selling out of a backpack or shoe box.

together, are essential elements of the urban *imaginario* of Lima. Moreover, chicha represented the merging of different regional styles and the slow fading of the cultural and emotional bond with the migrant's regions of origin by the younger urban generations within the *pueblos jóvenes*. This “decline of regionalism” (Turino 2008: 121) as the main reference of identity and sense of belonging shifted, leaving a void to be filled with the idea of Peru. Marketing strategies played an important role in this process, with a growing audience and increasing access to recording technology and band's and record labels' interest in building a national market (ibid.). Turino thus concludes that “[...] unlike the usual nation-state linkage that is promoted by political nationalist discourse, this was a kind of default, as well as capitalist-inspired, national identification that largely sidestepped the state” (ibid.).

Image 10: *Los Shapis*



Source: Official Facebook, retrieved: 05.26.2020

The 1990s were characterised by a general desire for economic progress and a cosmopolitan lifestyle for the new and old urbanites, each in its own way and with its particular aesthetic. Many *Limeños* dreamt of Miami as the ultimate holiday destination or the USA and Europe as migration destinations. Those travelling back and forth

brought fashion, music, and consumer preferences. A transnational stream of cultural influences and monetary remittances formed. The first small shopping malls were built in the wealthier neighbourhoods while others continued building their neighbourhoods and businesses in informality and precarious conditions. The internal conflict was ending, and the Alberto Fujimori government implemented neoliberal policies, privatising services and opening the market for foreign investment based on systematic corruption and alleged connections to organised crime. The opening of the markets flooded the city with images, sounds and goods. After a time of violence, hyperinflation, scarcity, mass migration and poverty, the colourful advertisements, the packed shops, and the possibility of ignoring the unrest of the recent past were enticing. The opening of the economic and cultural markets, in addition to international and transnational migrations, nurtured a longing for cosmopolitanism and offered new signs for the debate about identity and belonging.

In this context, a new variation of cumbia evolved, finding more followers outside the *pueblos jóvenes: tecnocumbia*³⁸. While chicha reflected the struggle of second and third generations in defining their own identity and settling down in the city, *tecnocumbia* indexed a “[...] new cosmopolitan subjectivity and youth culture that could comfortably combine funk, hip hop, “Andean folkloric music”, salsa, cumbia, samba-reggae, rock guitar, and pop vocals - all within a three-minute, forty-two-second piece!” (Turino 2008: 122-123). This shift is reflected not only in the musical style but also in the lyrics, maintaining the topic of romantic love but also focusing on dancing and partying (Turino 2008:122) with less emphasis on social inequality and the experiences of the new urbanites. According to Romero (2002a), there are four main reasons for the rise of this musical style replacing chicha. First is the De-Andeanisation, excluding musical references to Andean huayno; sensualisation, emphasising sensuality through costumes and movements; globalisation, symbolised through clothing and style; and mass mediation (234-235). *Rosy War* was, and still is, the most emblematic artist of

³⁸ The term *tecnocumbia* does not refer to the musical style of techno music but is used in the Peruvian context to indicate the use of electronic instruments.

this musical style, especially her song *Nunca pensé llorar* (I never thought I would cry) (see image 11).

Image 11: *Rosy War* on stage



Source: Official Facebook, retrieved: 05.26.2020

The opening of markets and the influx of goods, technology and information also impacted the 1990s rock music production. One noticeable change was the increasing number of concerts of foreign bands, not the most contemporary but internationally known, such as Santana, Phil Collins and Jethro Tull (Cornejo Guinassi 2018: 117). Peru regained a place on the musical global map. Due to their representation in the media, some bands and solo artists gained the status of national megastars, such as Micky Gonzales, *Nosequién y los Nosecuantos*, and Pedro Suárez-Vértiz. Meanwhile, the Fujimori regime (1990-2000) gained power and control over the media to use it for its political goal (Zapata 2015: 93) and limited the freedom of speech, influencing public

opinion. In contrast with the political promises of prosperity and social change through neoliberal policies, the *rock subterráneo* protest and expressions of opposition were stigmatised as a problem for society, hindering progress and modernisation. This “[...] hegemonic discourse made any expression of dissent sound simply untimely” (Cornejo Guinassi 2018: 123). Many bands and artists with a critical political stance lost audiences, and a new music world started to form, referred to as alternative or independent. In contrast to the *rock subterráneo*, its main characteristic was not the opposition and critique of the system but the fact of not working with a record label and thus being separate from the mainstream or commercial music markets (Cornejo Guinassi 2018: 124). Nevertheless, some bands with a critical stance, for instance, *La Sarita*, remained. One of their most popular songs is *Poder* (power), denouncing politicians’ greed for power and ruthlessness.

The new millennia began with the transition back to democracy after Fujimori fled the country and resigned his presidency via fax from Japan. The newly won political stability, although still precarious, initiated a process of democratisation and the increasing economic growth led, despite all difficulties and persisting inequalities, to the quest of redefining and rearticulating Peruvianness. This was not and still is not a homogenous process but rather a debate of different perspectives and interests. Arguably nation branding has played an essential role in this process, with several campaigns directed not only at international audiences but, moreover, at the national audience. PromPerú³⁹, the nation branding entity, promotes a discourse of ecological and cultural diversity combined with a notion of the ‘Peruvian character’ defined by resilience and entrepreneurship.

The music markets consolidated and grew with the new stability and the latest and more affordable technology, from the internet to recording equipment and instruments. Platforms like YouTube and later Facebook became essential tools for disseminating musicians’ work in some music worlds, while in others, concerts remained the primary way of connecting with the audience. New bands formed and released their albums in

³⁹ PromPeru is the Council for promoting Peru for export and tourism (Consejo de Promoción del Perú para la Exportación y el Turismo). For more information, see, Lossio (2014), Cuevas-Calderón (2016), Cánepa(2013), Cánepa and Lossio (2019).

various musical styles, although cumbia, huayno and salsa remained the most listened to. A survey⁴⁰ (IOP 2017) shows that the preferred musical style in the metropolitan area of Lima and Callao are salsa (48%), followed by ballads⁴¹ (40.6%), cumbia (39.5%), huayno (33.5%), Creole music (34.2%), rock in Spanish (24.1%) and rock in English (20.3%) (2)⁴². Nationwide, the pattern changes, with cumbia as the preferred musical style in urban areas and huayno in rural areas (ibid). As Romero argues in the survey report, the audience for cumbia and huayno is very similar, considering that bands often share the stage during live performances (Ibid: 7). Many concerts star various bands lasting the whole day or night. Thus, the “[...] musical taste of the majority of Peruvians has a large Andean component (Cumbia + Huayno)” (ibid.). A similar pattern shows that rock and pop, both in Spanish and English, are predominantly present in urban areas and consumed by younger audiences (18 to 29)⁴³ with higher economic status⁴⁴ (Ibid.: 4) and less listened to in rural areas (Ibid.: 2).

The same survey also inquired about what the participants considered the most representative musical style for Peru: Creole music in urban areas and huayno in rural areas, especially in the southern highlands (Ibid: 9-10). Rohner argues in the report of the survey that the perception of Creole music as being a representative is probably related to its “[...] constant use in relation with events of national character, like sports events or some official acts, although it has been changing in the last decades” (Ibid: 24). But Creole music does not play an essential role regarding the musical taste and the music listened to in everyday life.

⁴⁰ The survey was conducted in July 2017. A total of 1174 people, 18 years or older and from different regions of the country were interviewed.

⁴¹ The denomination *baladas* (ballads) encloses a group of musical styles but focuses on romantic songs. Sometimes it is also referred to as *música románticas* (romantic music). Radio stations specialise in *baladas*, for example, *Radio Romántica* (Romantic Radio).

⁴² The list continues with reggaeton (15.2%), chicha (8.9%), classical music (8.9%), pop in Spanish (10.9%), Pop in English (10.9%), rap/ hip hop (8.9%), Afro-Peruvian music (8.7%), jazz (0.9%), other Andean music styles (6.3%) and others (7.4%) (IOP 2017: 2).

⁴³ The preferred musical style in the age group 18-29 is Ballads. In the age group 30-44, cumbia and 45 and more years, it is huayno (IOP 2017: 4).

⁴⁴ The survey differentiates between socio-economic status A/B, C and D/E but does not specify these categories. Commonly A/B are the wealthier groups while D/E are the poorest. In the group A/B, the preferred musical style is ballads, in C salsa and in D/E huayno.

Other musical styles gained prominence, although not as massive as cumbia and urban huayno and often received more attention internationally than from a national audience. Many bands started experimenting with cumbia throughout Latin America, combining it with electronic sounds. Peruvian DJs like *Shushupe* (see image 12) combine Amazonian music, especially tropical cumbia and electronic music. Other internationally successful examples are *Dengue Dengue Dengue* (see image 13 on page 42) and *Novalima*, which combined Afro-Peruvian music with electronic music. This, nevertheless, is a relatively small music world oriented to a more international than a national audience. Other bands started covering and interpreting cumbia and chicha music, introducing it to an audience that did not consume these musical styles. One prominent example is the band *Bareto*, which contributed to the popularity of traditional cumbia, mainly by making covers and reinterpreting songs.

Image 12: *Shushupe* posing in front of a mural⁴⁵



Source: Official Facebook, retrieved: 05.26.2020

⁴⁵ The mural is from Olinda Silvano, a known *Shipibo-Conibo* artist. The *Shipibo-Conibo* people are from the Amazonian region

Several contemporary bands and musicians formed in the second decade of the millennia have started using music again as a medium to express their political opinions and social critique. Musically, they incorporate some Peruvian musical elements, make them an integral part of their compositions, and often perform the corresponding instruments themselves instead of inviting other musicians. Through these musicking practices, they want to express that they do not simply reinterpret or borrow popular musical styles but rather claim those expressions as part of their personal and collective experience and cultural knowledge. This marks a shift in the claims of musical authenticity and claims to the legitimate use and reference to traditional musical elements. I will discuss how the bands and musicians I discuss here articulate authenticity and legitimacy by linking personal biography and musical styles in more detail in Chapter 4. These new bands work and produce independently, refusing to work with a record label.

Image 13: Album Cover from *Dengue Dengue Dengue*



Source: Official Facebook, retrieved: 05.26.2020

The Peruvian music market for musical styles other than cumbia and urban huayno is still relatively small. But in the years prior to the Covid-19 pandemic, the panorama started to change. The bands worked with music and concert managers and professional recording studios and thought more seriously and strategically about positioning themselves in the media. Simultaneously, universities and institutes offered new undergraduate programs to study music, music production and sound engineering. *La Escena Independiente* is part of this emerging music market and network. The musicians seek to express through music how they perceive themselves: as modern and cosmopolitan Peruvians, conscious of their cultural heritage and roots. In other words, the heirs to the new urbanites. Moreover, they seek to convey their ideas of Peruvainness, social justice and a better society using their music. The members of this music world understand music, musical performance and art as a medium to participate in the general discussion about society and community.

While *La Escena Independiente* is not limited to Lima, most of the bands are from and perform in Lima. For this research, I focus on several bands from Lima. Namely: *Barrio Calavera*, *Eme*, *Karolinativa*, *La Nueva Invasión*, *Olaya Sound System* and *Tourista*. In the following section, I describe the characteristics and delimitations of this music world based on my observations and the descriptions of the musicians I interviewed for this research. I discuss where *La Escena Independiente* is situated in the urban space based on my own cartographic work (which I discuss in more detail in Chapter 3) to illustrate its embeddedness and relation to the urban space of Lima. In the next section of this chapter, I describe how the members of *La Escena Independiente* conceptualise this music world.

La Escena Independiente: a cultural movement

It is a sunny afternoon shortly before Christmas. Summer is starting, and jingles are everywhere. I'm walking towards a small park called *El Parque de la Familia* (The Park of the Family), located at a large crossroads in the district of Barranco. A fair is taking place. The traffic noises mix with the sounds coming from the fair in the park and from the playground. Music sounds from speakers around the fair, but soon, the first live performance of the evening will start. I stroll between the stands, offering various products, from decoration to clothing and food. All have in common that they are small, independent brands or businesses. The fair is called *Feria Perú Independiente* (Independent Peru Fair) and is intended as a space for designers and producers who are neither big commercial brands nor traditional artisans. The heart of the fair is the stage, a small amphitheatre built in the park, where the events take place, which are an essential part of the fair and accessible for all visitors, from puppet theatres for children and craft workshops in the afternoon to concerts in the evening.

One of the organisers, Fernando Castro, also a member of the band *La Nueva Invasión*, explains that the fair aims to create a space where musicians and artists come together. It is intended to be a space for an emerging cultural movement, the *Movida Independiente* (Independent Movement), integrating musicians, artists and cultural workers. Fernando understands this movement as intrinsically political: "In Lima, a cultural movement is forming, and why not also a political [movement]? Some may be scared of the word, but it is very political because it has content" (Castro 2018⁴⁶) The 'content' Fernando refers to is the shared notion of a better society, a better Peru, and a critical stance towards politics and society. The practices of cultural production and the cultural product itself, whether a shirt, poster or song, are understood as media through which they can convey this notion of a better society and their critique. The Peru they envision is depicted as embedded in an alternative history, that of the oppressed and marginalised population, and in a diverse and ancient cultural heritage.

⁴⁶ See Appendix 1 for the list of references for the interviews and observations.

The music world *La Escena Independiente* is understood as part of this broader movement. It is, for some, the continuation of the *rock subterráneo* movement from the 80s and 90s because it seeks alternative ways of production and has a political message critiquing the state, consumerism, corruption, discrimination and economic exclusion. Nonetheless, as Fernando points out, the difference is that this new generation is conscious of the need for financial success to survive as a movement but without compromising the cultural product, the practices or the message.

One of the most conspicuous characteristics of *La Escena Independiente* is its musical diversity. The musical styles vary from ska-cumbia combinations to traditional *vals criollo* (Creole waltz). Within all diversity, the bands and musicians share the practice of combining local and foreign music that somehow comes to sound, for them, Peruvian⁴⁷. The musical elements and their combinations are signs and representations of self-identification and world views. For instance, using a traditional rhythm from a festivity from the southern Andes refers to certain traditions, likely intended to evidence the musicians' rootedness and compositions in them. Equally, how this rhythm is interpreted with a drum kit rather than traditional drums and combined with electric guitars indicates a new interpretation and approach to the traditions rather than simply their repetition.

Moreover, the themes of the lyrics have changed. While, as illustrated earlier, cumbia and chicha often thematised the migrants' experience in the urban space, the songs of the bands and musicians analysed here narrate how they grew up in the city being the descendants of the new urbanites and how they navigate this social and cultural space. Moreover, the music and the lyrics tell the story of the effort and ambition to articulate an imagined community, their notion of Peruvianness. As Rodrigo Castillo (from Olaya Sound System) explains: "It's a new generation of music that's loaded with local music and foreign music, but combining them in a way that it sounds as something that one can say: that is, for me, Peru" (Castillo 2018). This suggests that the musicians' vision of Peruvianness is embedded in a broader, regional and international context. This notion coincides with what Regev (2007) argues. He states

⁴⁷ See Appendix 2 for profiles of the five bands and the solo artists discussed in this thesis.

that the "national uniqueness" (318) is not sought through "[...] essentialist notions of folkism or traditionalism [...]" but through a "[...] conscious openness to exterior influences of pop-rock" (ibid.) culture, its sounds and meanings. In those cases where the traditional sound is not altered or combined with other sounds, the music's meaning is transformed by the musicians' interpretation and re-contextualisation. For instance, in the case of Eme, who interprets traditional Creole music and Latin American folklore, as he denominates it, without significant alterations or combinations, the change is through his persona, identifying as a transgender man⁴⁸ and using the music to raise awareness of the variety of gender identities (I will describe this in more detail in chapter 5). While musical diversity is a characteristic of *La Escena Independiente*, it is not a unique trade but a global tendency defined by Regev (2013) as "aesthetic cosmopolitanization" (3). He describes it as

[...] a process in which the expressive forms and cultural practices used by nations at large, and by groupings within them, to signify and perform their sense of uniqueness, growingly comes to share large proportions of aesthetic common ground, to a point where the cultural uniqueness of each nation or ethnicity cannot but be understood as a unit within one complex entity, one variant in a set of quite similar - although never identical - cases (ibid.).

Beyond the aesthetic aspects, it is also the awareness of how the musical styles, interpretations and adaptations, as well as the cultural production, in general, are embedded in international tendencies. For instance, as Fernando points out, there are similar projects like *La Feria Perú Independiente* throughout Latin America, only that here, the organisers are very conscious and explicit about seeking economic success to make the project viable and sustainable (Castro 2018).

The space around the amphitheatre in the park fills up, and the opening band comes on stage. In most cases, it is a newcomer band or artist. Part of the concept of *La Feria Perú Independiente* is to provide a space for new musicians and artists. While the sun is setting behind the buildings in the background, the public park lighting turns

⁴⁸ Eme, formerly known as Merian, transitioned openly and publicly. During my fieldwork, he performed as Merian and preferred the pronoun they. I decided to write the thesis using his new name and respect his preference for the male pronoun.

on: colourful light bulbs on stage and throughout the fair, sizeable digital advertisement boards that hover over the scenery flicker, the street lights shine yellow, and the stalls turn on their lamps. The audience is a mix of fans and visitors from the fair and people just walking by. All ages are present. Some eat or drink something they bought at one of the stalls, and part of the audience is sitting on the steps or floor while waiting. The sound technicians finish preparing the stage. Since it is a public space, the consumption of alcohol and cigarettes is not allowed, and the organisers ask the visitors to respect the law. They also invite visitors to take their litter to keep this shared space safe and clean. One aim of the fair organisers is to raise awareness about using public space as shared space. Depending on the main band performing, the audience stays seated or stands up, pushing towards the stage, dancing and jumping. After the concert, the musicians usually meet with fans to take pictures and chat behind the scenes. Around 9 pm, the fair closes, the stalls are shut, and the crew picks up the sound equipment. Security starts patrolling. The next evening will be similar, but with other bands performing.

This fair is a crucial space for *La Escena Independiente* and the only meaningful physical space for this music world⁴⁹ (I will discuss this in more detail later in this chapter). This is one of the few spaces where musicians, artists, and fans come together and draw in others who are not necessarily familiar with this cultural movement or music world. All bands that participated in this research have performed at least once during my fieldwork at *Feria Perú Independiente*. Despite the differences between the bands, they perform and participate in this space, and thus, it is an essential reference for this music world.

The fair illustrates how the participants structure and understand *La Escena Independiente*. Rather than revolving around one musical style and aesthetic, it revolves around a set of conventions negotiated and defined by the participants to guide practices, interactions and relationships and express shared values of society,

⁴⁹ This was the case until a scandal within the music world concerning one of the singers in 2018 raised main questions about authenticity and caused a central rift between the bands. Also, as with any other aspect of social life, the Covid-19 pandemic affected the music world and musicians. Despite the stringent quarantine rules, Peru was strongly affected by the pandemic.

sociability and Peruvianness. This way of understanding *La Escena Independiente* is similar to what Crossley (2015) conceptualises as "music world". This concept

[...] seek[s] to capture the collective nature of musicking; the multiple relays of interaction, on different timescales and mediated in many cases by technologies, including recording technologies, within and between sets of artists, audience members and support personnel (Crossley 2015: 474)

Inspired by Becker's (1983) notion of art world, it provides a framework to understand the concert as a social space with its particular norms and conventions and, more importantly for my purposes, its own logic. An art world, as defined by Becker, revolves around a variety of "[...] activities by which a work is produced by referring to a body of conventional understandings embodied in common practice and frequently used artefacts [...]" (Becker 1983: 34). Agreements are in place, explicit and implicit ones, about the division of the tasks, about how to do things, how to relate to each other and engage with each other, how to value and understand the outcome of the collective effort and how to convey and interpret meaning. These agreements, or "artistic conventions" (ibid.: 29), are the conditions for the cooperation required for producing artworks. They become "[...] part of the conventional way of doing things [...]" covering "[...] all the decisions that must be made with respect to works produced" (ibid.). These conventions concern not only the organisation but all aspects of the creation and production of art and those taking part in it. The art world, then, is a concept that highlights the cooperation between those taking part in the activity, which is "[...] organized via their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things, produces the kind of art works that art world is noted for" (ibid.: X). These conventions facilitate cooperation and guide how to enact and embody shared values.

La Escena Independiente revolves around a shared set of conventions and is understood by the musicians interviewed as an umbrella term encompassing several networks called *circuitos* (circuits). These networks of musicians, bands, technicians, managers, fans and venues revolve around a musical style, taste and aesthetic. Often, they are relatively small and rely on collaboration and sharing between the *circuitos*. While they do not necessarily share a musical taste, they do share two main

conventions: first is the explicit rejection of working with a record label, which is the foundation of the notion of being independent for these bands (I discuss this in more detail in Chapter 4); second, specific musicking practices, such as combining musical elements that are perceived as Peruvian with international musical styles, or making reference to *imaginarios* of spaces and cultures and understanding music not as a means for entertainment but as a form of self-expression and participation in the debate about Peruvianness (I discuss this in more detail in chapter 5). These conventions guide the musicking practices within La Escena Independiente, highlighting aspects of collaboration and *autogestión* (self-management). Additionally, both notions, collaboration and *autogestión* embedded the music world and their music in historically by linking it to specific interpretations of Peruvian history. In the next section of this chapter, I illustrate where *La Escena Independiente* is situated within the city based on my cartographic work.

Spaces and places of *La Escena Independiente*

Going to the concerts of the different bands of *La Escena Independiente*, specific spatial patterns started to become evident. First, as I described earlier, *La Feria Perú Independiente* was the main space where the music world convened. Second, the number of venues they performed at frequently is relatively small. Third, the urban spaces where *La Escena Independiente* moves within the city are limited to the older districts and do not expand to the newer districts. In this section, I will focus on the spatial pattern of the distribution of the live musical performance of *La Escena Independiente* because it contributes to the understanding of the bands' notions of Peruvianness by situating them within the social fabric of the urban space of Lima. The underlying assumption here is that musicking, like any other cultural practice, is embedded in space and place, both socially and geographically. The placeness of the cultural practices illustrates the relation to the place. Additionally, it highlights the ideas and imaginaries about place and geographical space in a more abstract sense. As Cohen (2012b) argues, "[...] landscapes are lived in and through, and experienced and embodied, rather than just observed, attended to and represented [...]" (141). They are, therefore, not simply the background but an integral part of social life and sociability. Places and spaces have meanings; they have histories and represent values.

Before discussing the spatial distribution of the live musical performance of the bands discussed here, I want to explain briefly the relevant aspects concerning the scales of the maps and the references I use to discuss them. As illustrated throughout this chapter, Lima is a vast urban space and a complex city, culturally, socially, and politically. Lima is a metropolitan area consolidated by 43 districts⁵⁰, each with municipal legislation. The districts vary considerably in expansion and population⁵¹, but also in how they are perceived, depending strongly on their history and association

⁵⁰ This does not include the city of Callao, the main port of Peru and an independent city, but is enclosed and merged with Lima.

⁵¹ San Juan de Lurigancho is the largest district, with over 1 million inhabitants (INEI 2022). Barranco has 34 378, Miraflores 99 337, and the District of Lima (where the Historic City Centre is located) 268 352 (INEI 2018c: 25).

with the rural-urban migration or the Creole population and elites. Given this complexity, Lima is often divided into four main areas to simplify the references. The four areas are generically called *Lima Norte* (Lima North), *Lima Este* (Lima East), *Lima Sur* (Lima South) and *Lima Centro* (Lima Centre) (see map 1 on page 55). Each of these areas encompasses a varying number of districts.

Before describing where the bands I discuss in my thesis from *La Escena Independiente* perform primarily to illustrate how the music world is situated in the city, I want to explain my decision regarding the scope of the data. While progressing with the thesis, I reduced the number of bands and artists from 8 to 6. This was after creating the map.⁵² Consequently, the map and the discussion of it include two bands, *Alejandro y Maria Laura* and *LaLá*, which are not part of the later analysis. The reason for reducing the bands was purely based on the complexity of the analysis and writing of the thesis. Despite this change, the map still illustrates where the music world is situated in the city. I just wanted to clarify why the two bands mentioned here are not included in the rest of the thesis.

The central districts where the bands discussed here perform regularly are *Barranco, Lima* (the historic city centre) and *Miraflores*. Nevertheless, there are variations and differences between the bands regarding the venues and their location in the city, which are related to the musical style, performance style, and economic factors. Map 2 on page 53 illustrates the three clusters where the bands and musicians performed during my fieldwork, confirmed during the interviews as the main spaces of *La Escena Independiente*. It demonstrates that the live performances are concentrated in Lima Centre. There are occasional performances in other areas of the city, but they do not alter this pattern significantly.

⁵² I collaborated with a professional cartographer to produce the map, as I describe in detail in Chapter 3.

Map 1: The four areas of Lima

LIMA METROPOLITANA

LIMA NORTE

- Ancón
- Carabaylo
- Comas
- Independencia
- Los Olivos
- Puente Piedra
- San Martín de Porres
- Santa Rosa

LIMA CENTRO

- Barranco
- Breña
- Jesús María
- La Victoria
- Lima
- Lince
- Magdalena del Mar
- Miraflores
- Pueblo Libre
- Rimac
- San Borja
- San Isidro
- San Miguel
- Santiago de Surco
- Surquillo



LIMA SUR

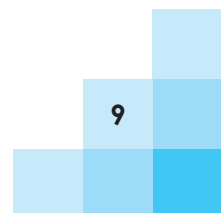
- Chorrillos
- Lurín
- Pachacámac
- Pucusana
- Punta Hermosa
- Punta Negra
- San Bartolo
- San Juan de Miraflores
- Santa María del Mar
- Villa El Salvador
- Villa María del Triunfo

LIMA ESTE

- Ate
- Chaclacayo
- Cieneguilla
- El Agustino
- La Molina
- Lurigancho
- San Juan de Lurigancho
- San Luis
- Santa Anita

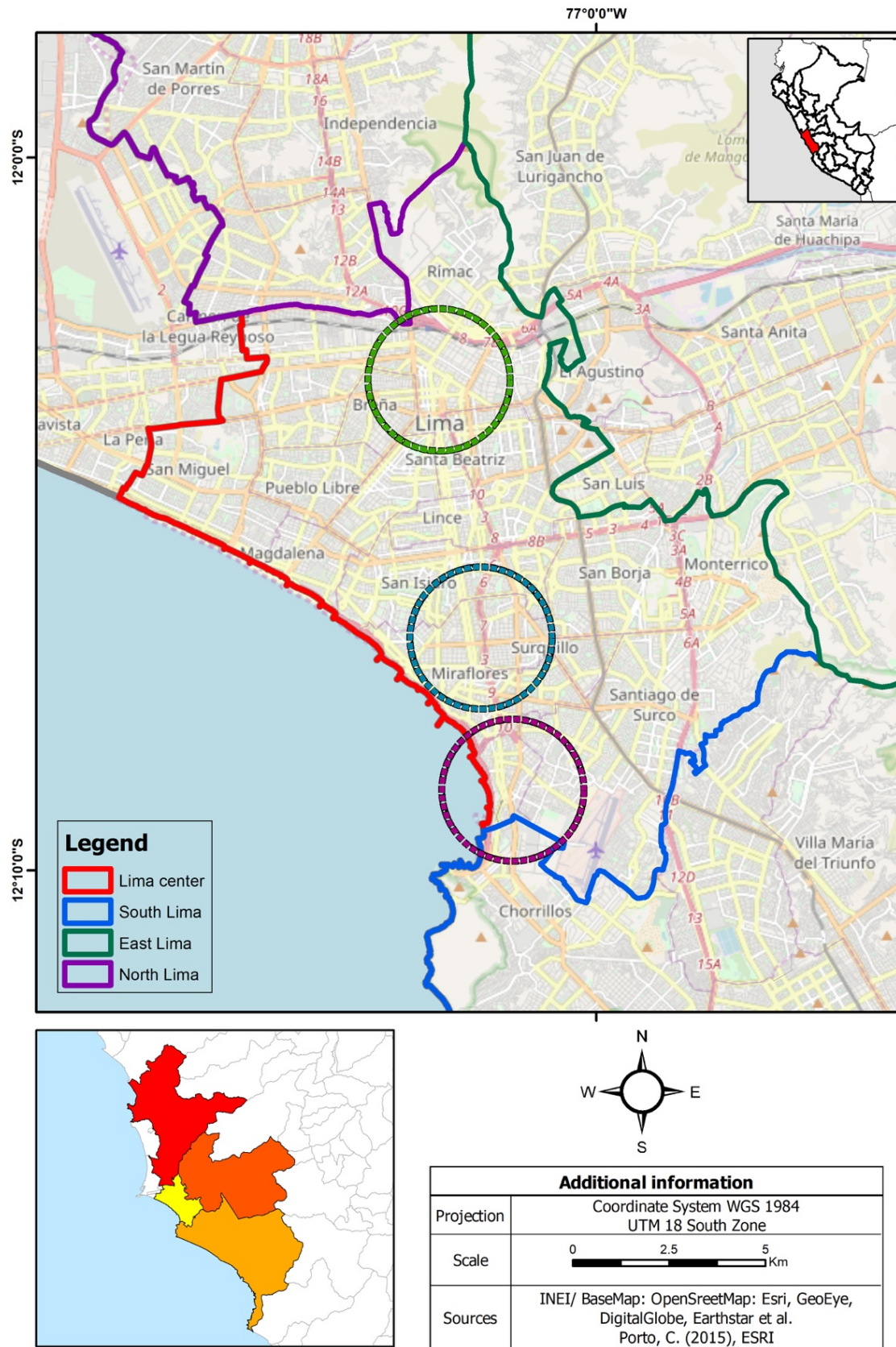
CALLAO

- Bellavista
- Callao
- Carmen de la Legua Reynoso
- La Perla
- La Punta
- Mi Perú
- Ventanilla



Source: Instituto Metropolitano de Planificación 2013: 9

Map 2: spatial clusters of live performance



Source: own data, elaborated by Maria Alejandra Cuenta

All bands discussed here perform regularly in Barranco (red circle in map 2). Therefore, Barranco is the central location of *La Escena Independiente*. Being the bohemian and artists' district of the 20th century, it offers some infrastructure, such as bars, cafés, repurposed buildings or mansions, and affordable rents. However, this is changing drastically with the gentrification process of the last decade. The most prominent venues in Barranco, not only for the La Escena Independiente, are *La Noche de Barranco* (The Night of Barranco), a music bar in an old mansion and *Sargento Pimienta* (Sargent Pepper), a music venue and disco equally in an old repurposed building. Both venues have a trajectory and are known throughout the city. The other important place, or rather a space that emerged in Barranco in recent years, was the *Feria Peru Independiente*. While gentrification has meant an increase in the number of venues in this district, these are mainly restaurants and bars, as well as cafés and small shops. One problem in Barranco and throughout the city is the lack of musical venues, especially middle-sized ones. As Fernando explains for the district of Barranco:

There is *La Noche*, *El Sargento*, and that's it. That's it, that's why we say that we play in Barranco, but if you look closely, Barranco doesn't have a cultural centre that works for concerts, for example. Not one (Castro 2017).

The second district where most bands perform is Lima, specifically the Historic City Centre, the old, colonial city (green circle in map 2). While the district of Lima in itself is relatively large, the venues where the bands discussed here perform are in the area of the old city of Lima near the *Plaza de Armas* (main square), with the presidential palace and cathedral of Lima. Similar to the situation in Barranco, the venues are not dedicated musical venues but repurposed buildings and parks. During my fieldwork, two venues stood out. First, *Palacio del Inca* (Palace of the Inca) is an old building rented for various events, only a few blocks from the presidential palace. The second venue, *Centro de Convenciones Festiva* (Convention Centre Festiva), is a modern building with different spaces. The main area is the backyard, which also functions as a parking lot when not rented for events. On some occasions, the bands also perform

in the park *Parque de la Exposición* (Parque of the Exhibition) next to the *MALI* (*Museo de Arte de Lima*: Museum of Art of Lima).

In Miraflores, the third district, only some of the bands perform, mainly due to the type and size of the venues and the kind of events taking place here (blue circle in map 2). Being the most popular district among tourists, it offers many bars, restaurants, and several small theatres, but only a few musical venues besides the two famous jazz clubs of the city⁵³. Only three bands who participated in my research performed in Miraflores: *Alejandro y Maria Laura*, *Eme* and *La Lá*. Their performance and requirements for the venue are more adaptable to small-scale venues like cafés, theatres or bars. They prefer these kinds of venues. The audience stays seated throughout the concert, in contrast to the concerts of bands such as *La Nueva Invasión*, *Olaya Sound System* or *Barrio Calavera*, where the audience is more active, dancing and pogoing⁵⁴. Additionally, they do not have a fixed band cast; they hire musicians depending on the event planned. Consequently, they can easily play in small venues with small equipment. *Eme*, for instance, often performs only with two musicians (guitar and small percussion) but might also perform with a band of five. Similarly, *La Lá* mostly sings accompanied by her preferred guitarist, José Pablo Menajovsky. *Alejandro y Maria Laura* perform in varying constellations (as a duo, trio or with a full band). Another aspect is that *Miraflores* is generally associated with mainstream music; Lorenzo from *Olaya Sound System* explains: “Our central spaces are Barranco and the Historic City Centre. There is no doubt because you find another context in Miraflores, for example. There are less independent bands. It is more mainstream” (Zolezzi 2017). Again, this is related to the venues available but might also be related to the perception of the districts. Miraflores is associated strongly with Lima’s middle class and the old urbanites.

This pattern reveals that the bands and artists participating in my research perform primarily in Lima Centro, the area of the city that did not form through reversed

⁵³ These are *JazZone* and *Cocodrilo Verde* (Green Crocodile).

⁵⁴ Fonarow (2006) defines pogo as “[...] a form of dancing in which audience members would jump up and down, often into other pogoing audience members. Taken up in the United States, pogoing soon evolved into small-dancing or moshing. This was a dance where punks would run about, pushing, elbowing, and smiling into each other” (2013: 84).

urbanism but encloses the historic parts of the city and the middle class. This area is generally associated with the Creole elites and middle class, the old urbanites, and more internationally oriented tastes and aesthetics. During the interviews, the musicians express the desire to expand to the districts outside *Lima Centro*, as Anibal from *Barrio Calavera* points out: “The Historic City Centre is our fort. Barranco is the second, but we’re dying to play in the peripheries. [...] We want to get out of our comfort zone and find new spaces” (Dávalos 2018). However, they face several challenges, especially lacking networks and the financial risk of searching for new audiences and places to perform. The financial risk of venturing into new areas of the city is connected to this lack of networks which could provide, for instance, access to venues. Additionally, many venues do not provide sound equipment or even a stage, which needs to be organised and rented individually. This can raise costs for transport because the musicians do not have contacts with local providers to rent equipment. Another aspect of working without a manager with local knowledge is access to the local social networks to advertise the event. Throughout the city, how events are advertised and information accessed varies considerably, from social media to a poster on the street corner (I will discuss this in more detail in Chapter 3). Also, the social networks do not necessarily overlap and thus need to be accessed separately.

Another evident aspect of the live performance distribution and the venues themselves is that *La Escena Independiente* has no significant venues or places other than *La Feria Perú Independiente*. This is relevant because it illustrates how this music world is quite a loose concept. It evidences the infrastructural issues and challenges the musicians have to face in a city that grew without much urban planning. This does not imply that the different bands and musicians do not have preferences for venues and types of venues. For instance, *Karolinativa* prefers to perform in spaces where the audience is seated, and preferably, there is no alcohol consumption. In contrast, *Barrio Calavera* organises its events in venues where the audience space is empty so they can dance, pogo and mosh. Consequently, venues are not part of the conceptualisation and narrative of *La Escena Independiente*, in contrast to other music world narratives where some single venues or neighbourhoods are crucial for their development. A prominent example is the CBGB music club in New York City for 70s

punk⁵⁵. Similarly, Behr et al. (2016) argue in a more general manner that British rock “[...] cannot be properly understood without references to the places available for performance and what they made possible and impossible” (18). In the case of *La Escena Independiente*, nonetheless, it is the lack of significant venues and places and adequate infrastructure that gives insights into the music world’s history and its notion of urban space. The city’s live performance map is organised by districts with their associated history and values rather than by venues as places of socialising, gathering, and musicking.

The spatial pattern and the desire to expand the areas of performance illustrate the tension between the urban space the bands and musicians mainly perform in and the musical and cultural references they use in their music and performative styles. It highlights the disparity between the actual spaces of the music world and the conceptualisation of the music world’s conventions, which are associated with the areas of the city where they rarely perform. They invoke the *imaginarios* of these urban spaces without performing, or for that matter, living in them⁵⁶ — a fact they are conscious of and wish to change despite the challenges. The tension is the consequence of the dogmatic juxtaposition of the two Limas, the Lima of the migrants and the Lima of the Creoles. Moreover, the association of virtues and values to these urban spaces and their inhabitants creates tension between the invoked notions of Peruvianness through the musical and cultural references based on the *imaginarios* and *La Escena Independiente*’s actual map of performance.

⁵⁵ See, for example, the BBC documentary *Once Upon a Time in New York: the Birth of Hip Hop, Disco and Punk*, narrating the importance of the CGBG as one example of specific places for developing a music world.

⁵⁶ The musicians of the bands participating in this research live in Lima Centre, except Carolina and Cesar from Karolinativa.

Discussion

The self-understanding of being independent within *La Escena Independiente* is rooted in the history of Lima, more precisely in the *imaginario* of the juxtaposing urban spaces, those built by the new urbanites and those already existing before the rural-urban migration of the 20th century. Being independent means being self-reliant and living the virtues of resilience and perseverance, which are the foundations of *emprendedurismo* (entrepreneurship). While commonly depicted as a positive aspect of Lima's history, narrating the emergence of a middle class based on merit, effort, labour and dedication, most ignore the negative implications of articulating Peruvianness through this lens. First, it is the reproduction of racialised categories and the consequent discrimination disguised as cultural differences. As Lamas (2017) argues, the rural and Indigenous population is “[...] discriminated in this national entrepreneurial project, not only because of the skin colour, customs, traditions or any other arbitrarily chosen attribute [...]” (74) for instance, “laziness and ingrained conformism” (ibid.). Second, this burdens the individual with the responsibility for failure or success, reproducing and opaquing the “[...] structures of domination which allow this reality of exclusion” (ibid.). Poverty, in this vision, is self-inflicted because “[...] those who are poor do not make an effort [...]” (Callirgos 2018: 490). Inclusion into the national community and citizenship are intrinsically linked to economic success and cultural adaptation to the urban culture and life world.

As the history of the musical styles of urban huayno, chicha, and rock illustrate, the musical practices of the bands and musicians of *La Escena Independiente* are not new nor unique to this music world, but rather their continuation and adaptation. The bands and musicians situate themselves historically in the tradition of specific movements and processes in Peruvian history, or rather Lima's history, through the reinterpretation and combination of musical elements and the adaptation of certain musicking practices. The notion of subversion and protest against political and social injustice is essential for the self-understanding of this music world. Historically, the precedents are the *rock subterráneo* movement, an open and vocal articulation of opposition against the political system and social establishment. Still, the cumbia and chicha music worlds

are also understood equally as a form of protest and, more importantly, a process of emancipation of excluded sectors of the population. However, it was not originally intended that way. Although the story they narrate and the history they refer to are thought to ground their notion of being independent, it raises the question of whether it is a conscious decision and choice or a virtue born from necessity. As Golpushnezhad (2018) argues, analysing Iranian underground hip hop, the underlying assumption of being independent, the Do It Yourself practice and within an “underground economic system” (262) is questionable, “[...] because there are no alternative ways [...] to survive financially” (ibid.). This argument can be transferred to *La Escena Independiente* and their conceptualisation of being independent. They lack institutional support with only an emerging music market, so they have few alternatives other than organising and producing themselves.

The notion of Peruvianness articulated and conveyed by the musicians of *La Escena Independiente* is not an inherently new notion but rather the continuation of previous narratives. It is informed by the interpretation of certain aspects of Peruvian history, especially the evolution of Lima in the 20th century and discourses about society, state and culture influenced by the unique aspects of the country’s history embedded in the broader international context. As I discuss throughout this thesis, the *imaginario* of Lima’s urban spaces is central to how the musicians articulate and convey their notion of Peruvianness. They are a source of symbols and references that they combine with international musical and cultural references, for example, rock or ska, in terms of articulating an imagined community with its norms, values, and virtues.

As I will illustrate, the musical creations provide both the necessary uniqueness to be national and familiar enough internationally, as Regev (2013) points out, to be more than a local phenomenon, but embedded and a part of the globalised world. This balance between cultural and musical uniqueness and universality is a way of expressing what Billig (2012) denominates as the “universal code of particularity” (72-3). It is the assertion of self as a nation through the articulation of particularity, which is not particular but common to all nations, from national history to the flag and nationalised cultural expressions. The musicians and artists from *La Escena*

Independiente create a sound particular to Lima, seeking to represent the nation as a whole through their musical practices and styles that are both local and international. The conceptualisation of *La Escena Independiente*, through articulating its conventions, provides a moment of distinction but simultaneously embeds the music world and its actors within the broader socio-cultural context by accepting and reproducing the main elements of the values associated with Peruvianness.

In the next chapter, I discuss in more detail the theoretical framework, elaborating on how different musicking practices afford the bands and musicians the means to imagine a nation and convey their vision of Peruvianness. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section situates my research within nationalism studies. In the second section, I develop my argument on how music performance is a means to imagine the nation. Finally, in the third section, I discuss the history of imagining the nation in Latin America and, in the fourth section, the history of imagining Peruvianness.

Musicking the nation



Allow me to start this chapter, although a theoretical discussion, with a vignette from my fieldwork. It is a hot summer night; the venue, *La Noche de Barranco*, is slowly filling up. The first to arrive are some of the members of the fan club *Pueblo Invasor* (Invading People) of *La Nueva Invasión*. They position themselves right in front of the stage, claiming the space through their presence and placing their backpacks, a bag with balloons and folded flags on the edge of the stage. Later during the concert, they started waving these flags, the Peruvian national flag, the Tawantinsuyu flag¹, as well as a banner of the fan club. In the middle of the concert, the lead singer, Luis Vicente, gives a short speech about corruption, the usual introduction to the song *Camina bonito* (Walk nicely), and starts chanting “*Fujumori nunca más*” (Fujumori never again)². Audience members wave the national flag while chanting, too. Usually, the national flag is a symbol for official narratives. Still, in the context of the concert of *La Nueva Invasión*, the flag becomes a signifier for another narrative of Peruvianness because it has been manipulated. It shows the slogan, *camina con orgullo* (walk with pride), part of the chorus from the song just being performed. The song criticises racism and discrimination, demanding inclusion and proclaiming the emergence of a ‘New Peru’. By using and manipulating the flag in this context, the participants appropriate this common national symbol to convey their vision of how they imagine community.

Throughout this chapter, I will return to this vignette to ground the theoretical discussion in my fieldwork and illustrate the theoretical argumentation. Additionally, this example provides a narrative thread leading towards the final section, situating *La Escena Independiente* in the historical process of articulating Peruvianness. Moreover, the manipulated flag illustrates my argument: music practices are used to articulate

¹ The *Tawantinsuyu* flag is a symbol representing the Indigenous population of the whole Andean region. The seven colours (red, orange, yellow, white, green, blue and violet) are organised in stripes or squares. For images of the flag, see Appendix N° 1.

² Alberto Fujimori was president of Peru between 1990 and 2000 until he fled to Japan and renounced his presidency via fax due to a corruption scandal and accusations of human rights violations. In an attempt to return to Peru, he was detained in Chile and extradited in 2005. On Christmas 2017, then-president Pedro Pablo Kuczynski granted Fujimori a pardon, which was revoked by his vice-president and predecessor, Martín Vizcarra, after the second impeachment. Fujimori is recognised and even celebrated by some as the one ending the internal conflict and the economic crisis by implementing neoliberal economic policies and by others considered a dictator who abused his power and position to enrich himself and act violently against specific sectors of the population, especially the Andean population. For more details, see Carrión (2006).

visions of community by re-producing common notions of nation. Waving the manipulated flag is a direct reference to the official narrative and simultaneously the active co-articulation of the nation by imbuing and overwriting — quite literally — alternative meanings into and onto the official symbols and narratives.

The underlying assumption to understand live musical performance as a means to articulate and re-articulate the nation is the conceptualisation of music as an activity. Small (2011) introduces the notion of musicking, defining music as a verb rather than a subject.

To music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practising, by providing material for performance (what is called composing) or by dancing (9; emphasis in original).

Music, thus, is more than a musical text or musical work; it is a form of expression around which activities and relationships are organised, enacted and experienced. Based on this notion, I argue that music as an expression and a practice can be analysed to understand the process of (re)producing and co-articulating the imagined community. These practices can include but are not limited to songwriting, music production, dancing, singing, playing an instrument or waving a (manipulated) flag.

Inspired by Anderson's work *Imagined Communities* (2016), this chapter is divided into three sections, each based on one of his arguments: first, that nation is an imagined community; second, that census, map and museum played a central role in the imagining of the community; and third, that the Creole nationalism predated and inspired the independence movements in the Americas. The fourth section continues the discussion on Creole nationalism, focusing on how Peruvianness has been articulated throughout Peruvian history. Beginning with Anderson's definition of imagined community, I illustrate in the first section the evolution of nationalism studies to situate my work within the broader discussion. I aim to argue that the nation is an imagined community that is actively articulated — although sometimes the participants are unaware of the national dimension of their actions (Billig 2012) — and imagined by the actors who participate in the "discursive field" (Zubrzycki 2018: 519) that constitutes

the nation by implementing different means. While previous research, based on Anderson and Billig, focused primarily on language as a medium to convey and imagine the nation, more recent efforts highlight the importance of everyday practices as active participation in the process of the articulation of a nation (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008; Skey 2009; Skey and Antonsich 2017; Fox and Ginderachter 2018).

In the second section, I start with Anderson's discussion of how the museum, the map and the census are means through which the imagined community is conveyed by providing a framework for the imagining. They afford ways to organise symbols, imagery and references representing values and ideals. The argument I want to make here is that live musical performance also provides a framework for imagining a community and that music practices are also symbols, or signifiers, comparable to a painting in a museum or a map in a schoolbook. While the most conspicuous element in a live musical performance is the music itself, I want to look at other aspects of musical performance through which nation can be imagined, negotiated and conveyed. Two main ideas are central to this. First, a live musical performance is more than simply the representation of a musical work on stage but rather a social space (Cook 2012; McCormick 2015b). Second, this allows the musicians to present and enact a notion of self by articulating a musical persona (Auslander 2006a). Other participants similarly articulate and enact a persona, for instance, the audience members, using different elements as expressive equipment (*ibid.*) to negotiate and present their persona. Based on the assumption that we live in a "world of nations" (Billig 2012: 37), I argue that part of this persona created and presented by the participants is the expression of how they envision a community.

Continuing with the discussion of Anderson's work, I focus in the third section on his hypothesis of Creole nationalism. He argues that the ability to imagine nation-ness originated in the American colonies (both North and South). Latin Americanists and historians have discussed and criticised this hypothesis, arguing that the social and political structures did not provide the grounds for imagining the nation as Anderson proposes (Chasteen 2003). Lomnitz (2001) argues, in his discussion of Anderson's Creole nationalism, that one crucial difference to European nationalism is the role of

descent — and, by extension, race — and religion in the articulation of nation in Spanish America.

Following this, I briefly sketch in the fourth section how the Peruvian nation has been imagined through the Andean *topos* and underlying racial categories of the discourse of *mestizaje* (mixing). The Andes were and still are the dominant theme around which Peruvian national narratives revolve, but how they were conceptualised changed throughout time. Initially, during the colonial reign and the republic's founding, the preoccupation revolved around articulating historical evidence of previous civilisation and a glorious past represented by the Incas (Dager Alva 2009; Rey de Castro Arena 2008; 2010). Simultaneously, the Andean *topos* symbolised the Indigenous populations' lack of social and economic development, which consequently needed to be guided into modernity (Mallon 2002). The perception of the Andean population shifted with the beginning of the 20th century, depicting an idealised image of *El Hombre Andino* (the Andean man) representing the Andean Utopia (Flores Galindo 2010 [1986]). Towards the end of the 20th century, the idea of the Peruvian character changed again, transforming *El Hombre Andino* into the new urbanite, a successful modern man, a descendant of Andean migrants, embracing progress without betraying his heritage. Contemporary articulations of Peruvianness still revolve around the Andes, with minor concessions to other regions to justify multiculturalism as a new way of *mestizaje*. It also reflects the shift towards a predominantly urban society by integrating sounds perceived as Peruvian with international musical styles and the music practices revolving around them. One example is the song of *La Nueva Invasión* mentioned earlier, which combines rock with cumbia and Andean rhythms and melodies and discusses themes of racial discrimination, descent, and the hope for a better future.

Nation and nationhood: a theoretical discussion

Anderson's seminal work *Imagined Communities* (2016) marked a shift in the way of thinking about the nation, proposing to understand the nation as a way of thinking rather than a tangible community. He defines nations as "imagined political communities" because "[...] the members for even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 2016: 6-7). He delineates three characteristics of the nation: first, a nation is *limited* due to its "finite, if elastic" (ibid.) boundaries, separating the nations from each other; second, a nation is *sovereign* because the concept and the necessity of a nation emerged during "[...] an age [of] Enlightenment and Revolution [...]" (ibid.); and third, a nation is an imagined community, "[...] because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (ibid). Throughout the book, Anderson discusses how the imagining is put into practice, from the interpretation of history to how it is communicated — for instance, the census, the museum, or the map (ibid.: 163-85) — but more importantly, the conditions, historical and technological, that make the imagining of the national community possible.

The grounds for Anderson's conceptualisation of nation is the argument that it is a cultural system, one of the "taken-for-granted frames of reference" (ibid.: 12), such as the "*religious community* and the *dynastic realm*" (ibid.; highlight in original). These macro structures provide the fundamental categories of understanding and engaging with the world by defining right and wrong, good and evil, and delimiting the 'us' and 'them'. The nation, then, provides the structure within which we imagine community and position ourselves in the world, framing our experiences and relations.

Central to Anderson's explanation of how it is possible to imagine a nation is print capitalism, as he calls it. Emerging print technology allowed for a broader distribution of written text, such as newspapers and novels. The increased consumption of these enabled the reader to imagine being part of a large and quite abstract group of readers

being aware of others reading the same news article, for example. Imagining such an abstract community became possible because of how the media frames and presents the content, creating a temporal simultaneity of events, persons and places that are not necessarily connected. Both media generate a notion of collective consumption through the reader's awareness of being part of a larger group of people reading the same novel or newspaper. They provide a frame for parallel timelines by narrating events in a temporal sequence, even though they might not be related, and associating people, such as figures in the novel or politicians in the news, in parallel timelines and events. Thus, they become part of one narrative, of one time, of one story.

The framing of time, space and people through media is the principal means through which a nation is imagined as an abstract yet delimited community. This is a crucial idea for Anderson's argument. These media create the experience of simultaneity for the individual reader through their awareness of being part of a community of readers. Thus, Anderson argues, the novel and the newspaper were two essential mechanisms for the ability to imagine the national community in 18th-century Europe (ibid.: 25) and the Americas (ibid.: 62-3). These means can be manifold. Anderson uses the novel and newspaper to delineate his argument but also discusses the census, the map and the museum, which work similarly. Considering this, it is possible to think of other media as means of articulating and re-articulating the nation, for example, as I argue later, live musical performances.

While Anderson's concern is the origin of the nation, the *how it comes to be*, Billig (2012) focuses on how the nation is reproduced through the presence of symbols and language in everyday life. He argues that the nation is reproduced by being present without demanding constant awareness. The flag "[...] hanging unobtrusively outside a US post office [...]" (ibid.: 6) goes unnoticed in contrast to other events where it is purposefully waved. Based on this observation, he distinguishes two kinds of nationalism: banal nationalism and hot nationalism. Banal nationalism is "being maintained by banal routines" (ibid.: 44), and hot nationalism is "[...] supported by extraordinary moments which psychically parallel the extraordinary moments when nationalist movements arise" (ibid). While banal nationalism is characteristic of the

established nations, “[...] those states that have confidence in their own continuity, and that, particularly, are part of what is conventionally described as ‘the West’” (ibid.: 8). Consequently, in this line of argumentation, all other states are not established.

Billig’s argumentation is grounded in linguistics, focusing on the implicit and contextualised meaning of words such as ‘we’ or ‘here’³. He defines this as homeland deixis⁴, borrowing the linguistic concept of deixis, which refers to “a form of rhetorical pointing” (ibid.: 106). Those small words and symbols that are so normalised in the established nations that they go unnoticed “[...] drawing out the nationalist assumptions within their conventional usage” (ibid.: 94). During a political speech, for example, the words ‘I’, ‘you’, ‘we’, ‘now’ and ‘here’ are implied and self-evidence references to the nation. ‘We’ can be the speaker, audience, and imagined community, all those supposed to belong to the nation (ibid.: 106-7). Homeland deixis is a pivotal concept of Billig’s approach because he argues that “[b]anal nationalism operates with prosaic, routine words, which take nations for granted, and which in so doing, enhabit them” (ibid.: 93). The mundanity of these words and symbols is the mechanism through which the nation is reproduced because they are

[...] embedded in routines of life, which constantly remind, or ‘flag’, nationhood. However, these reminders, or ‘flaggings’, are so numerous, and they are such a familiar part of the social environment, that they operate mindlessly, rather than mindfully (ibid.: 38).

Our life world is filled with these words and symbols, or signifiers, reminding us of the nation we are part of without making it the central theme of the conversation or conscious aspect of our interaction and action. By using the national ‘we’, the nation is invoked without being a direct “[...] object of talk but rather [...] an unselfconscious disposition about the national order of things that intermittently informs talk” (Fox and

³ Duchesne (2018) critiques Billig’s analytical scope: “The British Press is much broader; it includes daily papers that are published in only certain parts of the United Kingdom, in Scotland for example, but also all of the different regional editions (or national, depending on the vocabulary we want to adopt) of the major daily newspapers” (Duchesne 2018: 846). For more critical perspectives, see Rosie et al. (2004), MacInnes et al. (2007), and Skey (2009). Billig accepts this critique, stating: “In my eagerness to show ‘our’ nationalism, I oversimplified the complexity of nationalism in the United Kingdom” (Billig 2009: 349).

⁴ Deixis is the adjective form of deictic. It is “a psycholinguistic term for those aspects of meaning associated with self-world orientation; ‘like zero in mathematics and the dark space in a theatre, deixis orients us within a situation without calling attention to itself’” (Galbraith 1995: 22, in Shahzad 2012: 23).

Miller-Idriss 2008: 540). Similarly, the flag taken for granted becomes part of how we make sense of the world without actively waving it.

How flagging operates relates to one central aspect of imagining the nation: forgetting. Not everyone nor everything can be remembered; be part of a nation's history. The imagining is always limited. Limited by the frame — or media — within which it is imagined but also by the interests, desires and world views of those imagining it. As Anderson puts it: “All profound changes in consciousness, by their very nature, bring with them characteristic amnesias” (Anderson 2016: 204). This notion echoes Renan's idea that “forgetting, [and even] historical error, is a crucial factor in the creation of a nation [...]” (Renan 2013: 11)⁵. Billig continues this thought by stating that the role of forgetting is more complex than Renan points out because it is more than the historical forgetting, where events, people and places are excluded from the imagining. It is the forgetting of the nation's omnipresence in everyday life. “The remembering not experienced as remembering, is, in effect, forgotten” (Billig 2012: 37). Forgetting is not only the other side of the coin but rather essential to the remembering of the nation “[...] because it is embedded in routines of life, which constantly remind, or ‘flag’, nationhood” (ibid.: 38). Since these reminders are part of our everyday life, of our “social environment”, they go unnoticed and “operate mindlessly” (ibid.)⁶. He concludes that rather than simply a process of forgetting, it is a constant dialectic of remembering and forgetting.

The presence of the Peruvian national flag — both in the public space as well as the space of the concert — illustrates this notion of the dialectic between remembering and forgetting. The flag is one of the most conspicuous material symbols of the nation and the state's claim to territory and population by prescribing an official national culture. In Peru, the national flag is waved proudly during the national holiday (29th July). The streets are plastered red and white for the whole month, and street vendors

⁵ This is a translation by Martin Thom of the lecture by Ernest Renan delivered at the Sorbonne, Paris, in 1882 titled “Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?”

⁶ Billig points out the issue of methodological nationalism as discussed, for instance, by Chernilo (2011), differentiating the historical and theoretical argument. See also Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2002) proposing four modes of methodological nationalism and Beck (2007) for a cosmopolitan perspective on this issue.

sell flags of all sizes. During the week of the national holiday, all buildings, private and public, are obliged by law⁷ to hoist the flag or risk a fine. As the holidays pass, street vendors either disappear or change to their regular merchandise, and some buildings take the flag off. But in many cases, the flags flap in the wind throughout the year, becoming frayed, and the white slowly degrades into a dirty grey. While the active engagement with this symbol is limited in time, the flag is present and visible throughout the year across the country, though it gives the impression it is more an ignored presence than a banal one. As Billig illustrates, it is a very visible symbol and, at the same time, an invisible one, being “unwaved”⁸ (2012: 40). In contrast, during the concert of *La Nueva Invasión* described earlier, the national flag is actively and intentionally waved, the object is cared for⁹, though not for its symbolic representation of the state’s official narrative but because of its changed meaning. The fan club members appropriated, manipulated, and changed the flag, creating an emblem for the participants’ agency and a symbol of the community they envision. The flag’s meaning and how people act through it, by either incorporating it into their routines or ignoring it, depends on the specific moment and the broader context. It is waved and unwaved, appreciated or forgotten, manipulated or conserved, and it is both, in the examples I gave, a symbol for the official narrative and its contestation.

Despite Billig’s assertion that the reminders are embedded in routines of everyday life, he only describes and analyses the moments of a possible encounter with the signifiers of the nation but not how people act or react to them, how the signifiers become part of the routines and how activities, practices and encounters might revolve around them. The members of the nation seem to reproduce it by simply accepting it as part of their everyday life, acting upon it only in the moment of hot nationalism (Billig 2012: 93) and becoming unaware of it during the rest of the time. This critique is voiced

⁷ Law N° 8916 explicitly states that the flag has to be hoisted for occasions related to the glory and mourning. The fine for not hoisting the flag, or the wrong flag (the flag with the coat of arms is reserved for official buildings) is defined by the municipalities of each district and can vary.

⁸ Billig elaborates on this: “The uncounted millions of flags which mark the homeland of the United States do not demand immediate, obedient attention. On their flagpoles by the street and stitched on to the uniforms of public officials, they are unwaved, unsaluted and unnoticed. These are mindless flags” (Billig 2012 [1995]: 40).

⁹ As I will describe later, the fans who bring the flag carry them in their backpacks, each wrapped in a plastic back and carefully folded.

mainly by those concerned with the workings of the nation in the realm of everyday life (which I will discuss here, too), but Duchesne (2018) argues that often the reading of *Banal Nationalism* has fallen short because its original intent to be a “critical charge against nationalism” (844) has been ignored. The book’s intent was not to analyse the everyday life workings of the nation but to point out the persistence of nationalism in the established nations, which seemed to have surpassed it because it goes unnoticed. Its banality obscures the nation’s omnipresence.

Both Anderson and Billig build their arguments around the role of language in the form of print media or its implied meaning and focus on official national narratives and their representations. Anderson implies the importance of human agency for the imagining of the nation in his work without elaborating further on this. Billig, in contrast, is criticised for neglecting human agency altogether, as Antonsich (2015) points out: “[Billig’s] approach tends to treat people as being passively and unconsciously exposed to banal national ‘flagging’ orchestrated from above, failing to discuss how individuals daily, actively, and often deliberately ‘make’ nationhood” (3). Nation, and consequently nationhood, is conceptualised as a top-down articulation of community and its membership. They might seem neither actively involved in its articulation nor reproduction other than perpetual repetition, mindful or mindless. Billig (2009) refutes Skey’s (2009) critique — stating that in Billig’s model, people are passive receivers of messages — pointing out the shortsightedness of the review because it does not contextualise his argument within his broader psychological work. He explains that thinking is an activity in itself because “[...] to think is to be engaged in debate” (Billig 2009: 348). Consequently, “[...] humans as thinkers are not simply passive receivers of media messages” (ibid.)¹⁰ but actively engaging with them. Thus, imagining the nation is already part of ‘making’ a nation and experiencing nationhood.

Like Billig, Anderson’s approach falls short of explaining how the nation as a frame of reference is enacted and embodied by those imagining the community, more precisely, how the individuals go from imagining the nation to acting upon that vision

¹⁰ Here Billig refers to one of his publications: Billig (1997) From codes to utterances: cultural studies, discourse and psychology, in *Beyond Cultural Studies*, ed. by P. Golding and M. Ferguson, London: Sage.

and developing a sense of nation-ness. Just because a novel is written or a map drawn does not mean those reading it will identify with the ideas behind it or have any emotional reaction or bond. Thus, it is essential to consider the mundanity of the nation, its everyday life enactment and experiences. Both approaches focus on the macro-structural aspects of the nation, understanding it as an imposed frame of everyday life, a conferred category of social life that dictates how to make sense of the world. As Leerssen (2006) argues, nationalism is a thought rather than a reality. He defines national thought as “[...] a way of seeing human society primarily as consisting of discrete, different nations, each with an obvious right to exist and to command loyalty, each characterised and set apart unambiguously by its own separate identity and culture” (ibid.: 15). This resembles Anderson’s conceptualisation of the nation as a consciousness, a frame that shapes the way we think and perceive the world.

More recent research suggests that nationhood is putting into action the national thought, or the consciousness, and the relationships it affords. Instead of focusing on the nation as a macro structural frame of social life, this notion considers human agency and individual and collective practices and routines, marking yet another shift in nationalism studies. It emphasises that the nation “[...] is not simply the product of macro-structural forces; it is simultaneously the practical accomplishment of ordinary people engaging in routine activities” (Fox and Miller Idriss 2008: 537). The main concerns remain the questions of how the nation comes to be and the question of its reproduction, but also attempting to redeem the blind spot of previous debates on nationalism studies. As Fox and Miller Idriss (2008) argue, it is widely recognised that nationalism is a “mass phenomenon”, but “[...] the masses have been curiously missing from much of the scholarship” (537). Everyday nationhood is concerned with small-scale everyday practices and routines. It seeks to include human agency in the analysis of the nation, or as Thompson (2001) formulates it in the title of his article: “putting people back into the nations”. Because as Fox and Ginderachter (2018) argue:

The masses, it turns out, are not (just) receptacles of nationalist messages, but (also) active agents in the consumption, production, appropriation, and manipulation of their own particular versions of the nation. Ordinary people think the nation, talk the nation, enact the nation,

perform the nation, consume the nation - and, of course, reject, resist, ignore, and avoid the nation - all in ways that contribute to the reproduction and legitimisation - or dismantling and undermining - of national forms of belonging (546).

While the critique and discussion about the blind spots of nationalism studies contributed to the field, some central issues remain under debate¹¹. Especially the conceptual differentiation between the banal and everyday approaches: first, the overall perspective (top-down versus bottom-up), and second, the methods applied to gather data. The main difference between the banal and everyday approaches is the perspective. Billig's original notion of banal is founded on a "state-centric conception of nationhood" (Skey and Antonsich 2017: 5). In contrast, the everyday nationhood perspective highlights a "[...] more bottom-up, agency-centred engagement with nation" (ibid.). Billig acknowledges his focus is on "top-down phenomena, such as statements from politicians, symbols of coins, [and] national flags" (Billig 2009: 348). While the themes¹² of studies analysing banal nationalism vary, they tend to focus on how the banality of the nation is communicated and reproduced and less on how people engage with it actively. For example, Law (2001) analyses the rhetoric of Scottish newspapers, concluding that Billig ignores the "[...] crucial difference between state and nation [...]" associating banal nationalism exclusively to "big states like the US and UK" (314). Or Rosie et al. (2004) also analysed Scottish newspapers, highlighting that the interpretation of the deictic meaning can differ depending on the reader, more precisely their context, concluding "[...] that a key feature and attractiveness of 'national' deixis is precisely such flexibility of meaning rather than 'taken for grantedness'" (455). What the research applying the concept of banal nationalism suggests is that the relations between the deixis and the process of the nation's reproduction are much more complex than Billig's initial argument implies. Furthermore, it evidences his tendency to homogenise the audience, those exposed to the national symbols and homeland deixis (see Skey 2009; Skey and Antonsich

¹¹ For a detailed literature review, see Knott (2016).

¹² For a list of research on different themes and locations, see Skey and Antonsich (2017).

2017), something that Billig refutes, stating that he did not assume that “[...] the public of any nation [...] have homogenous views” (Billig 2009: 347).

In contrast, research that marshals the bottom-up perspective, broadly described as everyday nationhood, focuses on the question of what “[...] the nation means to ordinary people” (Beyen and Ginderachter 2012: 3). In 2018, several articles were published in the journal *Nations and Nationalism* discussing this approach, starting with Hearn and Antonsich’s (2018) introduction to the journal’s themed section, stating that the aim is to discuss “[...] how to find evidence for ‘everyday nationalism’” (598). Along the same lines, Fox and Ginderachters (2018) point out the evidence problem the approach of everyday nationhood faces, as mentioned earlier, providing an overview of the literature published to that point. The other articles of the section look at the geographical manifestations of nationhood in everyday life (Edensor and Sumartojo 2018) or the process of migration to argue the need to overcome “[...] the binaries of hot/ banal and everyday/ banal [...]” (Skey 2018: 606). Ginderachter (2018) illustrates in his article how to analyse everyday nationhood in a historical approach, answering to “[...] AD Smith’s critique of everyday nationalism research as necessarily ahistorical and presentist” (579). Following this, another special section was published in *Nations and Nationalism* the same year, featuring Duchesne’s (2018) article “Who’s afraid of Banal Nationalism?” discussing how Billig’s book *Banal Nationalism* came to be the starting point for a bottom-up approach to nationalism¹³. The other publications in this special section are from Skey (2018) and Fox (2018), critiquing Duchesne’s argumentation and her reply to these critiques. Similar to research on banal nationalism, the themes vary from Japanese tea-making practices (Surak 2012), bilingual road signs in Wales (Jones and Merriman 2009) or the significance of food (Ichijo and Ranta 2016).

The second aspect of the debate about the difference between banal and everyday revolves around the methods to study nation and nationalism, especially how to evidence the nation’s banal character in everyday life (Fox and Ginderachter 2018).

¹³ The article is based on Duchesne’s presentation at the symposium “The future of nationalism” at the 2017 ASEN conference discussing the late Anthony D. Smith’s contributions to nationalism studies.

While there is a considerable number of empirical evidence of everyday nationhood¹⁴, the evidence provided by banal nationalism scholars¹⁵ mainly focuses on the macro-structural phenomena, emphasising the “production side of the equation” (ibid.: 547). The main issue of banal nationalism is the lack of “[...] a methodological agenda capable of uncovering the manoeuvrings of the nation as it insinuates itself into everyday talk and interaction” (ibid.: 547). Everyday nationhood seems to redeem this shortfalling by shifting attention towards everyday life as the realm in which it has to be studied (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008: 557), applying methods that range from ethnographic observations and autoethnography to interviews providing insights into the everyday nationhood (Fox and Ginderachter 2018). For example, Hearn’s (2007) ethnographic research at the Bank of Scotland to analyse how large institutions frame national identity in everyday life and Sumartojo’s (2017) auto-ethnography describing her daily routines shedding light on how seemingly simple things, like listening to the radio, are part of how people experience nationhood.

In this line, Hearn and Antonsich (2018) discuss the methodological and theoretical implications of the evidence problem stated by Fox and Ginderachter (2018) regarding banal nationalism and everyday nationhood. They focus on how these two approaches conceptualise the relationships between individual agency, meaning, legitimacy and identity. They argue that individual agency is embedded in social organisations, such as “families, friendship networks, workplaces, associations and so on” (Hearn and Antonsich 2018: 599), which are framed by social structures, “[...] for instance, class, race and gender hierarchies, large demographic patterns, or economic and legal systems” (ibid.: 597). People position themselves within these structures through the “[...] mediation of social organisations which more directly shape their lives and mobilise interest and identities” (ibid), for instance, the state. More importantly, “[...] while the everyday enactment of nationalism isn’t prescribed by social structure, it is framed and shaped by more immediate forms of social organisation that tie people into

¹⁴ Fox and Ginderachter (2018) list the following authors as examples: McCrone and Bechhofer (2015); Miller-Idriss (2009); Foster (2002); Ichijo and Ranta (2016); Eriksen (1993); Surak (2012).

¹⁵ Fox and Ginderachter (2018) list the following authors as examples: Billig (2012); Déloye (2013); Storm (2017); Edensor (2016 [2002]); Jones and Merriman (2009); Löfgren (2017 [1989]); Eley and Sunny (1996).

such structures” (ibid.). They argue that research needs to bridge macro and micro approaches to understand everyday nationhood better. Additionally, studies of everyday nationhood face not one evidence problem but multiple problems because they have to be distinguished “[...] between when the nation is mindful object of intention and action, when it is a discursive category consciously activated to orient action and when it operates subliminally, as an unnoticed background in daily life” (ibid.:602). Finally, they point out the risk of essentialising the nation by assuming its reproduction and the evidence of its study uncritically.

My research draws upon the everyday nationhood approach, looking at the small-scale practices and routines that constitute nationhood in the mundanity of our life world. To understand these practices and routines, it is essential to consider the organisational and socio-historical context of these practices and routines and the corresponding knowledge that links the imagining and the enacting of the nation. I am interested in how the nation is (re)produced and co-articulated by individuals and groups by exploring daily activities and routines, more precisely, music practices and how they are justified. As Brubaker states, it is a commonplace “[t]hat ethnicity and nationhood are constructed [...]; how they are constructed is seldom specified in detail” (Brubaker et al. 2006: 7). In this sense, I attempt to look at those details, discussing certain musical practices enacted by the participants of *La Escena Independiente*.

My argument is that through their daily routines and interactions, people assume a role in the (re)production of the nation by acting upon and through existing narratives and their (symbolic) representations, much in the sense of Billig. But, in so doing, they simultaneously co-articulate the nation because they accept, defy, remember and forget the images, histories and sounds that delimit the imagined community and define its virtues. As Fox and Miller-Idriss (2008) argue: “[n]ationhood does not only define their [the people] talk; it is defined by their talk” (539). Or, in this case, the music and its performance. For instance, those who wave the manipulated national flag during *La Nueva Invasión*'s concerts transform it into a symbol representing their vision of Peruvianness. This is an example of how musicians and audiences interact and

communicate and how they can participate in articulating the nation by expressing their vision of community.

In the next section, I discuss in more detail the live performance of music as a means to articulate and re-articulate the nation based on Anderson's discussion of the museum, map and census to provide a framework for the analysis of the music production and performances of the selected bands from *La Escena Independiente*. For this, I draw on literature about musical performance to discuss the concert as a space of collective meaning-making.

Music performance and the imagining of community

Research on nation and nationalism has focused on various topics and approaches, be it the national flag, whether it's waved or unwaved, coins, newspaper articles, listening to the radio, tea ceremonies or working at a bank. Despite the different topics, they all study how the nation is imagined, conveyed, negotiated and reproduced. But, as Edensor (2016 [2002]) points out, nationalism studies have been short-sighted, ignoring several aspects of cultural production and everyday life through which a nation is imagined. He states:

Whilst the historical importance of print is important, it is curious that there is no reference to the multiple ways in which the nation is imagined in, for instance, music hall and theatre, popular music, festivities, architecture, fashion, space of congregation, and in a plenitude of embodied habits and performances, not to mention more parallel cultural forms such as television, film, radio and information technology (Edensor 2016 [2002]: 7)

Although somewhat dated, this critique is important because it points out that the community can be imagined through all kinds of media. In other words, all media are possible means to articulate and re-articulate the nation.

Anderson's discussion of the census, the map and the museum provides some insight into the process of imagining the nation. His main argument is that media frames the way of imagining by providing a layout of the imagining and canonising imagery, narratives and references. Moreover, they provide a structure, organising the elements of the imagining. For instance, the pages of a novel are a specific way of organising and presenting a narrative about people, places and time. This illustration and canonisation are shaped through the definition of categories by which population, territory, national history, and art are measured against and depicted. It delimits who is part of the community and who is not, where its place in the world is – in relation to other nations but also geographically – and its associated virtues. Media, understood broadly as any institutionalised communication, conveys this canon of images, narratives, sounds and more. They range from an exhibition in a museum, illustrations

and texts in a schoolbook, state laws, music, dance or cuisine. Additionally, framing the imagining by providing a structure and specific references—the means through which a nation is imagined—offers individuals and groups the symbols and meanings to act upon and through, making the imagined part of their everyday life practices.

In this section, I outline the theoretical foundation for my argument that a live musical performance in the form of a concert can be such a means to articulate and re-articulate the nation, comparable to the museum, the census and the map. After illustrating Anderson's examples, I discuss how musical performance is a space where the participants display a version of self (Auslander 2006a) and engage with others, enacting desired relationships (Small 2011) through activities and interactions revolving around music. Based on these ideas, I argue that the music and its performance are used to convey notions about self and community because they are historically and socially embedded in the cultural and socio-political context.

Anderson's examples of media – the census, map and museum – are state-centric “institutions of power”, which shaped how “[...] the colonial state imagined its dominion - the nature of the human beings it ruled, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry” (2016: 163). The map, for example, became more than a “compass to the world” (ibid.:175) through two “avatars”: first, the historical map, used to justify a “political-biographical narrative of the realm” by illustrating the “[...] antiquity of specific, highly bounded territorial units” (ibid). Second, the map-as-logo, where the abstract shape of a country's territory became an “[...] infinitely reproducible series, available for transfer to posters, official seals, letterheads, magazine and textbook covers, tablecloths and hotel walls” (ibid.). Both avatars, the historical map and the map-as-logo, illustrate how the original function of the map morphed into a representation of meaning beyond itself, providing the state with symbols to make the imagining possible and the imagined tangible and available for individuals to incorporate actively or unconsciously into their everyday life.

The three institutions of power, census, map and museum, afforded the colonial state a way of shaping the imagining of people, territory, history and art, delineating a “[...] totalizing classificatory grid [...] which could be applied with endless flexibility to

anything under the state's real or contemplated control: peoples, regions, religions, languages, products, moments, and so forth" (ibid.: 184). Everything within this grid, Anderson continues, has a "serial number" (ibid.: 185), it becomes part of a category making them or it simultaneously visible and invisible within the grid being subsumed into "replicable plurals" out of which the "world is made" (ibid.: 184)¹⁶. The consequence is a homogenised view of the world. Moreover, these three examples illustrate how the state can instrumentalise institutions, monopolise the content spread through them, and simultaneously depend on them to justify its use of power over people, territory, and history. This explanation sounds rather technical and focuses on the state's tendency to organise, categorise, and account as central mechanisms of power of the colonial state and the modern nation-state¹⁷.

Anderson's description of the census, map and museum as a sort of "grammar" through which the "colonial ideologies and policies [...] were deployed [...]" (ibid.: 163) illustrates how the states shape the nation by organising and defining the categories through which it is imagined. Nevertheless, these specific modes of imagining are not limited to the colonial state but rather a central aspect of the relationship between the nation, as an imagined community, and the modern state, as a structure of power and mechanism of controlling violence. What Anderson illustrates is that the different media provide a frame for the imagining through their specific structure, determining how to organise and depict information, images and ideas about the nation (or other subjects). Put differently, each media has a specific grammar, organising its constitutive

¹⁶ Scott (2008) argues similarly in his historical analysis focusing on how the state got a "handle on its subjects and their environment [...]" (2).

¹⁷ Scott (2008) lists several aspects through which the state gained control over by organising and standardising them, for instance, the "[...] creation of permanent last names, the standardisation of weights and measures, the establishment of cadastral surveys and population register, the invention of freehold tenure, the standardisation of language and legal discourse, the design of cities, and the organisation of transportation [...]" (2). The census is one example of the subjectivity of these categories. While it is often presented as a descriptive analysis of a country's population, it does contribute to the perception and construction of social and racial categories. While there has been a tendency to de-racialise the census, especially Latin American countries have seen an "ethnoracial classification comeback" (Gonzales Huaman et al. 2021: 1). For more details on the relationship between race and census in Latin America, see: Telles and Flores (2013); Angosto-Ferrández (2014); Urrea-Giraldo and Rodríguez-Sánchez (2014); Loveman (2014); Paixão and Rossetto (2018); Thiede and Grey (2020); and Gonzales Human et al. (2021) analysing the role of the census-taker in the co-creation of the ethnoracial categories in the Peruvian census of 2017. For a general discussion on the relationship between census and race, see Kertzer and Arel (2002).

communicative elements, be it words on a paper, melodies in a song or statistics of a census. The newspaper, for instance, constructs a temporal and spatial parallelity in different ways. First, it brings together events, people and places that are not necessarily connected, and second, it does this in a two-dimensional way—at least the newspapers Anderson refers to—putting them on squared paper next to each other. Other media, for instance, music, also frame the imagining through elements organised by their grammar. For example, the use and combination of musical instruments and their sounds follow a certain logic depending on the musical styles and their combination with voice and rhythms.

Despite differences, all media through which the nation is articulated and re-articulated have to provide, regardless of their grammar or the narrative conveyed, a sense of parallelity and simultaneity, as Anderson illustrates with the examples of the novel and the newspapers. Although briefly mentioned, his example of the national anthem is, for me, a more comprehensible illustration of how simultaneity and parallelity are imagined and experienced. Singing the anthem, he points out, is a way of experiencing simultaneity because it is a moment when

[...] people wholly unknown to each other utter the same verses to the same melody. The image: unisonance. Singing the Marseillaise, Waltzing Matilda, and Indonesia Raya provide occasions for unisonality, for the echoed physical realisation of the imagined community. [...] If we are aware that others are singing these songs precisely when and as we are, we have no idea who they may be, or even where, out of earshot, they are singing. Nothing connects us all but imagined sound (145).

The singing of the anthem is an explicit example of an instance where those taking part are conscious of the virtual simultaneity they create by participating. The singing brings them in direct—although abstract—relation to all those singing it too, similar to those reading the newspaper or a novel because they are aware of the simultaneity of their activity. As Anderson argues, this is the prerequisite for imagining the nation as the abstract community it is. Singing the anthem, indeed, is an exceptional moment in many countries. Still, in Peruvian public schools, for instance, the national anthem is rehearsed regularly, inculcating the lyrics, the gestures and the posture expected from

the pupils when singing it with the right hand over the heart and head held high. It is part of any regular school day at a public school. Private schools are exempted from this practice. Singing the anthem is an example of how the nation can be imagined. Still, it also illustrates how “[...] these experiences are co-constituted sensorially (Sumartojo 2017: 199) by those taking part in the activity.

Other moments and musical practices equally afford the experience of unisonance. For instance, when the audience members waving the manipulated national flag sing along and chant with the band members, “*Naciendo la esperanza del nuevo Perú*” (The hope of the new Peru being born). During this part of the song, the musicians kneel, and the audience crouches. The volume is turned down, lights stop flashing, and the lead singer gives a short speech about equality and hope. Then he starts whispering the chorus. The audience does the same, faces beaming with the expectation of what will come. Slowly, the volume increases, both the music and the singing. The musicians get up, and the audience starts moving and jumping while still crouching and slowly jumping higher and higher. The chanted chorus begins as a whisper, increasing to screaming and imitating a high-pitched tone typical of specific Andean dances. The song expresses hope for a better society, denouncing racial discrimination and social exclusion. This is a moment of directly experienced unisonance. The participants hear, feel and see the others singing along.

Additionally, there is an aspect of a-synchronic simultaneity because this performance, of waving the flag, singing along, and dancing in a specific way, takes place during each concert of *La Nueva Invasión*. It is, in fact, an integral part of the performance. So, while the participants might not be the same at every concert, they know that this moment of unisonance occurs every time the band performs this song. Further, the knowledge of the repetition articulates a spatial parallelity, linking places, in this case, concert venues, where the song is performed¹⁸. Anderson only implies this in his discussion, but simultaneity and parallelity are a-synchronic. They persist

¹⁸ Here I do not consider virtual spaces and the virtual reproductions of live performances at this point to keep the argumentation more precise, and the focus of my analysis is live musical performances. Still, these spaces are relevant because they provide means to (re)create the experience of unisonance within the privacy of individual musical consumption.

beyond the immediate experience of unisonance and rely on expanding the experience beyond the immediate moment. The example of the manipulated flag illustrates this: the participants know that the flag has been waved and will probably be waved again. So, even if an individual does not attend every concert, they are conscious of the repetition and continuation of this practice.

Before elaborating more on the different aspects of performance and how they are part of how the participants articulate and present their notion of self, I want to discuss what I understand here as music performance. The live performance of music has many forms, affording different experiences and possibilities of participation. I am focusing on the concert as a specific way of organising activities, interactions and relationships revolving around music during a defined period, providing, as Small (2011) suggests, a particular space in which relationships can be experienced and negotiated based on shared conventions about music, style, and the ways to interact or relate to each other. For Small, part of the social role and significance of musicking is bringing into existence “ideal relationships” (Small 2011: 15)¹⁹. Musical performance as a social space allows the participants to envision and simultaneously experience these ideal relationships. Small elaborates:

Musicking is about relationships, not so much about those which actually exist in our lives as about those that we desire to exist and long to experience: relationships among people, as well as those between people and the rest of the cosmos, and also perhaps with ourselves and with our bodies and even with the supernatural, if our conceptual world has room for the supernatural. During a musical performance, any musical performance anywhere and at any time, desired relationships are brought into virtual existence so that those taking part are enabled to experience them as if they really did exist (ibid.: 183).

¹⁹ Small (2011) differentiates between two kinds of relationships established through musicking: the relationship between sounds “[...] which are conventionally thought of as being the stuff of musical meaning but also between the people who are taking part, in whatever capacity, in the performance; [...] relationships between person and person, between individual and society, between humanity and the natural world and even perhaps the supernatural world. These are important matters, perhaps the most important in human life [...]” (13).

In other words, music performance affords the participants to imagine and experience themselves as part of a group. As Small points out, these are desired rather than actual relationships. Thus, we can understand the musical performance as a space where individuals can experience these desired relationships and articulate them using music and musicking practices as “expressive equipment” (Auslander 2006a: 118) to present themselves and relate to others.

The kind of musical performance I discuss here is the concert. In contrast to other forms of musicking²⁰, the concert revolves around the presentation of music on stage. It is characterised by the differentiation between the artists on stage and the audience in front of the stage, listening to the music in a “face-to-face situation” (Turino 2008: 51). The presentational performance is typically “[...] tied by devices like a stage, microphones, and stage lights, that clearly distinguish artists and audience” (ibid.: 52). Although often overlooked, the economy of live musical performance (see Baxter-Moore et al. 2016) is also an essential aspect of the frame of presentational performance, being the concert a source of income for the musicians, staff, venue owner, etc.²¹.

Like the stage, the audience space has its own devices to participate in the performance, for instance, banners, specific clothing, cellphones, dancing and stillness. While there is spatial segregation between stage and audience space and the corresponding roles, the degree of interaction between the musicians and the audience varies depending on the musical style and the conventions in place.

The spatial organisation of the musical performances also informs the broader social context because the venues are “[...] not neutral but socially, historically, and semiotically produced” (Fonarow 2006: 80). Moreover, following Small’s notion of the social function of a concert to experience ideal relationships, the way participants behave and interact is a reflection of how they want social relations to be. These ideal

²⁰ Turino (2008) conceptualises presentational music in opposition to participatory music. Latter is characterised by not distinguishing between musicians and audience and expecting all participants to engage actively in musicking beyond listening (28-9).

²¹ For more details, see Frith (2014) and Cloonan (2013), analysing the promoters role in and perspectives on musical production.

relations are enacted and embodied in relation and maybe even in opposition to those outside the space of the concert. Assuming this, we might understand the observable relationships, in the form of behaviour and interactions, as an expression of self and how the participants envision community, framed by the participant's personal and general socio-cultural context.

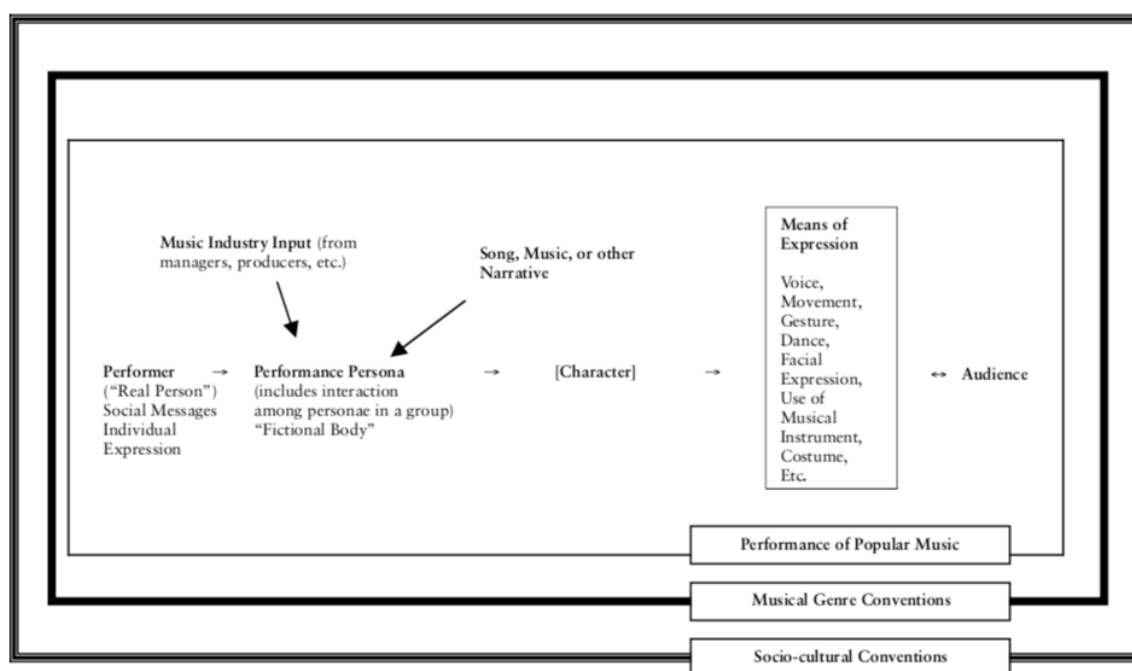
The literature discussing performance focused on the music itself while understanding performance to be not more than its reproduction²². With increasing interest in popular music during the 20th century, the “sustainability of the work-concept” (Middleton 2000: 51) was questioned, shifting the attention towards the “[...] pop **practices** in opposition to the apparently quasi-religious inventory of iconic classical **objects**” (ibid.; highlights in original). As Eyerman (2015) argues, sociology has been looking in two opposite ways on art, differentiating between the “sociological dimension” (ibid.:14), focusing on the ways of production, its context and the “aesthetic dimension” (ibid.), concerned with the meaning of the artwork. Towards the end of the 20th century, the interest shifted towards the production of meaning, away from the process of ascribing and embedding meaning in the artwork to approaches focusing on meaning as a process of branding in relation to the cultural industry (ibid). This shift in the understanding of “[...] performance as a site for the generation of meaning [...]” turned the “[...] traditional relationships between work and performance upside down [...]” (Cook 2012: 185). In this line of reasoning, Eyerman and McCormick (2015) suggest understanding art in general “[...] as a conceptual or experiential space for imagination, creativity and critical reflection” (7).

Auslander (2006a; 2006b) advocates for an approach where the actors, especially the musicians and their relationships with the audience become the focal point of the analysis. For him, the performance of music is a space where musicians articulate and present notions of self through their “performance persona” (2004: 11). He draws on David Graver's (1997) discussion of the diverse identities actors enact, differentiating between the character enacted in the play or movie, their private identity and the identity displayed in public: the personage. This personage “[...] is not a foundational

²² For more details on this discussion, see DeNora (2000), Middleton (2000) and McCormick (2015a).

reality but simply another way of representing oneself or, rather, a way of representing oneself within a particular discursive domain” (Graver 2009 [1997]: 227). Auslander (2004) transfers this idea to the analysis of music performance, conceptualising the performance persona as a continuous process of articulating and presenting notions of self with and through music and musicking. He illustrates his model of the construction of a performance persona in a diagram (see Figure 1) considering the broader socio-cultural context (outer frame) and the more specific context (second frame) of the music world within which the process takes place. The performance and relations between musicians and the audience are informed and shaped by the conventions of the music world²³ and the sociocultural context in which it is embedded. The inner frame represents the space where performers and the audience interact as the primary agents in this model. As the graphic illustrates, the performance persona provides the nexus between the performer or musician as a person, the audience as a group, and the individuals within it.

Figure 1: Auslander’s model of popular music performance



Source: Auslander 2004: 11

²³ Auslander uses the term music genre, but for conceptual consistency of my argumentation, I use music world instead.

To present their persona, the musicians rely on a variety of elements or a set of “expressive equipment” (Auslander 2006a: 118), such as the “[...] costumes, make-up, and general appearance, along with any sets, lighting, props (including musical instruments), and visual effects [...]” (Auslander 2004: 8-9) but also the ways they use their “[...] voice, movement, gesture, dance, facial expression, use of musical instruments, costume, etc.” (Ibid.: 11), as the model illustrates (see figure 1). Auslander (2006a) concludes: “[...] the object of musical performance is the successful presentation of an identity, a musical persona, in a defined social context, rather than the execution of a text” (118). The participants use different musical and performative elements, for instance, melodies, instruments, dance styles and others, to present their notion of self (I discuss in more detail the link between the musician’s biography narrative and the music they compose and perform in Chapter 4). Therefore, Music, performance, and consumption are a way the participants articulate and share meaning and notions of self.

Understanding musicking as a meaning-making process implies that music means something beyond itself. As Goehr (2002) argues, “[...] music means something, not just because it is a well-formed symbolic language, but because when human beings engage with this language, they express something about themselves as human beings” (19). The concept of intertextuality provides some insight into understanding the relations between using musical elements as expressive equipment to present notions of self and the extra-musical meaning it carries. Diallo (2019) understands intertextuality as “[...] a relation of co-presence between two or more texts [...]” (86), allowing “[...] the sender of a message to draw a parallel between their own text and a pre-existing one (the hypertext) and to address themes, imagery, or symbols that the recipients will identify correctly, provided they are familiar with the original text” (86-7). The connections can be implicit, by allusion or paraphrasing, for example, or explicit, using direct citations (ibid.). Kramer (2021) argues that only through paraphrasing the sense of an utterance can be transmitted because the “[...] utterance is limited to *having* sense; no utterance can *say* its sense” (ibid.: 16; highlights in original). Music, he continues, can be a placeholder for the language given that “[i]ntertextual relations can be performed by a host of non-verbal means, but only language can recognize

them. Intertextual links are mute until they are named” (ibid.: 15). Intertextuality is, he continues, also inter-media, including equally “all expressive media” (ibid.), because the “[d]ifference in medium is a difference in means, not a difference in possibility” (Kramer 2020: 398). Music is one of these non-verbal means Kramer refers to, and musical elements and practices are a way of paraphrasing sense through different musical and performative practices.

This notion of musical practices as a form of paraphrasing is helpful to understand how music is a means to articulate and re-articulate the nation. It resembles Billig’s (2012) approach to analysing the banal aspect of nationalism. He, too, borrowed from linguistics to articulate his argument of the “routine ‘deixis’” (Billig 2012 [1995]: 11) to operationalise the analysis of how words like *we*, *here*, or *there* are signifiers through which the imagined community can be invoked. These small words are signifiers of meaning beyond their linguistic function depending on the context they are used in and the meaning invested in them. The *we* or *here* are relational terms describing the speaker’s position in relation to others and to place, delineating who belongs and who does not. The deictic of *here* equally delineates distinctions, delimiting the space and drawing borders between here and there. The meaning depends on the socio-cultural context, the situation and those interpreting it. Thus *we* and *here* signify varying meanings beyond their direct linguistic function of positioning. Consequently, their use is a way of actively practising and conjuring the imagined community. Musical elements (melody, rhythm, instruments, voice, etc.) and performative elements (dance, clothing, gestures, technical equipment, space, etc.) are comparable to Billig’s routine deixis because they are ways of paraphrasing, citing and alluding to extra-musical meanings. Something we might call musical paraphrasing because of the meanings attributed to the musical elements and practices by the participants using them to present notions of self.

Musical paraphrasing is practised through various musical and performative elements by referring to the meaning connected to them. For instance, the cumbia rhythm has come to signify Peruvian society’s apparent cultural diversity and hybridity, especially in Lima (as I described in Chapter 1). Allow me to return to the example of

the song “*Camina bonito*” from *La Nueva Invasión*, to which the audience waves the manipulated national flag. The song is rhythmically divided into two sections: the first is a cumbia rhythm accompanied by the typical distorted electric guitar sound, and the second is based on an Andean rhythm. Both parts of the song make explicit cultural and historical references using rhythms and sounds that represent both the new urbanites and the Andes, the place of origin of the new urbanites and a historically central reference in the imagining of the Peruvian nation (as I will discuss later in this chapter). Each rhythm represents a meaning, signifying virtues and values, referencing specific aspects of Peruvian history and culture. Using these rhythms as musical paraphrasing implies the shared knowledge about the references made and their combination. The song “*Camina bonito*” reproduces common concepts of Peruvianness but simultaneously articulates an alternative interpretation and vision by framing these two rhythms within the same song and combining them with rock and punk.

Further, combining lyrics and rhythms provides another layer in articulating and interpreting the meaning. The first section of the song, the cumbia rhythm, narrates the hardship the new urbanites endured and the experience of racial discrimination, alluding to the *imaginario* of the new neighbourhoods of Lima and their idealised history. The second section of the song, the Andean rhythm, proclaims the hope for a better society, a community of honest, tolerant and hard-working individuals. As this example illustrates, music is a multilayered way of paraphrasing, alluding and citing meaning by providing various expressive equipments – and their combinations – through which the participants can express themselves. Throughout my thesis, I will elaborate on this example and the idea of musical paraphrasing in more detail. My analysis focuses on certain musical practices and how these are a way of musical paraphrasing, which the participants use to articulate and represent notions of self and community.

The challenges of imagining the nation in Latin America

Within the literature on nationalism studies, the most prominent discussion of Latin American nationalism is probably Anderson's historical account of Creole nationalism. He aims to illustrate the role of the American colonies and their process of independence in the emergence of the national consciousness. Anderson starts his discussion by stating that - in contrast to Europe - neither language nor a rising middle class was a foundational aspect of American²⁴ national projects (Anderson 2016: 47-9). He then asks why the Creole communities in Spanish American colonies developed "[...] an early conception of their nation-ness - *well before most of Europe?*" (ibid.: 50: highlights in original). More precisely, he wonders how the "[...] colonial provinces, usually containing large, oppressed, non-Spanish-speaking populations, produce creoles who consciously redefined these populations as fellow-nationals" (ibid) and how Spain became its enemy. Two factors are commonly named to explain this development: first, the increasing control from Madrid over the colonies through the Bourbon Reforms²⁵ implemented by Felipe V of Spain in the 18th century after Spain's liberation from Napoleonic occupation, increasing taxes and implementing strict social control; second, the influences of Enlightenment. In addition to these two factors, Anderson points out that "[t]he beginnings of an answer lie in the striking fact that 'each of the new South American republics had been an administrative unit from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century' (ibid.: 52)²⁶. He continues that, to understand how these administrative units would be "[...] conceived as fatherlands [...] one has to look at the ways in which administrative organisations create meaning" (Ibid: 53). Central to this process of meaning-making are the journeys of the bureaucrats, made

²⁴ Anderson refers to the whole continent, including North and South America and Brazil. Later, he uses the term Spanish America. Although he also discusses North America, he grounds his argument mainly on his interpretation of South American history.

²⁵ Doyle and Van Young (2013) elaborate: "[...] the so-called Bourbon Reforms in the New World colonies, a largely inchoate set of economic and political reform measures intended to stimulate the silver-mining industry in Mexico and Peru, expand trade, increase fiscal receipts, fend off European rivals, and so forth" (114). For more details, see Klarén (2004), Cotler (2005), Rey de Castro Arena (2008) and Walker (2009).

²⁶ This is one of the few instances Anderson quotes directly. In this case, from Gerhard Masur's (1963) work on Simón Bolívar.

necessary by absolutism and its comprehensive bureaucratic system. To enforce its power over territory and population, the absolutist state had to create a unifying apparatus based on the notion of interchangeability of men and documents, forming a new kind of nobility based on recruitment rather than on descent (ibid.: 55). The standardisation of the “language-of-state” (ibid.: 56) was a necessary prerequisite to achieving this homogenisation. Anderson illustrates how these new social structures accentuated the differences between Spain-born and Creoles through the access to territories:

[...] the pilgrimage of creole functionaries were not merely vertically barred. If peninsular officials could travel the road from Zaragoza to Cartagena, Madrid, Lima and again Madrid, the ‘Mexican’ or ‘Chilean’ creole typically served on the territories of colonial Mexico or Chile: his lateral movement was as cramped as his vertical ascent. [...] Yet on this cramped pilgrimage he found travelling companions, who came to sense that their fellowship was based not only on that pilgrimage’s particular stretch, but on the shared fatality of trans-Atlantic birth (ibid.: 57).

For Anderson, two factors are foundational for the conception of nation-ness of the pre-independence Creole elites in the Americas. First, their insuperable distinction from Spain-born. Second, the experience of the administrative unit—and its limits—during their journeys as administrative clerks. Since Anderson aims to argue the importance of print capitalism, he highlights its role in the colonies because the local newspapers provided a means to think and envision the territories travelled as more than just administrative units. He states: “Cramped viceregal pilgrimages had no decisive consequences until their territorial stretch could be imagined as nations, in other words until the arrival of print capitalism” (ibid.: 61). As discussed earlier, Anderson understands the print media as a means to imagine nation because it provides a frame and a narrative through which the community can be imagined. He concludes:

What I am proposing is that not economic interests, Liberalism, nor Enlightenment could, or did, create *in themselves*, the *kind*, or shape, of imagined community to be defended from these regimes’ depredations; to put it another way, none provided the framework of a new

consciousness - the scarcely-seen periphery of its vision - as opposed to centre-field objects of its admiration or disgust. In accomplishing *this* specific task, pilgrim creole functionaries and provincial creole printmen played the decisive historic role” (ibid.: 65).

In summary, three processes were crucial for the emergence of Creole nation-ness in Spanish America: first, the distinction between Spain-born and the Creoles; second, the imagining of the territories shaped by the administrative units they were bound to; and third, the local newspapers.

While Anderson’s concept of the imagined community is acknowledged and widely worked with throughout nationalism and Latin American studies, the argumentation is often criticised for its historical inaccuracy. Consequently, his explanation of the processes of how Creole nation-ness emerged in the region is rarely quoted by Latin Americanists (Chasteen 2003: xxi). Chasteen (2003) states in a footnote: “Anderson’s entire view of Latin America rests on a breathtakingly narrow evidentiary base, relying, for the most part, on just two books” (xviii)²⁷. Additionally, Anderson does not provide an “iota of evidence or documentation”, nor does he give even specific examples at any point (ibid.: xix) to evidence the two mechanisms central to the emergence of national consciousness: the “circulation of colonial bureaucrats” and the “circulation of colonial newspaper” (ibid.). Given the insufficient evidence to support his claims, Anderson’s reasoning has been challenged, for instance, the expansion and role of print capitalism after the independence wars (see Guerra 2003).

Lomnitz (2001) underlines the critique of historical inaccuracy in his analysis of the Mexican case, demonstrating the difficulty in applying Anderson’s definition of nation to the region because of its incorrect historical account of particular aspects of Spanish American Independence (4). He identifies three historical inaccuracies: first, the historical use of the term nation; second, the notion of deep horizontal comradeship; and third, the centrality of the notion of sacrifice. The historical inaccuracy of Anderson’s argumentation becomes evident when looking at the meaning and use of the term

²⁷ The books Anderson uses as primary sources for Latin American Independence are John Lynch’s (1973) *The Spanish American Revolution, 1808-1826* and Gerhard Masur’s (1948) *Simón Bolívar*, of which Chasteen (2003) says it is “egregiously outdated” (xviii).

nación (nation). Lomnitz (2001) states: “[...] Anderson’s definition of nation does not always coincide with the historical usage of the term, even in the place and time that Anderson identifies as the site of its invention (i.e. Spanish America, ca 1760-1830 [...]) (7). The understanding of nation in Spanish America “[...] vacillated between an increasingly unified but nonetheless ambiguous territorial definition and a definition around descent” (ibid.: 9). The territorial aspect of national consciousness in Spanish America is best illustrated in the differentiation between *nación* (nation) and *patria* (fatherland) during the period Anderson situates the emergence of Creole nation-ness. Lomnitz explains:

[...] the Spanish usage of the term *nación* could be distinguished from a second term, *patria* (or fatherland), in such a way that a single land could be the part of more than one *nación*. This was, indeed, the case in most of the Americas, which were conceived as plurinational *patrias* (ibid.: 9; highlights in original).

Chasteen (2003) argues in a similar line that national consciousness allowed the people to identify with the newly founded republics. Before independence, most referred to their place of birth as *patria* (fatherland) as a mere reference of place, but “[...] the movements for independence gave the word “patria” its modern meaning” (Chasteen 2003: xv). He then argues that the “[...] nationalism associated with this definition of patria - more aspiration than fact at first - is the nationalism to which Benedict Anderson refers in his chapter on Latin America [...]” (ibid.: xv). This conceptual differentiation between nation and homeland evidences the diversity within the colonial administrative units, illustrating that there were several communities imagined, not only by the Creoles. Moreover, it points out that the loyalties and alliances were not bound to one imagined community but to a shared territory delimited as an administrative unit. This conceptual distinction is useful for historical analysis but equally helps to understand the complex context within which a nation is imagined in Latin America. The most conspicuous case is probably Bolivia, officially named *Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia* (Plurinational State of Bolivia), which recognises the ethnic and linguistic diversity of the population by having not one but several official

languages²⁸. The country's population is defined as being composed of different nations within its territory, some even crossing borders into neighbouring countries (for instance, the Aymara into Peru). In Peru, *nación* is understood similarly, especially in the southern Andes, where the Quechua and Aymara denominate themselves as a nation. Descent prevails at the heart of how the community is imagined, a factor of differentiation and separation.

The second historical inaccuracy Lomnitz points out is descent. Anderson recognises descents as an external factor influencing the imagining of a community, but he fails to account for its influence on how community is being defined, imagined and experienced. Throughout his discussion of Creole nationalism, he illustrates how belonging to a group, be it the Creoles or Spain-born, the Indigenous population or other migrants, was delimited by descent and place of birth. Moreover, the category of descent overlapped with categories of race, articulating the imagining of a community of Spanish American nationalisms and delineating belonging and otherness along these categories. Simultaneously, Creole nationalisms depicted a simplified image of the socio-cultural diversity in the colonies and later in the newly founded republics, cementing the division between Creoles, Spain-born and the Indigenous population and obscuring the actual socio-cultural diversity, not only within the Indigenous population but also the new Americans who immigrated from different countries. Creole nationalist projects, thus, were highly exclusive and strongly discriminating notions of community, intrinsically linked to categories of race and ethnicity, as segregating elements influencing the imagining of community to the present day, especially in the notion of *mestizaje* (mixture).

While *mestizaje* is often illustrated as an expression of cultural hybridity, it is deeply racialised because it reconstructs and reproduces the categories (blackness, indigenusness and whiteness) it supposedly overcomes (Wade 2005: 245), naturalising cultural difference by insinuating that it is “[...] rooted in a natural essence

²⁸ The constitution of Bolivia states in Article 5 that the official languages of the state include Spanish and the languages of the nations and Indigenous peasant people, listing 37 languages. The second paragraph of the article states that all the governments of the individual departments have to use at least two official languages, Spanish, and the other can be chosen depending on the population in the region (Ministerio de Transparencia Institucional y Lucha contra la Corrupción n.d.).

which is heritable through sexual reproduction” (Wade 2000: 14). Moreover, in Spanish America, *mestizaje* is a master narrative²⁹ of national identity (Wade 2000) in post-independence discourses. Scholarly research has been concerned mainly with two assumptions about national ideologies of *mestizaje* based on an inherent notion of opposition and conflict. Wade (2005) summarises: first, *mestizaje* is the “[...] creation of a homogenous mestizo (mixed) future, which are the opposed to subaltern construction of the nation as racially-culturally diverse” (240); second, *mestizaje* is an inclusive process because everyone can become mestizo³⁰, but “[...] in reality it marginalises blackness and indigenusness, while valuing whiteness” (ibid.) and creating a “mosaic image of national identity” (ibid.) often excluding those unmixed (Wade 2010: 90). Thus, he argues *mestizaje* has to be understood as a lived process embedded in the broader context where “[...] ideologies about nation, its racialised component and their relative value are disseminated” (ibid.: 246). Here, Zubrzyckis’s (2018) conception of the nation is useful to underline its processual character further. She argues that the nation is “[...] neither unified ideology nor movement but a discursive field where different views of the nation compete and negotiate with each other” (518-19). Within this field, the different claims to identity, jurisdiction and territory are made on behalf of a population (Hearn 2006: 11). What the discussion of *mestizaje* highlights, nonetheless, is how the participation in this discussion is shaped and restricted by social structures and hierarchies defined through the naturalised notions of culture (also intersecting with gender, ethnicity and sexuality)³¹.

The second difficulty with Anderson’s analysis Lomnitz (2001) identifies is the notion of deep “deep horizontal comradery” (9). For Anderson, “[...] the nation is

²⁹ Wade uses this term in reference to his case study, Colombia, but it applies to Latin American nationalism in general, as he describes throughout his book.

³⁰ Wade elaborates on this in another article: “[...] there is a democratic, inclusive aspect to this ideology which holds out the promise of improvement through race mixture for individuals and for the nation: everyone can be a candidate for mixture and hence moral and social uplifting. At the same time, of course, it is a deeply discriminatory ideology and practice, since it is based on the idea of the inferiority of blacks and indigenous peoples and, in practice, of discrimination against them” (Wade 2001: 849). Although not explicitly mentioned, the notion of *mestizaje* is a remnant of the eugenics movement in Latin America. For more details, Stepan (1996) and Stern (2016).

³¹ For more details on the intersections of nation and race, gender, ethnicity and sexuality, see: Wade (2000) discussing Colombian music and Yuval-Davis (1997; 2015; 2016) on the relationship between gender and nation.

always *conceived* as a deep, horizontal comradeship” (Anderson 2016: 7; highlights my own). He does not state that the actual social relations are horizontal, but the community is imagined, or as he puts it, conceived, as constituted of horizontal relationships. Lomnitz (2001) questions the centrality of imagining horizontal relationships, arguing that social reality comprises various social relations beyond the public sphere. Indirectly, he challenges the notion that nation, and by extension nationalism and politics, are confined to the public sphere. Lomnitz (2001) elaborates:

In more general terms, the horizontal relationships of comradeship that Anderson wants to make the exclusive trait of the national community occurred in societies with corporations, and the symbolism of encompassment between citizens and these corporations is critical to understanding the nation’s capacity to generate personal sacrifices. [...] In Spanish America the complexities of these relationships of encompassment (between the national state, citizen, and various corporations) have been widely recognized in analyses of conflict between various liberal and conservative factions in the nineteenth century, and in the role of local communities in the wars of independence themselves (10).

Others support this critique. For instance, Miller (2006) states that “[...] although nationalism always invokes fraternity or horizontal bonds, it is in practice built upon hierarchical relations of paternalism and clientelism” (208). While Anderson might not necessarily disagree, he does not stress enough that the idea of horizontal comradeship is not the only source for sentiments of belonging and loyalty. Additionally, the notion of horizontal relationships delimits belonging to the nation to those able to imagine horizontal relationships based on their social position as equals. Yet another difficulty of the concept of imagined community is the assumption that all take part in the imagining. As Zahra (2010) points out: “Imagined communities may have become so ubiquitous in historical research that we have inadvertently become blind to individuals who remained altogether aloof to the nation’s appeal” (96). In other words, the social position needs to be considered when discussing how the community is imagined, as well as the personal disposition to imagine it.

The third critique Lomnitz (2001) addresses is the centrality of the sacrifice. Anderson implies that the imagined community and the ideology of “deep horizontal comradeship” (11) suffice as a motive for personal sacrifice in the name of the nation. But, Lomnitz argues, the “coercive, moral, or economic forces of other social relationships” have to be considered in combination with the “ideological appeals to nationhood [and the] cohesive apparatus of the state itself” (ibid.). In the case of Latin American independence wars, the mobilisations of groups from the local non-Creole population for the different wars and battles were not based solely on the idea of national independence but motivated, for instance, through the promise of being freed from slavery or by simple cohesion by the landowners in a feudal-like social and economic system (Mazzeo de Vivo 2011: 176). As so often, the different motivations to participate in a political process or conflict have been interpreted by historiography as driven by nationalist sentiment, ignoring other motivations and interests, both national and non-national³².

Another essential critique of Anderson’s historical account is his understanding of the wars of independence and the foundation of the new republics as the culmination of national movements because it implies not only the emergence of a national consciousness but, moreover, of articulated nationalist interest and movements preceding independence (Chasteen 2003: xviii-xix). As Doyle and Van Young (2013) argue, “[...] the independence struggles of the Americas emerged not from popular nationalist movements but from multiple crises in European imperial systems of power over their colonies” (98-9). Independence promised the Creole elites “[...] the opportunity to wrest political and economic privileges away from those born in Spain or Portugal” (ibid.). During the independence process, the definition of *us* and *them* was clearly delineated between Americans and Spaniards (in the case of Spanish America). The nativist discourses of the independence movements were a “rhetorical tool of civil war” (Guerra 2003: 32), using the formula *America for the Americans* to justify the uprisings against colonial rule. While independence provided a sense of territorial belonging, the nation-building efforts of the early republics faced two main

³² Zahra (2010) discusses how historians have interpreted history through the lens of nationalism, ignoring non-national interests and motivations.

difficulties, as Guerra (2003) points out: “First, it was hard to know exactly which local parties would belong to which future nation, and second, it was then hard to invent a distinctive cultural content for that administrative space” (32). Only after independence did the attention to how to distinguish *us* and *them* shift, looking inwards to articulate “[...] a history and ancestral territory, common heroes and ancestors, and a national character and destiny,” creating a “discursive infrastructure of nationhood” (ibid.). Culture, or rather cultural expressions and their interpretation, gained importance in this articulation, providing elements of distinction additional to the place of birth, for instance, music, dance, food and clothing (Chasteen 2003.: xvi)³³.

While political independence from colonial rule was achieved, economic relations and dependencies on a global scale prevailed, shaping and structuring the emerging political institutions in the 19th century. As Osterhammel (2013) elaborates:

[...] the entanglement with global capitalism typically preceded the emergence of coherent and effective political institutions. When nation states consolidated from about the 1880s onwards, they often had little scope to modify the structures that already tied their economies to global networks of trade. They saw their task as deepening and strengthening the existing arrangements for export production (702).

Britain especially gained an important role in controlling the markets and forging political, social, and cultural ties, shaping the “British informal empire” (Reeder 2020: 2)³⁴. These structural conditions shape most Latin American economies to the present day. In the case of Peru, the main economic activity was and is the export of primary goods. In the 19th century, for instance, the export of *guano*³⁵ provided the financial means for the thriving Creole elite and encouraged nationalist sentiments (Bonilla 1984

³³ In the next section, I will illustrate this point in more detail when discussing the evolution of Peruvian national consciousness.

³⁴ For more details, see Brown (2008), focusing strongly on Argentina; Miller (2014 [1993]), surveying the different relations between Britain and Latin America from independence to the 20th century; and Shawcross (2018), analysing the relationship between France and Mexico using the concept of informal empire.

³⁵ In the mid-19th century, Peru became the leading producer and exporter of guano, a natural fertiliser based on the excrement of seabirds living on rocky islands along the coast of Peru. It was an essential product for agricultural production, not least in Europe. The demand declined after the introduction of chemical fertiliser, abruptly ending a period of high economic prosperity in Peru.

[1974])³⁶. Given the importance of these sectors, it is not surprising that those controlling and owning the means of production also strongly influenced the state. In Peru especially, the guano exporters became the states moneylender and thus had an “[...] exceptional position of domination and control over the state which suffered of a constant monetary deficit” (ibid.: 34). This is partly related to the attempt of ending British domination of the guano market by awarding the licence of guano export to national merchants and thus empower local political elites (ibid.).

Throughout Latin America, the nation has been thought of in the 19th and 20th centuries as a source of legitimacy for the newly founded republics. Given the political changes after independence, “[...] the maintenance of social order had to be sought [...], becoming an urgent process in which the creation of national identity was instrumental” (Guibernau et al. 2006: 197). Part of this process was, for instance, the institutionalisation of military service, school education, the building of public monuments and design of official ceremonies, the coopting of intellectuals and the construction of physical infrastructure (ibid), all legitimised by the articulation of “[...] *historias patrias* [national histories] to foment patriotic appreciation of the past” (Earle 2005: 376). From the beginning, the articulation of national history and iconography included an idealised image of the native population (ibid.)³⁷ (as I will illustrate for the Peruvian case in the next section).

These discussions of Anderson’s hypothesis of Creole nationalism illustrate the complexity of articulating national narratives in the Spanish Americas. The intersections of hierarchical social structures, cultural and ethnic diversity, economic interest, both local and international, as well as a history of violence, subordination and exclusion make it difficult to conceive of the independence wars as national movements but rather highlight the non-national loyalties, networks and aspirations behind these. Moreover, the experiences of nation formation and state building in Spanish America illustrate that the articulation of nation is not a homogenous process

³⁶ For more details on Peru’s economic history, see Mazzeo de Vivó (2011).

³⁷ Earles’s article contains a significant number of references to historical research on the iconography and representation of the Indigenous population by the elites, i.e. Marisol de la Cadena’s (2000) analysis of indigeneism as a political tool in the history of Cuzco.

nor a unified discourse but rather a discursive field, with various actors and interests overlapping, excluding and supporting each other. Throughout the two centuries since the independence of Spanish America, the national projects articulated represented only a fraction of the population, depicting a highly idealised version of the region's cultures, landscapes and history, reinterpreting and inventing traditions (in the sense of Hobsbawm³⁸) to articulate a canon of iconographic imagery to represent a glorious – mainly precolonial – past, finding expression in the ideology of *mestizaje* and ideology of pluri-nationalism. In the case of Peru, the source for historical references and imagery was and still is the Andes. As I discuss in the next section, Peruvianness has been imagined through and around the Andes, both as cultural space and as landscape, articulating the Andean topos.

³⁸ Hobsbawm defines “‘Invented tradition’ is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past” (Hobsbawm 2003 [1983]: 1).

In search of a history: Peruvian national narratives

Central reference of Peruvian national projects was and still are the Andes, both as geographical and cultural spaces, used as symbolic sources to articulate a glorious past and envision a prosperous future. The Andean topos found expression in three main narratives: the Inca as a grand civilisation equal to European civilisations; the image of *El Hombre Andino* (The Andean Man) as the portrayal of the national character; and the figure of *El Cholo* symbolising the modern Peruvian man vindicating and modernising his cultural heritage. Greene (2006) conceptualises the self-definition through the Andean topos as the “Inca slot”³⁹, describing it as “[...] Peru’s overly Andean view of itself [which] is due in no small part to the living legacy of the Inca, the centrality of Cusco as its enduring symbol [and the] forever-lost-but-somehow-always-returning Incaic figure” (331). Already during the Spanish colonisation, the reference to the Inca empire provided the narrative of a grand civilisation and an idealised landscape of the highlands as the backdrop for a glorious past. Rather than an inclusive narrative, the Inca slot is a homogenising concept rendering “[...] invisible, or at least less visible, those regionalized and racialized identities inscribed as not Andean/not-Inca in the process [...]”. In a phrase: all the non-Andean Others and all the Inca’s erstwhile subjects (Greene 2007: 457).

After Peruvian independence in 1821, the Creole oligarchy⁴⁰, constituted by the “[...] creoles and mestizos [who] assumed to be the legitimate heirs of colonial domination” (Portocarrero 2014: 15), seized power by controlling large portions of land and relying on a feudal-like system of “indigenous servitude” (ibid.) and slavery (mainly from African origin) for labour and production. The new Peruvian republic needed to position itself as equal to other nations while stating its uniqueness within a world of emerging nations. Anderson (2016) argues that the inequality of position and access between the Spaniards and Creoles before independence was fundamental to the

³⁹ Greene adapts Trouillot’s (1991) concept “savage slot”, which he uses to discuss the relationship between anthropology and the savage.

⁴⁰ Portocarrero (2014) defines oligarchy as “[...] a political regime based on very restricted participation, where those owning the wealth control the public sphere and the state having thus disproportionate power which they use, of course, to perpetuate the order that fundamentals it” (219).

emergence of the Creole national consciousness. Creoles, both in North and South America, were looked upon with contempt by enlightened European thinkers arguing the biological inferiority of those born and raised in the New World (Dager Alva 2009: 62). In reaction, American intellectuals refuted the validity of this vision using the precolonial and natural history of the region. Creole societies sought to position themselves as equals to Europeans even before independence. In Peru, one of the first attempts to articulate a *historia patria* (national history) was through the journal *Mercurio Peruano de Historia, Literatura y Noticias Públicas* (Peruvian Mercury of History, Literature and Public News), published between 1791 and 1795, focusing on natural history (ibid.: 62). The construction of a historical past and the reinterpretation of it supported “[...] the emergence of a clear historical consciousness” (Dager Alva 2009: 63) by articulating a historical continuity between the Inca empire and the newly founded republic (Rey de Castro Arena 2010: 130).

In Peru, the Inca civilisation became the central historical argument to disprove the assumption that biological, cultural and intellectual inferiority originated from a deficient natural environment. Yet the Andean population was disregarded and marginalised, based on the understanding that, since they were colonised and thus subordinated, they lost their ancestor’s (the Incas) civilised status. They were no longer Incas but *indios* (Indians). This notion shaped the imagining of Peruvianness throughout its history, independent of the political ideology or social movement shaping it. This dualism between Indian and white, Andes and coast, is what Mallon (2002) called “the Peruvian palimpsest”, framing intellectual and political thought (25). While the narrative of the Inca Empire provided the grounds for the distinction of the population into two main groups – Spaniards and Indians – within the territory, it also allowed the colonials to assert a position of equality with Spain. Simultaneously, the colonial state used pre-existing social hierarchies to construct a feudal-like social system. As Greene (2007) points out, “[...] the Viceroyalty of Peru was one of the earliest testing grounds for a multilayered system of colonial ranks, rights, and privileges [...]” (445), reconstructing European feudal social structures by taking advantage of already existing hierarchies in the Andean region. Méndez (1996) summarised the disregard and despise for the Andean population eloquently in the title of her article, “*Incas Sí, Indios no*. Notes on

Peruvian Creole Nationalism and its Contemporary Crisis”, discussing the role of the Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation (1836 - 1839) for the articulation of Creole nationalism analysing anti-confederation press, satire and pamphlets of the time to illustrate how the Incas were glorified and the Indigenous people described with contempt. She describes how the Creole elites perceived the confederation as a threat, fearing the “[...] conquest of Peru by the Indian” (Méndez 1996: 225) and speaking of an invasion (ibid.). Still, despite these social and racial exclusions, the idea of *El Indio* (the Indian) as the heir of the Inca was central to Creole nationalism of the 19th century (Méndez 1996: 4).

This notion of conquest and invasion by the *indios* is still central to how Peruvian history and society are conceptualised today. The term *invasión* (invasion) has become common sense for describing the new urban settlements emerging in the second half of the 20th century, especially in Lima, as I illustrated in the former chapter. Only today does it symbolise the empowerment of the people rather than express the elite’s fears. One example is the band name *La Nueva Invasión* (The New Invasion), making direct and clear reference to Lima’s particular urbanisation process and the urban *imaginario* it symbolises. This is highlighted by the band’s logo, a reinterpretation of the coat of arms of Lima showing an illustration of the *Cerro San Cristobal* (San Cristobal Hill), an early settlement - or invasion - and visible from the presidential palace and cathedral (see images 14, 15 and 16).

Image 14: Coat of Arms of Lima



Source: Simbolos Patrios del Perú, n.d.

Image 15: Cerro San Cristobal



Source: Universidades Privada del Norte, 2018

Image 16: Logo from band *La Nueva Invasión*



Source: Official Facebook page from *La Nueva Invasión*. Retrieved 10.13.2022

The oligarchy's vision of the country's history provided the glorious past of a grand civilisation in European example, the Incas. This is reflected, for instance, in the first coat of arms of Peru, used between 1822 and 1824, which says *Renació el sol del Perú* (The sun of Perú is reborn), alluding to the importance of the sun in the Inca culture but also to the return of past glory (ibid)⁴¹ (see image 17). This narrative provided the grounds for positioning the Peruvian nation as equal to European nations but simultaneously highlighting its uniqueness.

Image 17: First Coat of Arms of Peru



Source: Odar, 2023

The Creole narrative articulated the nation's uniqueness between equals, especially in reference to Europe, by discursively including the population within the national territory, proposing that neither race nor origin or economic differences would

⁴¹ The sun continues to be a central symbol in the Peruvian imaginary, highlighting the historical rootedness of the Peruvian nation in a glorious past, for example, in the currency, which is called *Sol* (Sun). Throughout the republic's history, the sun has figured in different currencies. For more details on the history of Peruvian currency, see Contreras Carranza (2020 [2016]), Chamot (2012), Leonardini (2009) and the web page of the *Banco Central de Reserve del Perú* (Central Bank of Reserve of Perú). See Appendix 3 for images.

matter since “[...] Peruvians were a people of mestizos seeking modernisation following the European example” (Portocarrero 2014: 16). However, the republican society of the 19th century was characterised by rigid social and racial categories perpetuating the colonial social, economic and political structures (Mazzeo de Vivó 2011: 175). The imagining of the community nonetheless relied on a less complex version, drawing on the abstract notion of “[...] the triad Spanish, Indian, and Inca” (Greene 2007: 455). Rather than a simple juxtaposition of *invasores* and *indígenas* (invaders and indigenous) of colonial society, this new order build on the narrative of the Incas to assert historical continuity “[...] through the periodic reinscription of the Inca into the historical imagination as one of the world’s most remarkable “civilisation”” (ibid.) and simultaneously depicting the contemporary Indigenous population as uncivilised, because they lost their status as civilised through Spanish occupation. The Creoles were, in this scenario, the ones to lead Peru back to its former glory. This notion was later picked up by other national movements, for instance, *Indigenismo* and the messianic narrative of the reincarnation of the Inca empire. Incorporating the Inca into national history provided Creole society with arguments for their claim to rule the territory and people. Despite using the Andean topos, the Creole national project was a rather narrow and Lima-centric vision of Peru, often ignoring large parts of the country.

During the 19th century, the Andean population was still regarded as inferior, while the admiration for the Incas, their culture, social structure and architecture persisted (Dager Alva 2009: 135). Racial categories and ethnic domination were not explicitly spelt out in the legal construct of the state, but the exclusion was omnipresent and legitimised by implicit racial ideologies (Panfichi and Portocarrero 2004: 221-22). The markers of belonging to the republic and political participation were drawn upon cultural differences, understood as indicators of progress and civilisation, but strongly intertwined with racial theories. The population was divided and homogenised by racial categories differentiating the Indigenous population, the Creoles, other immigrants, enslaved Africans and those denominated *mestizos* (of mixed race) (Chasteen 2003;

Mallon 1995; 2002; Flores Galindo 2010⁴²). In colonial Peru, *mestizo* or *mestiza* was not just the expression of racial and cultural hybridity but, moreover, a denomination of social status. As Bengoa (2007) argues, a “creole was a mestizo of upper class and [a] mestizo was one of low class” (159). While the first did not “[...] recognise his mestizaje nor was it pointed out to him [...]”, the second one was regarded as a result of the mix of inferior races (ibid.). The Creole societies of the post-independence era perceived *mestizaje* as the solution for the strict – almost caste-like – social structures of colonial society (ibid.: 168). Creoles, born in the colonies but of European descent, perceived themselves as originating from the land and thus had the rightful claim to it – in contrast to those born in Spain – and *mestizaje* afforded them a way to defend this claim (ibid.).

The social changes of the 20th century were a consequence of demographic growth and shifts, especially driven by “[...] newly emerging social groups, including urban workers, peasants, urban and/or provincial middle classes” (Mallon 2002: 14) challenging the foundations of the social structures throughout the continent. This shift found expression in the iconography, for instance, in Mexico through the use of *La Virgen de Guadalupe* (Flores Galindo 2010 [1986]; Sanders 1996). The Peruvian equivalent, *El Hombre Andino* (the Andean man), became the central theme of the Andean topos, expressing a new social sensitivity and national imagining. This image of *El Hombre Andino* is rooted in the conceptualisation of the native population as *Indios* (Indian) - since the European colonisation - as one homogenous group, disregarding the cultural and linguistic differences to articulate an identifiable ‘other’ whose main common characteristic was being native. In Peru, the native population was envisioned as Andean, namely the Incas and their descendants, excluding other groups such as the tribes from the Amazonian region or the inhabitants of the coastal area from Indigenous or African or any further descent, ignoring different local identities, dialects and loyalties, which existed during the colonial realm and have

⁴² Originally published in 1986.

prevailed in parts to the present⁴³. Nevertheless, the idea of the Andean man gained popularity, providing a counter-narrative to the Creole elites of European descent, grounding the national imagining within the territory rather than as a juxtaposition to a foreign other. Later on, this perspective was also reflected in Peruvian academic literature of the 1970s and 1980s, driven by international political tendencies and relations, especially Marxism and socialism, seeking to recover “[...] popular agency through a social history from below, focused on workers and Indigenous peasants” (ibid.: 17). The search for a more inclusive nation began, incorporating and relying strongly on popular, religious and cultural figures and expression in combination with international ideologies and political paradigms.

Additionally, the emphasis was not on the glorious past – already established by Creole nationalism – but on the definition of the national character incarnated by *El Hombre Andino*. Like Creole nationalism, the *Indigenismo* national project drew on the utopia of the Incas. The Peruvian historian Alberto Flores Galindo⁴⁴ (2010 [1986]) famously defined this imaginario as *la utopía andina* (the Andean utopia):

The Andean utopia is [the combination of] those projects (in plural) that pretended to confront this reality [the ignored diversity]. [...] Searching an alternative in the encounter between memory and the imaginary: the return of the Incaic society and the return of the Inca. Finding in the redefinition of art the solutions to the problems of identity (21).

Mainly shaped by intellectuals and artists, this idea drew the image of the *indigena* (indigenous) as iconographic imagery, a “stagnant, passive, singular, abstract” (Sanders 1996)⁴⁵ figure situated in a romanticised mythical Andean world. It depicts the Andean culture as “immutable in time” and its homogenised characteristics expressing “[...] the imagined or desired history, but not the reality of a much-

⁴³ According to the Ministry of Culture, Peru has 55 indigenous or original people and 47 spoken languages. The Peruvian government passed a bill in 2017 recognising as the official languages of the regional government those predominant in the region, next to Spanish, Quechua and Aymara.

⁴⁴ Alberto Flores Galindo (1949 - 1990) was a Marxist historian and journalist who studied at *Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú* and at the *École des Hautes Études* in Paris.

⁴⁵ This is quoted from a recording of a presentation Karen Sanders held during a colloquium at Casa de Américas in Madrid in 1996, where she explains the development of Latin American nationalism. Accessed 4.12.2019: <https://soundcloud.com/user-975623301/historia-de-los-nacionalismos-en-america-latina-1>

fragmented world” (ibid.). A group of artists of the so-called *Indigenismo* movement illustrated this notion. One prominent painter and muralist is José Sabogal (1888 - 1956), who used his paintings to illustrate social injustice and the situation of the Indio and peasantry (Sciorra 2013: 115) (see image 18).

Image 18: Painting from Sabogal



Source: Román 2009: 27

Arguedas (1967) illustrates how art, especially painting and muralism, were perceived as an expression of revolution, an idea articulated and divulged by the authors of the socialist-Marxist journal *Amauta*⁴⁶:

The Indian and the Andean landscape became the favourite theme of artistic creation. It is a combatant art, anti-Hispanic. [...] The *gamonal* [local political leader and land owner] is depicted with an inhuman and fearful expression. The Indian is shown either in his misery or exalting his virtues. [...] this art seems superficial, of scarce artistic value [...] but it fulfilled an important social role (ibid.: 5).

The slight contempt that Arguedas expresses is probably due to his research, focusing on Andean musical and oral traditions rather than looking outwards for aesthetic inspiration or political paradigms. Disregarding the political stance or aesthetic conventions, this vision of Peru was yet again less an attempt to articulate an inclusive understanding of the national community, but rather reinforce local elites seeking to sediment their social status and range of influence, defying Lima's political, economic and cultural dominance. The different perspectives that articulated visions of Peruvianness shared the assumption that Peru is divided between whites and indigenous. Mallon (2002) points out how this dualistic perspective provided the grounds for the subordination of the indigenous population because they were seen as backwarded. The main difference in the perspectives lay in solutions to redeem this backwardness based on the ideas of "[...] how deep the backwardness went (and thus on whether the Indian was redeemable at all), and on what was the best solution to the problem (education, integration, agrarian reform, revolution)" (Mallon 2002: 36). Both national projects — Creole and *indigenismo* — share the notion that the indigenous population, living in rural areas and not in the mythical Andes, had to be guided back into civilisation and rescued from their state of underdevelopment, be it by modernising them or creating a socialist state where they would become "campesino" (peasants).

⁴⁶ José Carlos Mariátegui, a leading communist thinker of the early 20th century in Peru, founded *Amauta*. Sabogal was part of the supporting intellectuals (Sciorra 2013: 115).

Different political projects shaped the Andean topos, interpreting history differently to use it for their political purposes. For instance, the military regime of the 1970s called their political programs *Plan Inca* (Inca Plan) and *Plan Túpac Amaru* (Túpac Amaru Plan⁴⁷). The regime also drew aesthetically on Andean topos for its propaganda, for instance, by using the portrait of Túpac Amaru II⁴⁸ on a coin and on posters, banners and other items to link the regime to the revolutionary movement (see image 19). Contemporary artists reinterpret and reproduce the portrait of Tupac Amaru II to invoke notions of revolution, to protest against social injustice and claim political participation (see image 20 on page 112).

Image 19: Portrait of *Tupac Amaru II* on a coin



Source: Contreras Carranza 2020: 483

⁴⁷ The *Plan Inca* was presented in 1974 “[...] proposing major structural reforms regarding economy and society emphasising land ownership, taxes, banking and government” (Zapata 2015: 51). The second plan, *Plan Tupac Amaru II*, was published in 1977 proposing the election of an assembly to articulate a new constitution and providing the path for a democratic government (ibid.: 62). For more details on the military regime see Contreras and Cueto (2007) and Klarén (2004).

⁴⁸ José Gabriel Condorcanqui Noguera, later known as Tupac Amaru II, led the rebellion against Spanish domination between 1780 and 1783. The name means “great snake” in Quechua and refers to the last Inca emperor, Tupac Amaru I, executed by the Spanish in 1572. Tupac Amaru II was a descendant of Tupac Amaru I, and as his ancestor, he was executed by the Spanish, quartered and beheaded in 1781. For more information on the rebellion and Tupac Amaru, see Walker (2014).

Image 20: Contemporary interpretation of portrait of *Tupac Amaru II* with the inscription “They want to kill us, but they won’t be able to kill us”



Source: Official Facebook page from *Faite*, a clothing brand. Retrieved 10.14.2022

Another, more contemporary example of direct references to figures of Peruvian history is former president Alejandro Toledo⁴⁹, who presented himself as a modern-day Pachacútec⁵⁰, a famous Inca emperor, to “[...] market an “authentic” neo-Incaic Andeanness” (Greene 2007: 458). He articulated his political persona around the myth of the return of the Inca making direct references to the myth of *Inkarri*, grounding his campaign and political actions historically. As Greene (2005) explains, Toledo reinterpreted the Inca slot “[...] with the adoption of a coastal and urban *cholo* status, thanks to the clear signs of upward mobility afforded to him by a prestigious education at Stanford University” (34; highlight in original⁵¹). Toledo’s political persona illustrates

⁴⁹ After the Fujimori regime, Toledo was the first democratically elected president (2001 and 2006).

⁵⁰ Pachacútec Inca Yupanqui Cápac Intichuri was the 9th Inca emperor and the first Inca to be mentioned in the chronicles of Peruvian history. For more details see María Rostworowski (2001; 2015).

⁵¹ Later presidents followed his example, especially Ollanta Humala (2011-2016) and Pedro Castillo (2021-2022).

the shifts within the imagining of Peruvianness in reaction to the economic and socio-political changes, which are referred to as *cholificación*⁵² (cholification) to describe the process of urbanisation of the Andean population and Andeanisation of urban culture (Degregori 2013 [1986]⁵³). As a consequence of these processes, urban space gained a significant role in the imagining of the national community without diminishing the central part of the Andes.

Degregori (2013 [1986]) illustrates the shift in how community is imagined, from rural and traditional to urban and modern, through references to the myth of the *Inkarrí* and the myth of progress. The myth of the *Inkarrí*⁵⁴ (Inca King) narrates the Spanish conquest's history from the conquered's perspective. The outline of the story is the death of *Atahualpa*, the last Inca emperor, who was hanged, but the myth narrates that the Spanish decapitated and quartered him. This symbolises the dismantling of the conquered society – the separation of the Inca (the head) from the people (the body) (Mamani Macedo 2021: 263). The body parts, buried in different places⁵⁵, grow and search for each other beneath the earth⁵⁶, and on the day they reunite, the *Inkarrí* (the Inca king) will resurrect, and the empire will regain political, religious and cultural power (Huamán López 2020: 80).

In the 20th century, the myth was depicted by artists and writers (Mamani Macedo 2021: 261-2) and gained vast popularity beyond the communities of their origin⁵⁷. Anthropologists used the *Inkarrí* myth in their quest to understand the processes of urbanisation and internal migration, interpreting it as the underlying motivation of the Andean population to migrate (ibid.). The internal migration from the Andes has

⁵² Anibal Quijano popularised this term, though he was not the only one discussing this from the 1960s onwards.

⁵³ The original article was published in 1986 in the journal *Socialismo y Participación* (Socialism and Participation). Degregori (1945 - 2011) was an anthropologist focusing his analysis on the internal conflict, internal migration, and its socio-cultural consequences.

⁵⁴ The term *Inkarrí* stems from the Quechua pronunciation of the Spanish words *Inca* and *Rey* (Inca and King) (Cirkovic 2009: 3).

⁵⁵ This is also a reference to the rebellion of Tupac Amaru II, who was quartered and his body buried in different places.

⁵⁶ This directly references the understanding of the earth as mother, the origin of all life, in Andean cosmivision. "The earth as a fertile and renewing womb, a place of rebirth" (Huamán López 2020: 80)

⁵⁷ As Flores Galindo (2010 [1986]) illustrates, the myth had been transmitted orally throughout the Andes (22).

regularly been interpreted as fulfilling the myth's prophecy, understanding these new urbanites as conquerors and new Peruvians. As Degregori puts it: "We could say that the fragmented and dispersed body of the *Inkarrí* recomposes, but once whole again he is not the old Inca but those new Peruvians whose contours we just start to recognise" (Degregori 2013 [1986]: 223). The new Peruvians do not just await the Inca's return; they are the new Inca in movement, looking forward into the future rather than back. The term *Cholo* in the contemporary Peruvian context describes this new version of *El Hombre Andino*, depicting him as a modern urban man resulting from social and cultural changes during the second half of the 20th century.

The instrument of conquest, rather than violence, was integration and adaptation to modern urban societies through accessing education and building businesses, etc. (ibid.: 220). Nevertheless, Degregori continues, the urbanisation of the Andean population and the increasing literacy brought with it the "occidentalisation of the culture" and its "contamination" (ibid.), causing the rejection and disregard of rural traditions, especially music and clothing, and (oral) culture (ibid.). Much as in the notion of the American Dream, progress is achieved through hard work, resilience, creativity and effort. This idea of progress is described as *emprendedurismo* (entrepreneurship⁵⁸).

Beyond the mythical interpretations, *cholificación* is another way of denominating *mestizaje*, describing social stratification based on racial and ethnic categories masked as cultural hybridity. The *Cholo*, located between the *indígena* (indigenous) and the *misti* (Quechua for white man), is the indigenous who is uprooted from his place and culture of origin through migration, servitude in the cities and mandatory military service (Fuenzalida 1975: 79-80; in Pacheco Chávez 2019: 205-6). Fuenzalida (1975 in Pacheco Chávez 2019: 205-6) summarises the conceptualisation of the Cholo in the second half of the 20th century:

[...] he [the Cholo] is differentiated from the "indígena" through his occupational role: he is a miner, fabric worker, chauffeur, small trader, artisan, bricklayer, waiter, servant or farm worker. Additionally, through

⁵⁸ I discussed this in more detail in Chapter 1.

the kind of culture, he takes part in: he is bilingual but predominantly Quechua, dresses in semi-occidental clothes, has finished primary school and makes incipient use of modern artefacts. He shows aggression against the “mestizos” and “criollos” and is individualistic and unstable. Cholificación is described as the process through which certain sectors of the rural “indigenous” population abandoned some elements of the “indigenous” culture, adapting some of the cultures typified as “criolla” and articulating a new culture that differentiates itself at the same time from the “misti” and the “indígena” without losing its original link to them (ibid.).

While initially, the notion of cholificación was related to class, especially the lower-income class with a migration background towards the end of the 20th century, this changed in the context of the discourse of multiculturalism, providing the possibility to draw on sociocultural differences as a unifying factor, at least narratively. While the term *Cholo* was used for people of indigenous descent and implying their lack of civilisation, culture, income and personal virtues, today it is often used to describe the self-made man, the new and urban *indígena*, the conqueror of the city, and the entrepreneur. A common insult used to be *Cholo de mierda* (shitty cholo), but it morphed into slogans such as *Cholo power* designed by the designers from Brocha Gorda (see image 21).

Image 21: *Chola Power* by Brocha Gorda



Source: Official Facebook page from Brocha Gorda. Retrieved 10.14.2022

The discourse of cultural diversity dominates the contemporary notion of Peruvianness as a unifying factor and a marker of national uniqueness. This complements and builds on the national narratives of the 19th and 20th centuries, which revolved around the mythical Andes, the search for a glorious past, and the definition of the national character. The nation's cultural diversity is understood as deeply rooted in the country's biodiversity and summarised in three landscapes: the coast, the highlands and the rainforest. This "tripartite division" (Greene 2007: 446) of the territory dominates the imagining of community because they are representations of "[...] Peru's three emergent multicultural constituencies" (ibid.)⁵⁹. Landscapes, or geographical regions, intersect with the articulation of racial and cultural categories by spatialising them (ibid.): Creole and Afro-Peruvian culture are coastal, Andean culture specific to the highlands and Amazonian culture to the rain forest. Belonging to one of these geographically embedded socio-cultural groups is determined by a combination of descent and place of birth. For instance, those born in Lima, at the coast, but of Andean descent are still Andeans. They cannot be Creoles or Afro-Peruvians because their ancestors are from the Andes. Zimmer (1998) conceptualises this "[...] symbolic connection between nations and their natural environment [...]" (645), where nature is a determining aspect in the articulation of national identity as the "naturalization of the nation" (ibid.)⁶⁰. This correlation between environment and socio-cultural structures based on the notions of *mestizaje* highlights how descent and place of birth still play an important role in articulating nation and shaping national consciousness.

Multiculturalism and cultural diversity are the new keywords of the national narrative and warrant a more inclusive and tolerant community while reproducing the underlying historically grown relations between race, place and culture. This becomes evident in

⁵⁹ Greene (2007) refers here to the different politico-cultural representations divided into concepts of the Andean, Amazonian and Afro-Peruvian (443).

⁶⁰ Based on his analysis of the role of the Alps in Swiss nationalism, he distinguishes between two concepts, the naturalisation of the nation - already mentioned - and the nationalisation of nature. Latter describes the case where "[...] popular historical myths, memories, and supposed national virtues are projected into a significant landscape in an attempt to lend more continuity and distinctiveness to [...] national identity" (Zimmer 1998: 643). The main difference between these two processes is, as Kaufmann (1998) explains, the directionality of causation. While Kaufmann focuses on a different region, the North American continent, he uses the same approach as Zimmer. Not surprisingly, they published a paper together: Kaufmann and Zimmer (1998).

the national branding campaigns⁶¹ and the discourse of Peruvianness promoted by a group of chefs. The national branding campaigns of the last two decades, designed and published by PromPerú, have shaped this image actively, targeting international audiences and focusing strongly on the national audience to improve the image Peruvians had of themselves. One central aspect of the campaigns was Peruvian cuisine⁶², as a shared and shareable cultural expression and thus democratising practice because all can eat the same dishes, regardless of social or economic position. Peruvian food became a symbol of the nation, a reason for national pride, partly because it was promoted successfully as an internationally known brand. It was a proposal for an integrative and more just economy and society. Again, *mestizaje* is a central theme of this discourse. As Gastón Acurio, one of the most prominent Peruvian chefs and leading figure of this renewed Peruvianness, emphasises, *mestizaje* is the origin of Peru's greatness (Acurio 2011)⁶³ because many dishes result from the country's cultural diversity.

The relations between cultural and racial categories continue to shape Peru's social fabric and cultural expressions. Culture is often understood as a heritage rather than a set of practices, and the claims to legitimacy of representation and authenticity of expression are linked to descent. For example, only the new urbanites, descendants of the internal migrants in Lima, can authentically perform certain musical styles, such as urban huayno or cumbia. While the Andes remain a central reference, especially through the notion of *El Cholo*, the urban space has gained unprecedented importance as part of the national landscape. This is clearly illustrated by the song *Camina Bonito* from *La Nueva Invasión* I referred to earlier. A cumbia rhythm dominates the first half, the distorted electric guitar characteristic of cumbia music. The song's second half is

⁶¹ The leading researcher on national Branding in Peru is Gisela Cánepa Koch, who edited together with Felix Lossio Chavez the book "La Nación Celebrada. Marca país y ciudadanías en disputa" (The celebrated nation. Nation brands and disputed citizenship) in 2019, compiling articles discussing different aspects of the process of national branding in Peru.

⁶² The narrative of the first two videos published by PromPerú was of a group of Peruvian celebrities travelling to other countries sharing food, customs and music with the locals.

⁶³ Acurio (2015) understands cuisine as an instrument to build and achieve a more just and inclusive society by providing the means to articulate a "[...] solid industry, where everyone, from the beginning to the end of the chain [of production] feels part of it and, more important, feels that they can make their dreams a reality. [...] In Peruvian cuisine, we don't compete; we share" (Acurio 2011).

a huayno rhythm, and the melody is played with *quena* and *charango*, both instruments that are associated with the Andes. Not only does the music change, but also the theme of the lyrics. The song's first section references the hardship the new urbanites faced by linking it musically to the urban space – as a symbol of contemporary *mestizaje* and multiculturalism – through the cumbia rhythm and distorted guitar melody. The song's second half is dominated by the collective chanting of the phrase “*Naciendo la esperanza del nuevo Perú*” (The hope of the new Peru being born). It is a proclamation of the beginning of a new national future, musically linked to the Andean space – reproducing notions of historic grandness (the Inca narrative) and of authentic cultural heritage (heirs of the Incas) – through an Andean rhythm and the sounds of *quena* and *charango*. The musicians express these notions through musical paraphrasing and direct textual references in the lyrics. This is one example of how notions of *mestizaje* and the Andean topos are still engrained in the debate about who, when and where the Peruvian community is imagined.

Discussion

Throughout this chapter, I argued how a musical live performance is a means to articulate and re-articulate the nation, illustrating how it is a social space affording participation in the processes of (re)producing and co-articulating the imagined community by providing the time and a space to imagine, negotiate and convey notions of the (ideal) community. The concert is a means to articulate and re-articulate the nation because it provides a frame within which community can be imagined, negotiated and experienced by the participants. The musical performance provides elements, signs and references to express notions of self and of social values. What I argue is that the role of musical live performance is comparable to Anderson's (2016) examples of the census, map and museum in the articulation of national narratives because it provides both a frame and a grammar for this process, as well as elements – in this case, musical elements rather than paintings or numbers – through which the nation can be imagined, negotiated and conveyed. Musical elements, such as the lyrics, rhythms or melodies and their combinations, are ways of paraphrasing, quoting and alluding to cultural, historical and social references. Other aspects of the concert are also forms of paraphrasing, for instance, the way musicians and audience dance, dress, move in the space, interact and relate to each other. Musical paraphrasing allows the participants to participate in the articulation and (re)production of the imagined community.

This argumentation is based on the assumption that the imagined community is brought into social existence through interactions and everyday life practices and routines. In this case, musical practices and the interactions and relations afforded by them. The nation is more than just “cognitive sketches resting in the minds of people” (Olsen 2010: 5). It is a set of practices, routines, relationships and the understanding of the world resting and revolving around those sketches. The national narratives define who, how and where the national community should be. As Fox and Miller-Idriss (2008) articulate it, the nation is “[...] a culturally available schema that can be discursively deployed to make sense of other topics of talk, explain predicaments and order social difference” (540). Nationhood is the everyday practice of the nation, the

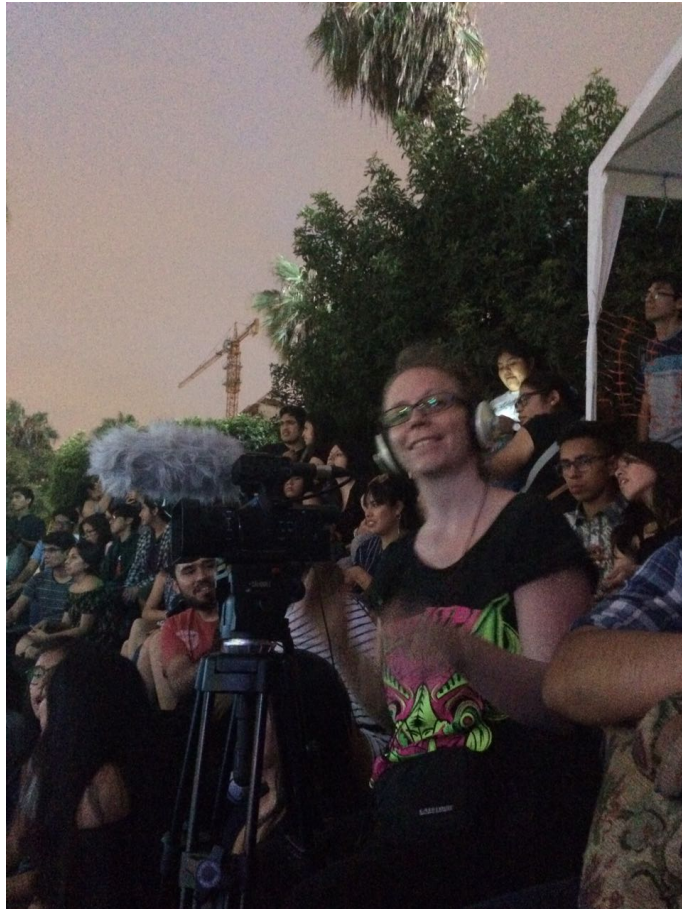
constant participation through our activities in the articulation and (re)production of the categories of the nation. It is how we interpret and appropriate the nation's narratives, values and categories and make them part of our life world.

Looking at musical performances, for instance, the performance of the song *Camina Bonito* from *La Nueva Invasión* I used in this chapter as a vignette, provides insights into how the imagery of the nation is put into practice in everyday life. The song, the lyrics and the combination of musical elements and instruments, as well as its performance, the way it is sung and the participation of the audience, is an example of how musical paraphrasing, borrowing, reinterpreting and appropriating facilitates and aids the expression – and virtual experience – of a multicultural, diverse and inclusive imagined community. The song also illustrates how the Andean topos and the notion of *mestizaje* – disguised as cultural diversity and multiculturalism – remain central concepts through which the Peruvian nation is imagined, its limits delineated and the conditions of belonging defined. As discussed in this chapter, Latin American nationalisms are shaped by notions of descent and race. Peru is no exception. While the emergence of elite nationalism has its roots in the colonial reign, historical research suggests that a more pronounced national consciousness only emerged after the independence wars during the founding and settlement of the new republics throughout the continent. Initially preoccupied with rooting the nation historically and positioning it in the world of forming nations, the Creole elites continued to use the Inca empire as a reference, articulating the dualistic conceptualisation of Peru. Throughout Peruvian history, this dualistic notion has changed, adapted, and shifted, but it remained the underlying concept shaping the perspective of the articulation of Peruvianness to the present day. *Mestizaje* – first understood as racial mixing and later promoted as cultural hybridity – is intertwined with the dualistic perspective and grounded in the notions of descent. It provided the grounds to justify the exclusive social hierarchies and notions of legitimacy, especially of claims to political representation and participation through cultural authenticity, determined by descent.

Before delving into the analysis and discussion, I will explain my research design, methods and methodology in the next chapter. Following this, I explore the production

and performance of music, discussing six bands from *La Escena Independiente* to describe and understand how community is imagined, negotiated and conveyed through music practices.

Searching the sound of Peruvianness



In this chapter, I discuss my research design, the methodology and the methods applied to gather and analyse the data used to explore, describe and understand how music performance is a means to articulate and re-articulate the nation where all participants re-produce and co-articulate the imagined community. To achieve this, I designed an inductive research strategy informed by two methodological approaches: Grounded Theory Method and ethnography. Grounded Theory Method, as understood by Charmaz (2014), provides “[...] a frame for qualitative inquiry and guidelines for conducting it” (14), assuming that data collection and data analysis take place “[...] simultaneously in an iterative process” (ibid.: 15). In contrast to previous approaches to grounded theory, Charmaz explicitly states that neither data nor theories are discovered because the articulation of a theory is informed by the researchers “[...] past and present involvements and interactions with people, perspectives, and research practices” (Charmaz 2006: 10). Grounded Theory Method then is a broad frame highlighting the alternation between data collection and analysis as well as the importance of a constant dialogue between fieldwork and theoretical considerations. Both approaches, ethnography and Grounded Theory Method, complement each other while allowing for a critical and dynamic engagement with the participants and the data, highlighting how the researcher’s perspective, experience and knowledge shape the research. I will elaborate on my approach to ethnography in the first section of this chapter.

The structure of the chapter mirrors the rationale of my research design and my approach to the fieldwork. First, I elaborate briefly on my understanding of ethnographic fieldwork and how it changed and shaped my research design, resulting in a three-stage research strategy. Following this, I critically describe and discuss each research stage and the inductive approach. I then illustrate my analysis process, and in the last section, I reflect on my positionality and ethical considerations concerning this research.

Point of departure: research design and strategy

The point of departure of the research strategy is the ethnographic assumption that “[...] researchers must first discover *what* people actually do and the reasons they give for doing it before trying to interpret their actions” (LeCompte & Schensul 2010: 2; highlights in original). While designing the research at the beginning of my PhD journey, I understood ethnography first and foremost as a set of research practices highlighting the researcher’s participation—in varying degrees—in a lifeworld through observations, interviewing and/or collaborative methods. O'Reilly (2011) describes ethnography as

a practice that evolves in design as the study progresses; involves direct and sustained contact with human beings, in the context of their daily lives, over a prolonged period of time; draws on a family of methods, usually including participant observation and conversation; respects the complexity of the social world; and therefore tells rich, sensitive and credible stories. Ethnography should be informed by a theory of practice that: understands social life as the outcome of the interaction of structure and agency through the practice of everyday life; examines social life as it unfolds, including looking at how people feel, in the context of their communities, and with some analysis of wider structures, over time; also examines, reflexively, one’s own role in the construction of social life as ethnography unfolds; and determines the methods on which to draw and how to apply them as part of the ongoing, reflexive practice of ethnography (3).

The methods I associated initially with ethnography are participative observations and interviewing, reproducing uncritically the notion that “[...] ethnographic researchers learn through systematic observation in the “field” by interviewing and carefully recording what they see, hear and observe people doing” (LeComptes and Schensuls 2010: 2).

During fieldwork, nonetheless, I quickly realised that this notion is rather shortsighted because it focuses on the ‘seeing’ and the ‘hearing’ as the primary means to gather and understand knowledge. While not a new critique and vastly discussed in scholarly literature, it was a new perspective for me, having no previous training or

knowledge about ethnography and ethnographic methods. Doing fieldwork during concerts of various musical styles, in changing venues and times of the day, with diverse audiences made me realise that to understand better how notions of imagined community are negotiated and conveyed, I needed to go beyond the hearing and seeing. Not only musical practices but also the experiences during a live musical performance form part of this process, from the experience of the proximity of bodies, the emotions experienced and expressed, the smell of stale beer and cigarettes, the vibrations of the music or moments of stillness and quiet contemplation. Considering these aspects, Pink's (2015) notion of sensory ethnography¹ seems more adequate. She defines it as: "[...] a reflexive and experiential process through which academic and applied understanding, knowing and knowledge are produced" (4). In an earlier publication, Pink (2007) elaborates: "Rather than a method for the collection of data, ethnography is a process of creating and representing knowledge (about society, culture and individuals) that is based in ethnographers' own experiences" (22). With this in mind, I attempt to illustrate my experiences, sensations, thoughts and emotions during fieldwork and analysis throughout this chapter when discussing the specific methods I applied for data collection and analysis. Nonetheless, I want to clarify that while the notion of sensory ethnography informs how I make sense of the information gathered, the knowledge acquired, and the experiences made, it did not inform the initial research design or the research strategy. This only illustrates how my initial ideas and notions shifted and changed during fieldwork and the analysis through the dialogue between the implementation of methods and theoretical and methodological considerations.

Based on the methodological considerations, I decided to implement three research methods for the data collection: cartography, participative observations - using a notebook and a video camera - and semi-structured interviews. While the observations and interviews provide insights into the actions and interactions in the lifeworld analysed, cartography offers insights into the placeness and situatedness of those actions and interactions. During my research, it became clear that not only the physical

¹ For a short history about anthropological concern with the senses, their representation and perception see Howes (2016).

place where a music performance takes place is relevant—as well as the space where a music world is enacted—but also the way the music, its performance and the musical practices are situated within a cultural space: the *imaginario* (imaginary) of space. In the case of *La Escena Independiente*, the *imaginario* of the urban space of Lima (as described in Chapter 1). Based on these considerations, my research strategy accounts for three stages of fieldwork, seeking an inductive and explorative approach. During each stage, I implemented different methods and narrowed down the research site and focus of the research. Each stage focuses on specific aspects of musicking and musical practices: the placeness of musical performance and music worlds, the music performed, the audiences' behaviour and the process of music creation and production to inform the discussion from different perspectives.

During the first stage, I explore the music worlds of Lima and their distribution in the urban space through the cartography of a map illustrating live music events. The resulting map grounds the research within the urban space of Lima. It provides a valuable tool for delimiting the research site and the music world to focus on, especially in combination with the exploratory observations of live music performances of varying musical styles. Based on the knowledge I acquired during this stage, I decided to focus on the music world of *La Escena Independiente*.

In the second stage, I aim to explore and describe how the participants engage during music performance in the re-production and co-articulation of the imagined community through musical practices. The primary method is participative observation, where I assumed two roles: first, as an audience member taking notes, and second, as a filmmaker becoming part of the staff. This allowed me to experience the live musical performance from two different perspectives.

Lastly, during the third stage of fieldwork, I focus on understanding the motivations for and justification of the imaginings conveyed by the musicians. The principal method is semi-structured interviews with selected musicians from *La Escena Independiente*.

These three stages are designed as a sequence but overlap and inform each other during fieldwork. Nonetheless, it was helpful to have this strategy laid out and fall back

to when getting overwhelmed during fieldwork or excited about all I was learning and discovering, sometimes losing sight of my research aim.

The structure of this chapter is based on the research strategy, discussing the methods I implemented during fieldwork (sections 1 to 3), focusing on the challenges I encountered and how these affected the research, both in terms of the data collection process and the data analysis. It illustrates the inductive and exploratory approach, starting with my journeys throughout Lima for the cartography of events, followed by the different methods and experiences during the observations of various concerts and, lastly, the interviews with musicians. Throughout this chapter, I will insert descriptions from my fieldwork, using them as vignettes to illustrate my activities. More importantly, I will describe shifts and changes in my perspective and understanding of how live music performance is a means to imagine the nation. In sum, this chapter is about what I did and about what I learned by doing it.

In section four, I elaborate briefly on the data analysis informed by the Grounded Theory Method using initial coding of the interviews, concert transcripts and ethnographic writing as a way to reflect on the data, relying on my field notes and the audio-visual material I gathered. In the fifth section, I discuss ethical considerations and highlight some aspects of my position in the field. Overall, I aim to highlight my learning process and how doing fieldwork for the first time was a process of acquiring “embodied knowledge” (O’Reilly 2011: 99) – understood as the “knowledge that becomes part of who we are” and encompassing sensory, emotional experiences and acquired skills – not only as a participant in the field but also as a female researcher and an individual taking part in the imagining of community.

Exploring the music worlds of Lima through cartography

The first stage of my fieldwork aimed to explore the music worlds of Lima and provide a sense of where music was performed. For this, I collected information about concerts both online and in the streets of Lima, taking pictures of posters and banners and then using cartography to analyse and illustrate the distributions of the music worlds in the city. Throughout this section, I describe my approach to and some reflection on music cartography², the relation between music and urban space, and the distribution of music in Lima.

The musical styles advertised using posters and banners are predominantly cumbia, Andean music (traditional and contemporary huayno) and salsa. While cumbia is performed primarily in the city's North, Andean music is performed mainly in the East and South. At the same time, salsa, on the other hand, is almost exclusively performed in the South of Lima³. These music worlds do not expand to the central part of the city, as map 3 illustrates (on page 129).

To collect part of the data for the map, I would travel by car throughout the city and photograph posters and banners (see images 22 and 23 on page 130 and Appendix 4). Based on these images, I developed a database containing information on the events, including the artists or bands performing, the title or theme of the event, the date⁴, location, venue name and sometimes the musical styles⁵. While initially, I aimed to avoid categorising the data. It became clear that to create a map illustrating the distributions of the music worlds in the urban space of Lima, articulating categories based on musical styles was inevitable. Thus, I started researching how the bands denominate themselves, defining categories to cross-reference with the event

² Several studies use cartography or geolocated information to discuss the relationship between space and music, for example, Cohen's approach to mapping music in Liverpool (Cohen 1998; 2012a; 2012b; 2012c; 2015). See also Lashua (2011), Lashua et al. (2014), Lashua et al. (2019), Rochow and Stahl (2017), Toso (2017) and Klement and Strambach (2019).

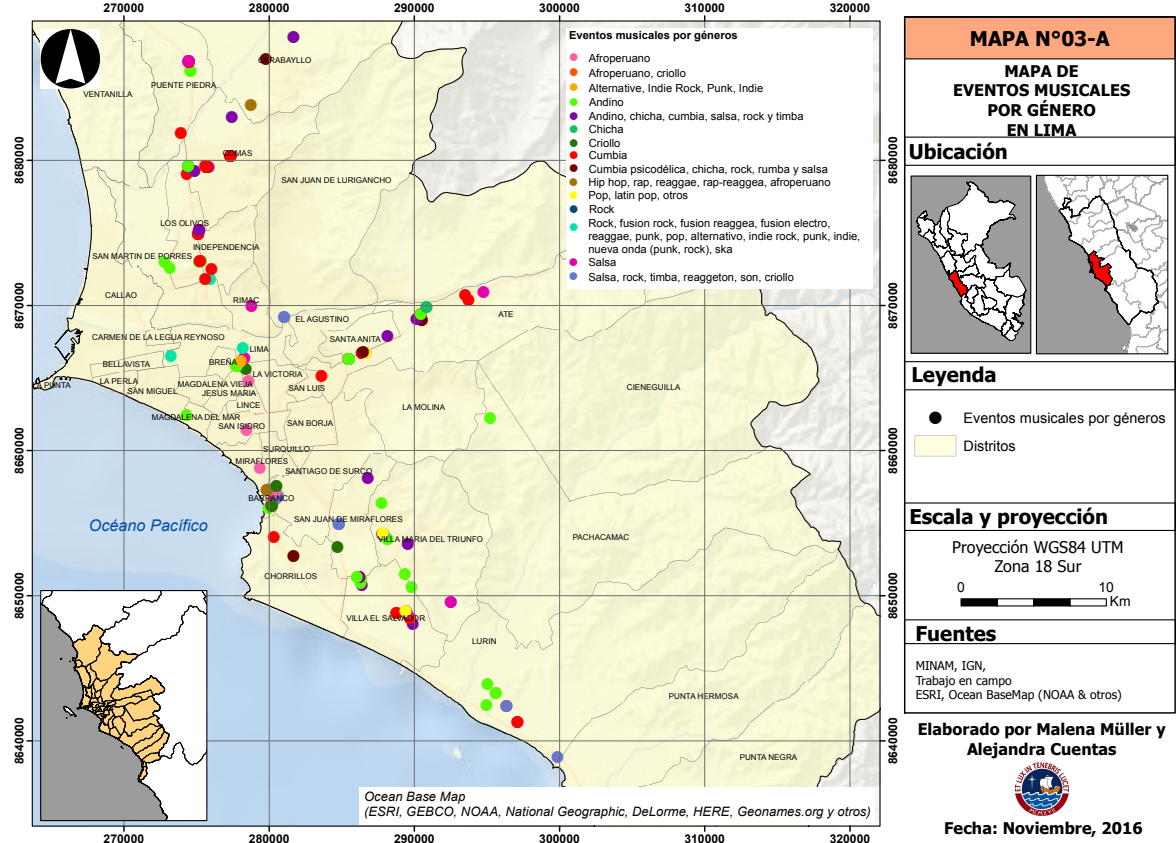
³ For the outline of the four areas of Lima, see the map in Chapter 1.

⁴ I collected this data between National Holiday (29th of July) 2015 and National Holiday 2016, focusing on dates with high event density (New Year, Labour Day and Halloween). Nevertheless, I collected more data afterwards.

⁵ While in some cases, this was explicitly named, in most cases, I deduced this from the bands and artist performing.

database. This allowed me to categorise all the bands and artists, even those who did not explicitly name a musical style by association or comparison. For this, I relied on the information published on the official Facebook pages of the bands and artists, assuming that either the musicians themselves or their management used the platform as a tool for self-representation. While I attempted initially to do the mapping myself (experimenting with different applications and software), I quickly realised I needed the technical expertise of a cartographer and, more importantly, support in the organisation of the data to create an understandable map. Through my network, I met Alejandra Cuenta, a cartographer from *Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú*, who supported the data set's organisation. She also elaborated the final map in ArcGIS, a cartography software.

Map 3: Spatial distribution of live performance of cumbia, Andean music and salsa in Lima



Source: own data, elaborated by Alejandra Cuenta

Image 22: Concert advertisement at the crossroads of Carretera Central and Javier Prado



Source: author, 05.26.2018

Image 23: Concert advertisement next to a street kitchen



Source: own archive, 11.17.2015

One major challenge in elaborating the data set was finding the exact locations of the venues named on the posters and banners in the form of coordinates. While they often name the venue, in most cases, they lack an address, only referencing certain places and landmarks, such as bus stations, shopping malls or crossroads. And even if the poster or banner specified an address, these are often difficult to locate to obtain the coordinates needed for the map⁶. This might be related to the type of venues where many events take place: parking lots, sports yards, empty lots, rooftops or commercial venues. It also gives an insight into how the knowledge of the locations of the venues is presumed within these music worlds. Outsiders—both from the music world and the neighbourhood—might not know the venue’s location in front of a bus station, bank, or crossroads in a district they do not frequent. Without insider knowledge, access is limited. This observation informed my decision to use the concept *music world* (I discussed this in Chapter 2) for the analysis (rather than the music scene) because it more accurately describes my observation that there are networks of people and places revolving around a musical style.

Based on the information from the posters and banners, the map illustrates the location of just some of Lima’s music worlds, albeit the most commercially successful ones⁷ (cumbia, traditional and urban huayno and salsa). Other music worlds rely less on posters and banners and use digital platforms, mainly social media and ticket-selling sites, to advertise the events. Consequently, I did a parallel online search around the dates during the tours I did throughout Lima. The findings from my online search suggest that the advertisement strategies vary between music worlds, including the type of venues and their location. The primary sources for information I reviewed were the official Facebook pages of events and bands and the homepages of the two major ticket sellers: JoinnUs and Teleticket. Each event is advertised with details about the address, seating, date and, in contrast to the posters and banners, the hours and the pricing. The musical styles advertised online vary, including rock, pop, punk,

⁶ I used Google Maps to search addresses and venues and obtain the locations’ coordinates. The Street View function was beneficial during this search. There were several difficulties: often repeated street names throughout the city, different spelling, the use of unofficial or outdated names or the common name differs from the official street name, etc.

⁷ As discussed in Chapter 1 these are in the first place cumbia, traditional and urban huayno and salsa.

folklore, salsa, cumbia (mainly foreign), cover bands⁸ and symphonic concerts. Similar to the case of street advertisement, access to these events also depends on specific knowledge of how to use these platforms. More importantly, it relies on access to the internet and formal banking (debit or credit card) to pay for the ticket. Tickets are also sold at the venue's entrance, but there is the risk that the event will be sold out, or one has to be several hours early and cue to secure admission.

Translating the relationship between music and space into a map provides a sense of its location within the city. Nonetheless, without a broader understanding of the sociocultural fabric of the city, the different urban spaces and how they relate, overlap or exclude each other—as well as the economic structures and political hierarchies—the map is merely an abstract depiction and connection of dots in the urban space of Lima. As Leyshon, Matless, and Reville (1998; in Lashua et al. 2014) elaborate on their geographical approach to music:

a richer sense of geography highlights the spatiality of music and the mutually generative relations of music and place. Space produces as space is produced. To consider the place of music is not to reduce music to its location, to ground it down into some geographical baseline, but to allow a purchase on the rich aesthetic, cultural, economic and political geographies of musical language. (3)

The contextualised map provides insights into how the reference to spaces and places is culturally constructed. As I pointed out earlier, depending on the form of advertisement (posters or online platforms), musical style and location of the venue within the city, the description of the location varies. While the references on the posters and banners rely on landmarks—requiring specific insider knowledge of the place—the online references use street names and numbers and sometimes provide links to a virtual map. The way the venues are referenced coincides with the different areas of Lima, marking a clear difference between the central part of Lima: the old, middle-class town, place of the government, centre of formal business with legal and mapped addresses, and the rest of the city. These newer areas have grown as the

⁸ Cover bands and events form a music world in itself, with many cover bands and events called *tributos* (tributes) in honour of internationally known bands and musicians.

result of reversed urbanism (discussed in more detail in Chapter 1). Street names and house numbers are organised differently, sometimes unmapped or nonexistent. In some parts, the streets, blocks and houses are numbered using a combination of numbers and letters together with a name for the urbanisation (an urbanist unit between district and neighbourhood). These observations provide insight into the different ways of perceiving and moving through the city, highlighting the sociocultural differences within the urban space.

Cartographic representations are central to imagining the national community, as Anderson (2016) pointed out. More recent approaches to the relationship between nation and cartography understand "[...] maps not as fixed, ideological texts but as unstable entities performed and experienced in everyday life through processual, relational, performative, phenomenological, and material modes" (Rossetto and Lo Presti 2022: 7). In the same special issue of *Dialogues in Human Geography*⁹ Boria (2022) argues, that the relation between nation and cartography is characterised mainly by two features: "firstly, the two terms are closely interconnected, with consequent inevitable cross-contamination between the respective disciplinary fields; secondly, the study of this relationship has long been monopolized by the critical approach" (28). He continues arguing that to think of a nation without cartography is almost inconceivable, as territory is intrinsically linked to its legitimisation. Equally, cartography cannot be understood as a non-national medium. The second feature Boria (2022) lists is also pointed out by Rossetto and Lo Presti (2022), referring to a long tradition of critical analysis of the map as a tool of national homogenisation and simplification, ignoring its potential positive or constructive use. This discussion seeks to highlight the need to understand the map not just as a top-down representation of the nation and pre-defined categories but as a way of understanding and analysing people's everyday experience of nationhood and articulation of nation.

The maps I developed for this research aim to illustrate some aspects of the musical practices within the urban space of Lima, in other words, people's actions and

⁹ This special issue presents and discusses Rossetto and Lo Presti's proposition for a new approach to the analysis of the relationship between nation and cartography, the "everyday cartographic nationhood" (6), defining it as the "[...] dialogue between cartography and everyday nationhood studies" (ibid).

interactions. Moreover, they illustrate the relationship between music and space in relation to movements and interactions within the urban space. Nonetheless, my maps are somewhere between cartographies of everyday activities and movements (for example, using mental maps) and the official cartographic representations of space because the information I gathered is just one layer on the already existing map of Lima. But as I discussed here, these representations of space might not be how the people moving through this space envision and experience it. Furthermore, as with any map, my map is a translation and summary of knowledge about urban space and culture into a picture, useful for my research purposes but not necessarily relevant for those moving through the space and participating in the music worlds depicted. This raises the question of the relevance of the map as an essential means through which a nation is imagined, as Anderson (2016) argues, in a society with different notions of space and place to those commonplace in industrialised countries, where maps are a more common way of understanding and relating to space.

Although my mapping of the music events and venues—and consequently the music worlds—is not exhaustive and did not directly inform the final analysis, it was important for determining and delimiting my fieldwork in three ways. First, it provided a valuable tool to understand the spatial distribution of the music worlds. Second, it provided me with enough background knowledge to identify the music worlds I could gain access to and would be able to participate and move in freely without significant concerns for my safety. I discuss this in more detail in the section about positionality. Another concern evident through this process is mobility, such as how to get to a venue and return late at night. Third, I gained an overview of the musical styles and practices of the different music worlds within the city, which proved helpful in understanding the musical and cultural references made by the bands and musicians of *La Escena Independiente*. Considering these aspects, I decided to focus my research on Central Lima as the area where I would start conducting explorative observations. Through the map and map-making process, I could embed my decision in the urban space of Lima – its physical and social fabric – and simultaneously consider theoretical considerations.

In the following section, I discuss the next stage of my research, the observations (highlighting the different approaches to observations I applied) and how my understanding of this method shifted.

What is going on here? Participative observations in live musical performances

In this section, I focus on the design and implementation of participative observations as an ethnographic method, discussing how my understanding and approach shifted with growing experience to highlight ethnographic research's "iterative-inductive" (O'Reilly 2011: 102) character. O'Reilly (2011) states that ethnographic fieldwork is a constant "[...] moving back and forth between foreshadowed problems and theory grounded in data and does not usually decide exactly what the focus of research is until near the end" (102). The research strategy I designed accounts for this by gradually narrowing down the perspective, starting with the map of the music worlds, gaining a broad overview looking at the city as a whole, followed by the first observations, which aim to explore different music worlds and practices to decide on the research site and focus. After determining the research site and music world to focus on, I experimented and engaged in participative observations by finding and defining my role as a filming researcher. The different approaches and stages in the field often overlapped, and the different experiences informed my next steps, including the interviews (which I discuss in the next section).

At the initial phase of my fieldwork, I had no clear notion yet of which aspects of the live musical performance, beyond the music, lyrics and specific aspects of the performance on stage (for example, clothing and decoration), are part of the process of imagining community. With this in mind, the initial exploratory observations have served two purposes: first, to develop and test my approach to observations, and second, to narrow down the music world based on the musical practices and considerations of access and feasibility (also informed by the knowledge gained through the mapping of the music events described earlier).

Parallel to the search of events for mapping out the music worlds of Lima, I started looking for events I could attend using mainly Facebook and the ticket-selling platforms (*JoinnUs* and *Teleticket*) as sources because they are the main channels used for advertisement by the music worlds located in the central part of Lima, the site of my

research¹⁰. Using social media as a source of information is not straightforward and must be used cautiously. To obtain the information, I had to 'feed' Facebook's algorithm enough data about my preferences by liking and following bands, musicians, artists, venues, and fan clubs, becoming a member of the private fan club pages, liking event pages and 'attending' events, even past ones, so the algorithms of my Facebook account would consider my 'new' interest and show upcoming events. While I added and was added by musicians and other artists as 'friends', gaining access to their pages, I have not used them as data sources because the availability and the easy access to information on social media do not necessarily imply the consent of its use and it "[...] does not mean it is fair game for capture and release to all [...]" (Zimmer 2010: 323). Instead, I focused on the information and references published on the official pages, especially the self-description and images, assuming that the information on the bands' and musicians' official Facebook pages is intended for the public and serves as a way to (re)present themselves and their musical project to the public¹¹. Consequently, these pages are a very interesting source for understanding how musicians want to present themselves and their musical persona. Nevertheless, the information on the bands' pages must also be used cautiously because there is no clear author or publication date. In some cases, the information was outdated. For example, the list of band members would include musicians who were no longer part of the cast while failing to mention the new members. Consequently, I used Facebook in the first place as a tool to find events and network with some of the musicians, but it was not a central source of data for the analysis.

The rationale behind the selection of events reflects my inductive and explorative approach by first determining the music worlds I would exclude and which ones I would explore further (based on the map and initial observations). The music worlds and spaces I excluded are folklore shows—targeted mainly at tourists—and large

¹⁰ Other media, such as radio, TV, newspapers or magazines, play a marginal role in advertising the events I was searching for. In contrast to the cumbia and Andean music worlds, which have their radio stations, pivotal for the distribution of the music and the advertisement of events, and their magazines (for a tentative list of radio stations and some examples of magazine covers see Appendix 5)

¹¹ There is a vast literature discussing the use and impact of Facebook for social research. For a first overview, see Di Capua (2012), Wilson et al. (2012), Caers et al. (2013), Kosinski et al. (2015), Knautz and Baran (2016) and Quinn (2020).

international and national festivals such as *Vivo X El Rock*¹² or *Alternativo*¹³, concerts of cover bands¹⁴ and cumbia and Andean music events. In the case of the cumbia and Andean music worlds, an additional factor was that they are located outside the area I determined as my research site through the mapping. Each event I attended during this stage was part of narrowing down the music world I would focus on. Considerations concerning access and feasibility influenced the final decision to focus on *La Escena Independiente*.

Other factors are the musical practices the participants engage in and the explicit notions about Peruvianness they convey and (re)present. I was especially intrigued by the fact that the music world *La Escena Independiente* revolves around a shared set of values and conventions, for instance, the notion of *autogestión* (self-management) (discussed previously in Chapter 1), rather than a shared musical style and taste. Despite the differences between the bands and their musical projects, they consider themselves part of the same music world. Another intriguing aspect was that this music world is embedded in a cultural movement involving graphic designers and artists who share the notion of using their art to convey how they envision community and its values. In other words, they use and understand their art as a means to imagine the nation. Another important aspect was that *La Escena Independiente* created a space where the bands, artists, designers and audiences could come together: *La Feria Peru Independiente* (Independent Peru Fair). Here, I gained access to musicians, sound technicians, and artists, attended several concerts and learned about the dynamics within this music world.

During these initial observations, I attend a variety of concerts: a heavy metal festival in the *Parque de la Muralla* (a public park in the historic city centre), the show *Retablo* in the *Gran Teatro Nacional del Perú* (Great National Theatre of Peru); an adaptation of Creole music by the *Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional* (National Symphonic

¹² *Vivo X El Rock* (I live for rock) is a one-day festival organised once a year starring national and international bands taking place in Lima.

¹³ *Alternativo* (Alternative) is a one-day yearly festival starring various national musicians and bands representing different musical styles in Lima.

¹⁴ There is a demand for cover bands and music venues, discos and bars over regular so-called tribute events, where cover bands will perform. These bands cover mainly North American and European bands.

Orchestra), at the same theatre; and several concerts at music bars. One such concert was by the band *Uchpa*, a blues rock band singing in Quechua at *La Noche de Barranco*. Another was by *Novalima*, a band reinterpreting Afro-Peruvian music traditions by combining them with electronic music at *Sargento Pimienta*¹⁵. Initially, I focused on observing rather than participating, standing or sitting in the back to overlook the whole venue, taking notes, taking pictures, and making audio recordings and short videos with my phone¹⁶. This approach had some practical challenges. Taking notes was difficult in the dark. It often involved being pushed by a dancing audience member. It also provided a somewhat limited understanding of the events. Moreover, I felt I was disturbing and intruding on the activities in some events through my stillness and uncommon behaviour in jotting down observations. Only later did I understand how this provided insight into the dynamics and relationships during concerts. As Emerson et al. (2011) point out:

Relationships between the field researcher and people in the setting do not so much disrupt or alter ongoing patterns of social interaction as they reveal the terms and bases on which people form social ties in the first place. [...] Consequently, rather than viewing reactivity as a defect to be carefully controlled or eliminated, the ethnographer needs to become sensitive to, and perceptive about, how she is seen and treated by others (4).

To systemise my observations, I developed an observation sheet (see Appendix 7), which I filled out after the concerts, focusing on descriptive aspects of the venue, the audience and the performance on stage. The guide is divided into three themes: the venue, the organisation of the audience space, and the stage's characteristics. The first section, the venue, focuses on the structural aspects of the venues. For instance, the location within the city and the way it could be accessed, the type of building and

¹⁵ For a detailed list of all the events I attended for this research, including the pilot study I conducted during the first year of my PhD, see Appendix 6.

¹⁶ There was no explicit recording restriction in most places, and I was often not the only one recording with a device. Several of the concerts also took place in public places, especially parks. These recordings were strictly for this research and served as "aide-mémoire" (Zhang and Wildemuth 2017: 240) for myself and later for more detailed analysis after I transcribed the tapes. They were never published or shared in any way other than quotes from the transcripts in this thesis. I elaborate on this in more detail in the ethical discussion in this chapter.

the type of venue (for example, music bar, convention centre, theatre, public park¹⁷), decoration, sound and light equipment which belongs to the venue, etc. This section also includes a description of the audience space. Is the audience seated or not? Are food and drinks served, etc.? In the section concerned with the audience space, I focus on how the audience members interacted with each other, if there are different areas distinguishable by movement or stillness and if this varied depending on the moment of the performance (I will discuss this in detail in Chapter 6). The section about the performance on stage is a description of the overall characteristics of the event and music performance, including, for example, aspects like the type of event (solo concerts or festival) and how it is structured (considering its duration, sequence of songs, line up of bands, pauses and transitions between the bands), the musicians' clothing, the technical equipment, the instruments, decoration, lighting, moderators, etc. This proved helpful as a tool to identify patterns, reflect on what observations could inform which topic and simultaneously as a register of the events I attended. Having this kind of structure in my observations allowed me, with time, to shift my attention to other aspects of the events.

My approach to observations changed with growing experience and engagement in the field. I started understanding the “dialectical relationship” (O’Reilly 2011: 105) between participation and observation. But also, as O’Reilly argues, that participant observation is a “problematic term for a method” (ibid.) for two reasons. First, it is “not really a method on its own” (ibid) because it involves various activities and methods. My research, for example, involved note-taking, audio recording, filming, photographing, walking, standing still, dancing, singing, talking, drinking beer with the musicians during the afterparties and a lot of driving around the city and waiting¹⁸. Second, there is an “inherent tension” (ibid.: 106) in the notion of participant observation between the claim of objectivity and the researcher’s subjectivity. O’Reilly elaborates on this, arguing that observing “[...] involves getting involved, joining in,

¹⁷ These categories are based on how the venues are described and promoted on the official homepages (including those of the district’s municipalities in the case of the parks) or official Facebook pages.

¹⁸ I aimed to be at the venues as soon as they opened to observe the pre-concert activities, routines and movement. Consequently, I often spend several hours waiting for the musical performance to start.

being subjective, immerse yourself” (106). On the other hand, it “[...] involves being objective, keeping your emotional and perhaps physical distance, being scientific, clear eyed, unbiased, critical” (ibid). While at the beginning of my fieldwork, I was determined to document accurately and thoroughly, towards the end, I started to understand the importance of our sensory experiences as researchers and subjectivity to empathise and understand the other participant’s subjectivities and the resulting intersubjectivities.

Only after narrowing down the music world, I started filming. The decision to use the camera and audio recording as an instrument for data collection was based on the concern of how to record a live musical performance and create documents which would allow the analysis of the practices and interactions during these events (I discuss this in more detail later in this chapter). Admittedly, personal curiosity and desire to learn and apply audio-visual methods also influenced the decision to start filming. Before using audio-visual methods, I enrolled in three workshops to learn about documentary filmmaking and how it can aid research. The first workshop¹⁹ focused on how to implement documentary filmmaking for fieldwork. The second was on producing a documentary²⁰. The third is on editing and storytelling²¹. Through these workshops, I learned how to implement the camera as an instrument for fieldwork and later use the editing process for analytical purposes²².

Starting fieldwork, I felt very insecure and nervous about filming, questioning my ability and worrying about the technical aspects of the process. But I soon discovered how much I enjoyed filming and the possibilities it afforded me in the field, significantly how the relationships with the musicians changed. In my specific case, the concert participants were used to the presence of cameras, and the musicians sought visibility,

¹⁹ This workshop, the *F4F Summer School*, is organised by AllRitesReserved film production & education and takes place once a year at Futureworks, The Manchester School of Media. I attended in the summer of 2015.

²⁰ This workshop, *El otro documental* (The other documentary), was organised by *DocuPeru*, a non-profit organisation promoting using audio-visual methods to empower different groups. It is offered once a year, and I participated in the 2014 edition. It lasts a month and covers the history of documentary filming, some theoretical considerations, and the development of a short documentary.

²¹ This was the follow-up workshop in Manchester in 2018, again provided by AllRitesReserved film production & education in the form of a residency.

²² I edited a short documentary titled “The sound of Peru”.

which made my participation as a filmmaker acceptable. As soon as I started talking about my intention to make a short documentary, I gained access to spaces more easily: the concerts, the backstage area, the recording studios and the rehearsal rooms. Until then, my interview requests were mainly ignored, but participating as a documentary filmmaker allowed me to relate to the musicians and other members of the music world. My research topic also aided my requests because most participants were keen to tell me their notion of Peruvianness and its relation to music. Additionally, I offered the audio-visual material to the bands in case they were interested in using it as they saw fit²³.

Filming not only afforded me access but also required that I learn to act as a filming researcher or documentary filmmaker, overcoming insecurities, learning from mistakes, improvising, being flexible, and adapting to changing settings and situations. I learned to enact and perform my new role as a filming researcher: handling equipment, dressing appropriately and moving accordingly. When arriving at the location, I would first familiarise myself with the venue and setting. I usually arrived before the event's start, sometimes for the soundcheck and often in the company of one of the musicians. Hence, I was automatically part of the staff and did not have to explain myself to security or other musicians. Next, I would get my equipment ready, ensemble the camera²⁴, plug in the external microphone, attach the Tascam recorder and put on my belt with a large pocket where I had extra batteries, SD cards, some cash, toilet paper²⁵, a small notebook, a pen and my phone²⁶. Occasionally, these

²³ In two cases, the participants asked for the footage. First, Lucho Quintana, the then manager of *Eme*, wanted to use the footage for promotional videos for international festivals and showcases, for example, Womex. Second, Maria Laura and Alejandro asked for the footage of a specific concert to use the material in a new music video where they wanted to make a collage between concert footage and videos made by their fans all over the world of themselves singing a specific song (*De Tronco en Tronco*).

²⁴ For a detailed list of my equipment, see Appendix 8.

²⁵ Often in the backstage area, there was only one toilet, and very rarely, there was any paper. But the toilet paper was also helpful in cleaning up beer I got poured over or if I leaned on or held to something sticky.

²⁶ While this might seem trivial, these devices, digital and analogue, and the everyday items of fieldwork tell stories in themselves. But they equally shape our experience as researcher and the research. As Back (2010) argues: "[...] we should not rely on these techniques exclusively or automatically without thinking carefully about the analytical status given to accounts produced in this way. The challenge is not only to find new methodological techniques for attending to life, it also raises the question of how to

preparations led to curious questions and conversations, but often enough, I was just one of those involved in getting ready for the event. During my first attempts, I kept some distance while filming, moving around the premises with the camera and observing the reactions. Slowly, I would get closer, filming interactions, following some with the camera, trying to capture their movements through the space. With growing experience, I became more aware of the patterns and was able to think not only in terms of documenting what was in front of me but also started filming purposefully to obtain material for storytelling in the documentary. As Lawrence (2020) argues

A filmmaker must record images and sounds that both support and generate ideas. If certain grammatical shots are neglected while in the field then it may not be possible to create effective new sequences later on when editing. This is an important difference between filmmaking and writing, where it is much easier to elaborate on actuality at the writing up stage (25).

As a filming researcher, I found a role that allowed me to participate in the experience of others by engaging with musicians, staff and audience members through the relationships we build. The use of the camera impacted my understanding of the interactions, relationships and routines but also influenced how I was perceived. Møhl (2011) discusses the impact of the camera in the “[...] relational and epistemological processes of fieldwork [...]” (228). Her approach to audio-visual methods is grounded on two assumptions: first, the way the camera is used is not dictated by the “inherent qualities of the camera” (ibid.: 229) but “[...] inscribed within the relationships between people and their respective views on the world and one another” (ibid.). Second, using these methods is a “positive constraint [...] because it both expands and complicates the anthropological project” (ibid.) by altering the conditions of fieldwork considerably because the researchers' interest becomes visible and evident. Filming rarely goes unnoticed because “[...] the camera has the quality of constantly making explicit what constitutes its object - and thereby also the fact that it has an object” (ibid.: 230). This makes the researcher more vulnerable to rejection, Møhl continues, by giving up some

enliven and transform sociology itself and better communicate the results of our craft” (25).

of the control over her fieldwork and of the representational authority because of the selection of what is being observed and documented, thus the participants can react to it by determining “[...] whether they want to contribute to the process of representation, and with what is a kind of fluid process of constant negotiation and emergence” (ibid)²⁷. Moreover, Collaboration and participation are pivotal in this approach to fieldwork because “[...] the pictographic and sonorous sign elements are created in the instant of filming by all parties together, and note beyond the field, as the symbolic signs of the text usually are” (ibid.: 231). This fundamentally influences the production of knowledge, shifting from an observing and interpretative epistemological process towards an inherently “intersubjective process” (ibid). How and to which degree the participants influence the process and are empowered during fieldwork depends on how the camera is instrumentalised.

Pink (2007) discusses the possible usage of the camera as a way of producing knowledge in collaboration with the participants by using the audio-visual material during interactions with them. For example, discussing the produced material with them to learn about their view. Another possibility is using it as a prompt for interviews and focus groups. Yet another is letting them guide the recordings or hand over the camera and let them record their everyday lives or specific events or elaborate video diaries (105-10). Throughout her discussion, Pink highlights that “[w]hen we use video as a research method, we are not merely video-recording what people do in order to create visual data for analysis. Rather, we engage in a process through which knowledge is produced” (Pink 2007). In this research, I attempted to approach the music performance by observing and relating to participants through the camera rather than taking an active, participative role²⁸, seeking to film the events and interactions as they occurred without intervening purposefully, except for the interviews I conducted for the documentary.

²⁷ Larcher and Oxley (2015) also highlight the aspect of constant negotiation when using a camera for fieldwork in their discussion.

²⁸ For a more detailed discussion on the difference between observation and collaboration, see Lawrence (2020), Barabantseva and Lawrence (2015), Pink (2007).

Throughout this research stage, I narrowed down the research focus and site. The initial observations, the testing and experimenting with different modes of observation and degrees of participation and involvement led me to learn about doing fieldwork, its 'messiness', and how the decisions we make as researchers, our individuality, and our subjectivity shape and inform our quest to understand other peoples lives, actions, convictions and desires. We enter a space to purposefully and consciously engage in relationships with others, articulating a very particular and maybe even peculiar intersubjectivity. This is why I decided to focus in this chapter on my journey of learning about the relation between music and nation to highlight that what I am writing here is a consequence of how I understood it, how I perceived it and how people perceived me and learned about me. Together with the participants, we produced this knowledge about the role of music in the imagining of community. As one participant said after the interview, he enjoyed that my research interest and questions prompted him to think about his music, activities and personal history through a different lens. This thesis is my attempt to represent the knowledge we created in our collaborations during my fieldwork. In the following section, I discuss briefly how I approached the interviews with a selected group of musicians.

Let's talk: interviews about music, biography and much more

I decided to conduct semi-structured interviews to generate the data that responded to the aim of understanding the motivations and justifications for the imaginings conveyed by the musicians and their conceptualisation of music as a means to convey these imaginings. The semi-structured interview provides a “repertoire of possibilities” (Galletta 2013: 25) because it is “[...] sufficiently structured to address specific topics related to the phenomenon of study, while leaving space for participants to offer new meanings to the study focus” (ibid.). This approach to interviewing highlights the lived experiences of the respondents (ibid.: 45) by eliciting “generative narratives” (ibid.:48) through open-ended questions at the beginning of the interview, affording “[...] a way into the phenomenon of study as determined by the participant” (ibid.). The questions that follow focus on “[...] addressing theoretically driven variables of interest” (Ibid.: 24) informed by the previous open-ended questions and the theoretical considerations shaping the research. Similar to the earlier methods I applied (mapping and observations), my approach to developing the semi-structured interview guide and routine was explorative, allowing for constant adjustment and flexibility. Before conducting the first interview, I elaborated an interview guide with formulated questions. Still, after the first three interviews²⁹, I decided to change my strategy and work with a list of topics rather than a prepared guide. This is informed by the unstructured interview technique, as described by Zhang and Wildemuth (2017):

The researcher comes to the interview with no predefined theoretical framework and thus no hypotheses and questions about the social realities under investigation: rather, the researcher has conversations with interviewees and generates questions in response to the interviewees' narration (240).

While I used a list of topics, an “aide-mémoire” (ibid.), rather than formulated and written questions, I still consider my interviews to be semi-structured because the questions, although articulated during the interview, were deliberate, sequenced and

²⁹ The first interviews I conducted were with the members of *Olaya Sound System*, Fernando Castro from *La Nueva Invasión*, and Alejandro and Maria Laura from *Alejandro y Maria Laura*.

informed by my preexisting knowledge from the field as well as theoretical considerations. Working with a list provided great flexibility during the interview, allowing me to react to the respondents' narratives and reflections and the sequence of the topics if necessary. Sometimes, the respondent would narrate and provide information on a topic before I had the opportunity to ask about it. More importantly, the interviews gained a conversational character, allowing the respondents to "[...] describe and reflect upon his or her experiences in ways that seldom occur in everyday life" (Charmaz 2006:25). Additionally, I felt it was easier to gain the respondents trust and establish rapport, to the point that several remarked on how different the interview was from previous experiences (with researchers and journalists) because they enjoyed telling their story and reflecting on their biography and music practices in relation to identity and Peruvianness.

Before delving into the details of the interview topics, I want to briefly explain the rationale behind the interviewees' selection and their consent. The decision of which musicians to approach for an interview from the group of selected bands is informed by two aspects: first, researching interviews given by the bands or band members to different media; second, the structure of the band and the conceptualisation of the musical project. While some are permanent bands (*Barrio Calavera*, *La Nueva Invasión*, *Olaya Sound System* and *Tourists*), others work with changing casts, hiring musicians depending on the type and size of the event (Eme) and yet others work primarily with pre-recorded tracks only occasionally hiring or inviting musicians (Karolinativa). In the cases of the bands with a permanent cast, I aimed to approach the musicians with less media presence, such as the drummer, keyboarder or bass guitarist, because I observed that during interviews and conversations, those musicians with more media experience tended to repeat the same narratives and answers. Another somewhat technical aspect is access and the disposition of the interviewees to participate. Most of my interview requests were met with a great disposition of time and openness to talk by the musicians of *La Escena Independiente*,

as well as a good deal of curiosity about my work³⁰, especially after I started filming and had become a familiar face.

In most cases, the respondents decided on the location for the interview, which could be either their own home, the bands' practice room, the university campus (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú), coffee shops or my apartment on some occasions³¹. Again, this aimed to gain their trust and find a place where they felt comfortable and were quiet enough to talk and record the interview. Before starting the recording, I would explain the research topic briefly and that I required their consent, which consisted of five questions I asked at the beginning and recorded their answers (see the questions in Appendix 10). All interviewees gave permission and waved anonymity. In several cases, the interviewees were surprised about the need for explicit consent, and I had to explain the university's requirements and, more generally, ethical considerations for undertaking research. I highlighted that they could retract the information given and withdraw from the study at any moment, and if they were interested, I would grant access to the data gathered concerning them or their bands³². The cultural context and my preoccupation that signing a form could create tensions and maybe suspicion about the research and the use of the material gathered informed my decision to ask for oral consent rather than a signed form. Additionally, to the recorder, I used my notebook to make a few notes, mainly for follow-up questions during the interview³³.

The interview topics are organised in a sequence of broad themes that reflect the inductive approach, starting with open-ended questions to provide information on the musician – especially their sociocultural context and how they position themselves

³⁰ Before I decided to focus my research on this music world, I attempted to interview other musicians but did not get a response in most cases or was denied.

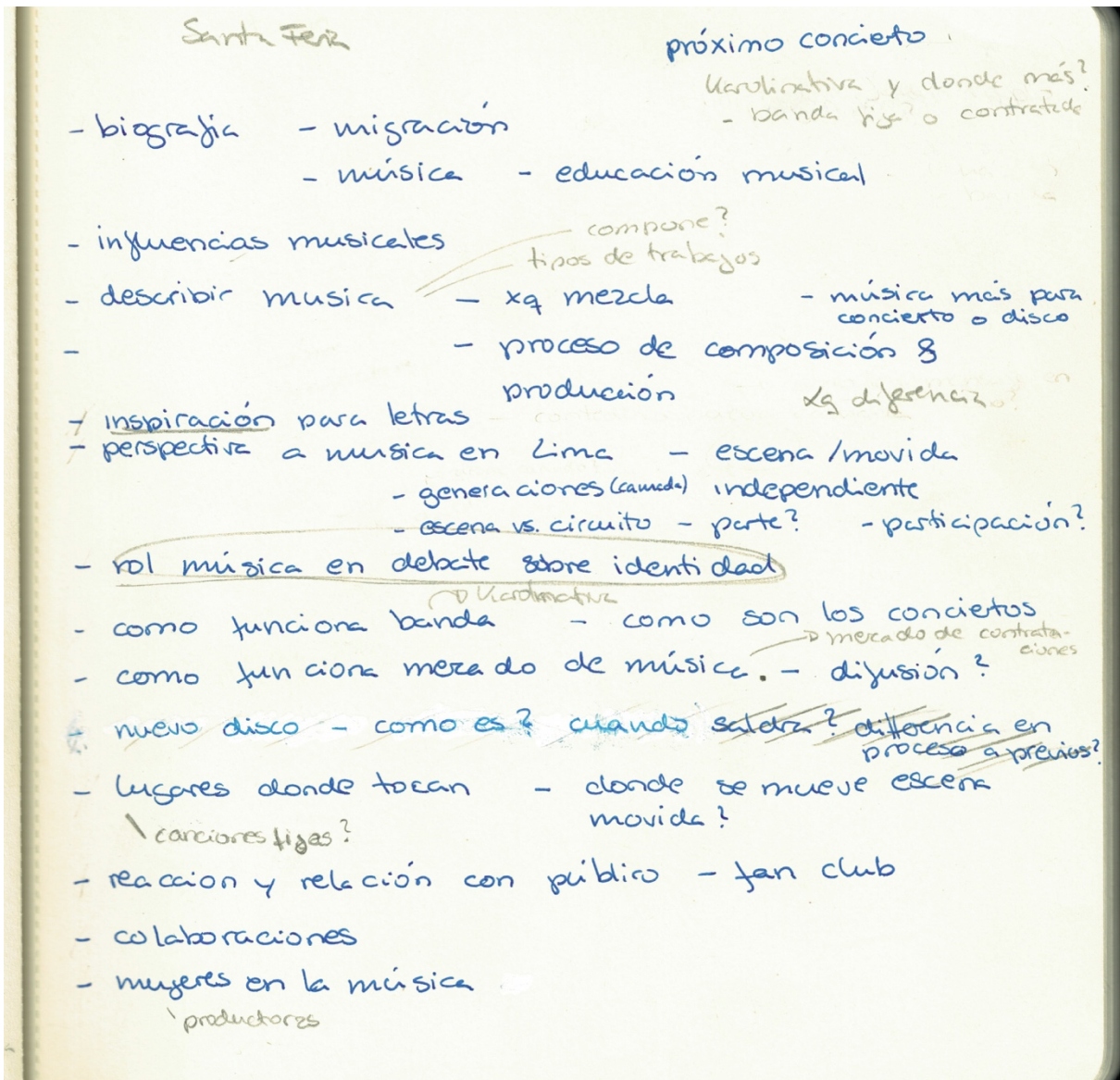
³¹ See a list of interviews in Appendix 9. In addition to the musicians, I interviewed several designers involved in the cultural movement around *La Escena Independiente*. A list of those interviews is also included in the appendix. Although I did not use them for the final analysis, they helped me understand the context better.

³² This included the interview recordings, transcripts, and audio-visual material I produced during my fieldwork.

³³ This is something I would do differently in retrospect. For example, my preoccupation with creating distance through a notebook limited some parts of my data collection process, especially concerning my thoughts, reflections and impressions during the interviews.

within it – and moving on to more specific questions about music practices, music market and the relationship between music and nation. After recording the questions for consent, I would ask about their biography, especially how they became musicians. This included aspects such as musical education, profession (other than as a musician), migrational context, musical influences and taste. The following theme revolved around their musical projects (structure, history, concept), especially how they would describe their music, the process of composing the music and writing the lyrics, and their source of inspiration. The following themes focus on their perspective and experiences with the music worlds and markets in Lima: how *La Escena Independiente* is or is not part of the music market, if they consider themselves part of *La Escena Independiente* and why, and where it is located within the urban space. This opened the ground to discuss *La Escena Independiente*, its characteristics and values, and the narratives and imaginaries conveyed by the participants. Here, I would follow up with the question about how they understand the role of music in articulating identity and community. As image 24 (on page 150) illustrates, some topics are crossed, some were added later, and the pencil marks show how I used the list during the interviews (I would cross the question when answered and ease the crossing before the next interview). The image also illustrates that the list evolved and changed with each interview. The questions at the end of the list are concerned with the venues they most frequently perform and the type of events (solo concerts, festivals, fairs); collaborations with other bands and musicians; their relation to the audience and fan clubs; new projects; and their reflections on why *La Escena Independiente*, and the Peruvian music market in general, is so strongly male-dominated. Although the list was thought of as a sequence of themes and topics, sometimes the interviewees would answer questions before I asked, intertwined with the often remarkably detailed narratives about their biography, experiences and reflections.

Image 24: Handwritten interview guide



Source: author

Reflecting on my interview approach, I still consider the semi-structured approach the most appropriate for this part of my inquiry because it elicited the information I needed to understand my observations in the field and make sense of my intuitions, reflections and confusions. The musicians' narratives and explanations produced during the interviews provided a valuable dimension to my analysis, grounding it in their lived experiences and thoughts about them. In retrospect, I would do some things differently, especially my hesitation regarding taking notes during the interviews –

which I feared would create distance between the musicians and me – and to be less shy about asking a question again, maybe reframe it if the answer wasn't elaborate or informative. Additionally, for this particular research, I would aim to do a second interview with the respondents after analysing the first one. Nevertheless, interviewing with a list of topics loosely structured by themes elicited rich data, complementing the previous stages of the mapping and observations and laid the grounds for the analysis by providing initial categories to organise the data during the first stages of coding. This helped me to recognise patterns in the narratives. The open-ended questions at the beginning of the interview, concerned with the musicians' biography, turned out to be very fruitful and surprising. Most respondents answered in great detail, and all narrated the same story: of a child listening to their parent's music, a teenager discovering their musical taste and an adult becoming a musician despite all odds and struggles. Each stage in their lives is marked by a specific soundscape, which is the source of their musical inspiration and, more importantly, the grounds for their claims to musical authenticity and legitimate expressions of Peruvianness. Their musical work and practices are inseparably intertwined with their biography, situated in a socio-cultural context defined by their families and migrational context. I will elaborate on the relationship between personal biography, claims of musical and cultural authenticity and the imagining of community in chapter 6.

Making sense of it: analytical approaches and representations of knowledge

Parallel to the data collection process, I started to prepare the information for analysis: transcribing the recordings from the interviews³⁴ and the concerts³⁵, making logs of the audio-visual material and organising the pictures and field notes³⁶. Charmaz's (2006; 2014) Grounded Theory Method informed my approach to data analysis, especially the first steps of coding using Atlas.ti³⁷. After familiarising myself with the information, I started coding the interviews. Emerson et al. (2011) differentiate two stages of coding: open coding and focused coding (172)³⁸. Coding, in general, is the process of allocating categories (descriptive or nominal) to "[...] segments of data with a label that simultaneously categorises, summarises, and accounts for each piece of data" (ibid.: 43). These segments of data can be lines, words, sentences or incidents (ibid.: 49-54) or paragraphs in the case of text, but can equally be images, excerpts of images or sounds³⁹. Based on Charmaz's method, I tried to code with gerunds rather than with nouns because the latter turn "[...] actions into topics" (Charmaz 2014: 120). While it is not always feasible or intuitive to code the interviews with gerunds, it

³⁴ While I did not transcribe the interviews myself, I reviewed them by listening to the recording.

³⁵ I transcribed selected concerts from all participating bands and musicians for analysis, including song lyrics, greetings, speeches and interactions with the audience. This proved helpful in identifying themes in the lyrics and patterns in the performance. When analysing the concert transcripts, I would listen to the audio recordings making notes on music, noises, pauses, intonation, and the audience's reaction. I would also go back to the audio-visual material, looking at certain moments.

³⁶ Charmaz (2014) distinguishes between two types of documents: *extant texts*, documents usually "[...] produced for other [...] purposes" (45), for example, letters, news papers, etc.; and *elicited documents*, which "[...] involve the research participant in producing data in response to a researcher's request [...]" (ibid.), for example, photos or video. My documents are elicited documents, either co-produced by the participants or based on my observations and recordings.

³⁷ For a comprehensive and hand on guide on using Atlas.ti for qualitative data analysis focusing on Grounded Theory, see Susanne Friese (2014). Also, the online journal *Qualitative Social Research* features interesting approaches.

See: <https://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs>.

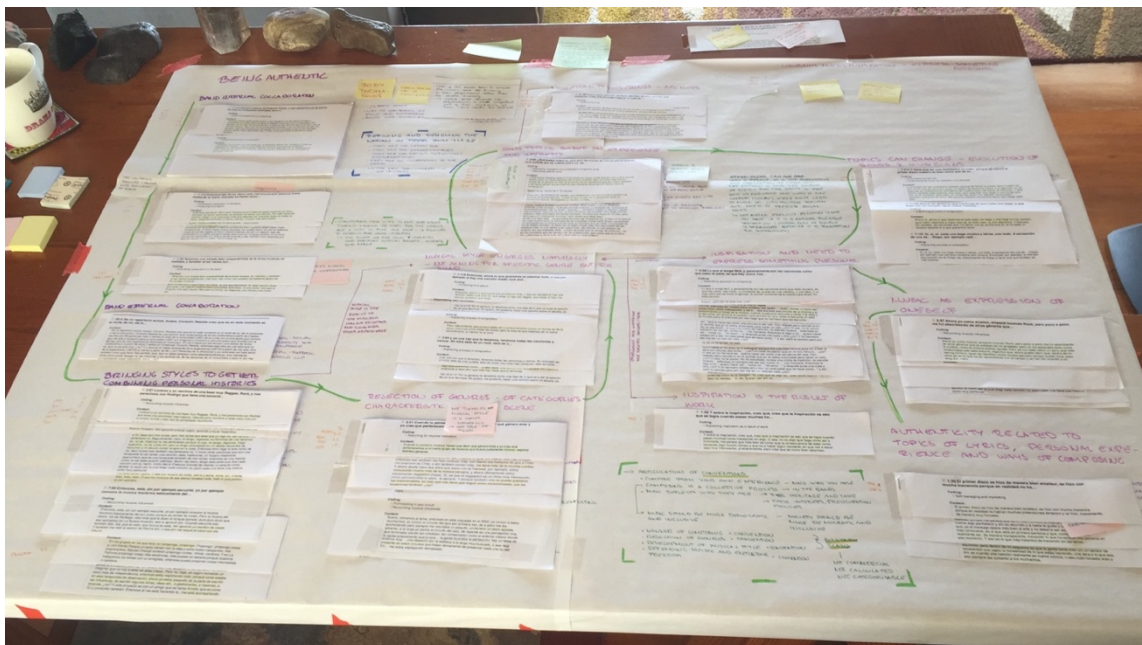
³⁸ Charmaz (2006) provides a more nuanced definition of coding, differentiating four stages of coding: initial, focused, axial and theoretical (45-66). These are different approaches to coding, providing further insights but all form part of the theory-constructing process.

³⁹ Atlas.ti allows to import and code text, images and video. I experimented with all the types of documents I created, but it proved technically complicated in the case of the images and videos, slowing down the program significantly. I experimented with video coding first with recordings of cumbia and Andean music concerts I bought early in my fieldwork. Based on this experience, I decided to use transcripts of concerts for coding and review the audio and audio-visual material parallel rather than coding directly in those files.

accentuates that the statements and narratives are not facts but the active expression of positions, opinions, experiences and interpretations.

The initial open coding aims to identify themes and start selecting which ones to focus on and start writing down ideas, observations and questions in code memos (Emerson et al. 2011: 188), prioritising “[...] topics for which a substantial amount of data has been collected and which reflect recurrent or underlying patterns of activities in the setting under study” (ibid.: 188). Additionally, the themes and aspects that seem essential to the participants “[...] whether it is what they think is key, what looks to be practically important, or what engages a lot of their time and energy” (ibid.). For the initial open coding Atlas.ti proved very useful because it allows organising information by linking documents, memos and notes through the codes. For the focused coding, I moved to pen and paper, printing and cutting out the segments of the concerts and grouping, linking and organising them on large sheets of paper (see image 25). This is based on personal preference because it is easier for me to move around pieces of data on paper than on a screen. During this process, I took notes and started writing ideas and arguments.

Image 25: Data analysis with pen and paper



Source: author

After coding the interviews, I proceeded similarly with the concert transcripts, equally coding them first in Atlas.ti, identifying themes and patterns. While doing this, I would listen to the recordings, making notes on sounds, audience reactions, melodies, rhythms, spoken comments of musicians, eventual technical issues and guest musicians. While the transcripts of the concerts are helpful when analysing the lyrics and the speeches and greetings during the performances, they lack what the sounds can tell us. Listening to the recording during coding and analysing allowed me to identify the relationships between changing rhythms, melodies, instrumentation and themes in the lyrics. Additionally, it helped identify spatial references in the forms of lyrics, melodies and rhythms in the music that are culturally signified and geographically situated. This provided insight into how Peruvianness is imagined, which values are attributed and how belonging is delimited (I elaborate on this in Chapter 4).

During this stage of the analysis, I started including my field notes, pictures and audio-visual material to add another layer of information. The audio-visual material served two purposes in my research: provide material for a short documentary I edited titled “The sound of Peru” and served as field notes, using the camera as an instrument to record interactions, activities and situations, similar to the process of paper and pen⁴⁰. As I elaborated earlier, the written field notes focused mainly on the stage and the audience space. So did the audio-visual material. While it provided additional information to understand the performance on stage better, it also highlighted the patterns of movement and stillness as part of the audience’s behaviour in relation to the musical and performative style, which seems to mirror the conveyed notion of community (I elaborate on this in Chapter 6).

Parallel to analysing the interviews, concert transcripts and field notes, I started editing a short documentary as part of the analytical process. This was inspired by Andre Lawrence’s (2020) method, “filming for fieldwork”, providing a practical and theoretical guide to how to use the camera in the field and the editing process for

⁴⁰ Alexander Astruc (1992) coined the term “camera pen” to argue against the supposed objectivity of the audio-visual material by pointing out the filmmaker’s subjectivity. This also points out the possibility of using the camera as an instrument to record ethnographic observations similar to the notes.

analysis. The editing process is divided into several stages: preparing the edit (including media management, logs and transcripts), designing the film (articulating a paper edit, working title and 10-word logline), editing (setting up the project, rough cutting, storytelling, feedback, titles and credits, fine cutting, editing the sound and mastering) (Lawrence 2020). As Lawrence points out, a film is not a representation of reality but “[...] a representation of experiences that looks, sounds and feels real” (30). Moreover, it is a language that ethnographers can use to translate their experience and that of the participants by making it available to an audience and providing access to these experiences. Editing then is an “interpretative process [...] where moments of recorded actuality are arranged into sequences that explain our own and hopefully also our participants’ ideas about a fieldsite” (ibid.). In contrast to other documentary styles in the production of an ethnographic film, the emphasis is not on elaborating a script beforehand, defining what and how to record before entering the field, but rather on keeping certain flexibility in the documentation. This forces the “research-led filmmaker [...] to look more deeply into the reasons that the material has arrived in its current shape, and then make a story from this actuality” (32) during the editing of the material.

Following Lawrence’s method, I first organised, logged, and transcribed the raw material. The logs are a sort of descriptive transcript of each scene, including aspects such as “[...] shot type, lengths and movement, together with an indication what occurs in the frame” (ibid.: 200) as well as the audio, folder and clip name. He argues that through these logs, the researcher can distance herself from the material and all the emotions, memories and preferences attached to them, focusing on the content rather than the form. Moreover, “[i]ndividual sounds and images take on a wider metaphorical importance as they are joined together into sequences” (ibid). Parallel to these preparations, I worked on the documentary’s structure (the paper edit), providing insights into the field and highlighting topics and interactions. I started editing the material during my residency in Manchester, where Andrew Lawrence guided me through the process and provided a constructive critique for my first rough cuts. As Lawrence points out, editing “[...] undoubtedly forces us to look closer into the experience of our fieldwork participants and also of ourselves (193). Working on the documentary taught me as much about the research topic as about myself as a person

and a researcher, mainly because it took me out of my comfort zone. My initial aim was to edit three short documentaries starring all the bands and musicians who participated in this research. Still, I could not finish gathering the needed material due to time and external factors. Consequently, I have only completed the first documentary at this point⁴¹.

Bringing together different types of documents reflects the complexity of the lifeworld analysed and represented, taking into account the presence and use of various media in the field, not only by the researcher but by all participating in it. This is discussed in ethnographic literature as multimodality⁴². Dicks et al. (2006) point out that it is necessary to differentiate between the multiple media used in the field and their implications and the consequences for the analysis and representation of the acquired knowledge (93). This differentiation is similar to what Møhl (2011) describes as the relational and the epistemological process of fieldwork (228), differentiating between two moments and spaces of the research, which are nonetheless intrinsically intertwined. While Møhl focuses on the relationship between the researcher and participant, Dicks et al. (2006) highlight the relations and links between the different media and the epistemological consequences of these relationships. Westmoreland (2022) defines multimodal anthropology as an approach that “[...] both attends to the diverse ways of knowing the human experience and advances an expanding array of tools, practices, and concepts to share these understandings” (174). He continues to list modes of anthropological representation (and corresponding references) ranging from field notes, photographs, snapshots from social media, (transcribed) audio recordings, and workshops to performances or pop-up screenings (ibid.).

⁴¹ When I finished my fieldwork in August 2018, I had a concept in mind for the short documentary series. I had the material for the first short documentary starring Eme, *La Nueva Invasión* and *Tourista*. I decided to edit the first episode before continuing filming and enrolled in the workshop in Manchester. Before I could continue filming after the residency in Manchester, there were changes in the dynamics and relationships within *La Escena Independiente*, and several conflicts between the bands arose. So I focused on writing my thesis until I got pregnant unexpectedly and the COVID-19 pandemic started, both circumstances making further filming impossible at that moment.

⁴² For more details, see Dicks et al. (2005); Dicks et al. (2006); Moderbacher (2020); Westmoreland (2022); and the special issue of *Qualitative Research* (2011) “Multimodality and ethnography: working at the intersection”.

Nevertheless, multimodality should not be reduced to the use of multiple media, as Westmoreland argues, but be understood as

[...] a reaction against text-centric and visualist problematics that undergird anthropological legacies of epistemic authority. Rebuking the crippling dichotomization of text and image (or any of their echoes), multimodality offers a more radical epistemological project that is better conceptualized by shifting kaleidoscopic perspectives (ibid).

At this point, I want to reflect on what I learned during fieldwork and the process of writing this thesis. Similar to sensory ethnography's impact on my understanding of fieldwork and the production of knowledge, my understanding of the use and implication of different media in the field was limited. In retrospect, the way I engaged in the relationships in the field and my use of various media was rather conventional. I became more aware of the broader epistemological implications while analysing the information and writing the thesis. More importantly, it made me reflect on the ethical implications of reproducing discourses and relations of power through my media use and how I represented knowledge. Evident shortcomings of my process in the elaboration of this thesis are indeed the lack of considerations for intersections of gender, race and nation in a country that still has to come to terms with its (colonial) history in the discourses conveyed and the music practices, but also in the theoretical discussion and the way I produced and represented knowledge.

Furthermore, there is a vast literature on decolonisation and epistemologies from the south⁴³, which I could not include in this research but would enrich the discussion and conceptualisation of nation as imagined commuting and everyday nationhood in future discussions. Introducing the notions of sensory ethnography and multimodality at this point in my discussion serves to acknowledge these shortcomings and highlight the roles and functions the different media I used afforded me: first, the participation in the life world; second, the realisation that knowledge is produced and transmitted in a vast array of forms, expressions and experiences. This fundamentally influenced my

⁴³ Especially Boaventura de Sousa Santos' (2022a; 2022b) work is central to this discussion. The Latin American Council of Social Sciences publishes two volumes of his work (Meneses et al. 2018a; 2018b). See also Bidaseca (2022) discussing how to decolonise the aesthetics of narrative forms, senses and colours.

understanding of the nation as a process of everyday life. More precisely, my understanding of how we imagine belonging to a community as part of our everyday life activities, interactions, habits and experiences – all shaped by our senses and emotions. In the following section, I discuss briefly how my personal history shaped this research and the relationships with the participants in the field.

Positionality and ethical considerations

Throughout the fieldwork, I attempted to be transparent about my interests and aims, informing the participants and reminding them regularly of their rights to withdraw from the research or for anonymity. Each stage of the research and the varying media I used to record information and to (co)produce knowledge required a different form of consent and ethical considerations. For the initial observations, I participated in the events as an audience member, assuming what was said and done on stage was public. These observations and the resulting data informed the process of narrowing down the research site and focus but are not included in the thesis directly. Partly because I did not have explicit permission to observe. Nevertheless, there was also not an explicit prohibition to observe and (audio) record the events, except at the *Gran Teatro Nacional* (Great National Theatre), where at the beginning of each show, an announcement is made to turn off the phones and desist recording the performance in any form. Consequently, I did not record the events I attended here and only made notes during and after the concerts.

After deciding on the music world of *La Escena Independiente*, I had the oral consent of the musicians to observe the concerts. In contrast, for the filming, I prepared a consent form (see Appendix 11). I asked the musicians to sign it, allowing me to use the material for research purposes and the production of a non-profit, research-led documentary film. I did not seek consent from the audience members during the concerts I filmed, based mainly on the assumption that they were aware of entering a highly mediated space. Cameras photographing and filming the performance on stage and the audience are common during concerts. The audience members equally participate in the mediation of the live music performance by live streaming on social media or recording and taking pictures (see image 24). Additionally, access to the venues is legally restricted for minors. Consequently, I assumed that the audience members were of legal age. Exceptions are the events taking place in public parks, where children were present, in the company of their parents. In those cases, I tried to avoid as much as possible to film the children and using the material for the film.

The consent for the interviews was given orally at the beginning of each interview after I explained the research topic, the interview format and aim, and the aspects of consent and access. All interviewees waved anonymity, and only on one occasion did one musician ask me to treat something confidential he said about other musicians. At no point during the interviews did I get the impression that one of the interviewees felt uncomfortable or upset.

All information gathered, and documents created are stored securely and kept confidential⁴⁴. A third party made the transcripts of the interviews. To ensure anonymity, I provided him with a copy of the audio recordings, omitting the name given at the beginning. The transcripts from the interviews and the concerts are in Spanish, and I decided to translate only those excerpts included in the thesis. Fluent in Spanish, I conducted the research in Spanish and the analytical process in English. In practical terms, I coded the Spanish transcripts in English, while in my field notes, I often mixed all three languages (Spanish, English, and German). I mention this to point out that all translations are my own, but more importantly, to highlight that our knowledge and our experience shape detrimentally the knowledge we produce, or rather co-produce, such as the degree to which we understand and use vernacular language during our fieldwork.

During the interviews, a theme took form I did not anticipate: the importance of the biography and the music as part of the life story in the claim of musical authenticity and claims to articulate Peruvianness legitimately (I discuss this in chapter 4). Similarly, my biography was essential to this research, allowing me to claim some interpretative capacity because, as Denzin (2001) argues, “[i]nterpretative research begins and ends with the biography and the self of the researcher” (32). I spent my early childhood in Peru, first in Cusco and then in Lima. It was the time of the internal conflict, and I recall the bombs, the tape on the windows to prevent them from becoming shrapnel from possible blasts, the blackouts and the water shortages, the military police patrolling and the insane prices for food during the time of inflation. These are central collective

⁴⁴ The data is stored on my password-protected computer, on a password-protected external hard drive, in a safe and on the university’s cloud service. The audio-visual footage is on a separate, password-protected hard drive and in the safe.

memories of my generation that we, the musicians who participated and I, share. After finishing school and my undergraduate degree in Germany⁴⁵, I returned to Peru to get to know the country as an adult and study the master's program in political science at *La Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú*. My Spanish has a distinct Lima accent, speaking fast and swallowing sounds. This certainly was advantageous in the field but prompted many questions and curiosity. Almost all encounters started with me telling my story and providing information on my biography. Beyond me growing up in Cusco, one well-received aspect of my biography was my parents' history. They migrated from Germany to Peru in the late 1970s and worked with several non-profits, including their own⁴⁶, seeking to empower the excluded, underrepresented and poor groups. This gave me a certain degree of legitimacy as someone genuinely interested in the country's culture and people. Nevertheless, I am still a foreigner and a stranger within *La Escena Independiente*. As Dietrich (2015) argues, this is also an advantage because, as researchers, we maintain a "sense of emotional distance" (30), a sort of neutrality towards the field, by getting close enough to understand and stay sufficiently distant as to be too involved. In her dissertation⁴⁷, she describes her position of "familiarity and simultaneous strangeness" (30), which reflects my own experience. Her relationships with the participants in the field were shaped by the importance "of ethnicity and class" (29) in the Peruvian context. She explains:

For instance, researchers from Lima with a white middle-class background often struggled to overcome stereotypes (like being too 'puffed up') among indigenous communities. My foreign peers often faced suspicion for being 'too hard to categorise'. I faced both" (ibid.).

⁴⁵ My mother, sister, and I moved to Germany in 1993 while my father stayed in Peru. We visited regularly.

⁴⁶ The non-profit my parents founded was called TAFOS, short for Talleres de Fotografía Social (Social Photography Workshops), aiming to provide underrepresented and marginalised groups a means to express themselves from their perspective. They gave participants the equipment and knowledge to document their everyday lives and interests. The archive is now hosted and curated at *La Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú*.

⁴⁷ Martha-Cecilia Dietrich is a visual anthropologist from Manchester and is currently a faculty member of the University of Amsterdam. Her dissertation titled "Discourses of violence or violent discourses? An audio-visual ethnography into the experience of memory in postconflict Peru" brings together the perspectives and memories of the internal conflict, providing fascinating new insights into an emotionally and politically loaded topic.

Being a white woman separated me from some of the participants, especially those who migrated themselves or are descendants of internal migrants. This is relevant because musical authenticity and claims to articulate Peruvianness legitimately are grounded in the musicians' cultural heritage, descent and place of birth. Nevertheless, these are intrinsically linked to racial categories present in all aspects of Peruvian society and history (as discussed briefly in Chapter 2). Consequently, similar to what Dietrich describes, I could not authentically claim to truly understand Peruvianness despite my biography and knowledge without putting into doubt my legitimacy as a researcher and my attempt to explore, describe and understand it.

One aspect I was worried about at the beginning of my research was being a female researcher attempting to enter a predominantly male music world in a society where violence against women is high⁴⁸. Like many women⁴⁹, I experienced the city as a hostile and unsafe environment, especially at night. Hence, I needed a male companion to accompany me to the concerts. Sebastián Argüelles agreed to accompany me. Once I started filming and became part of the staff, shielded by the camera and the position I took, this experience changed. Often, I would arrive and leave with some of the musicians, sharing a cab. Moreover, I could move freely within the venues, go backstage, and count on security staff if needed.

As a female researcher, my other concern was how the participants would behave towards me. Most musicians, sound technicians, assistants, managers, and other professionals who form part of *La Escena Independiente* are heterosexual men⁵⁰. My preoccupation was whether I would be taken seriously and granted access or looked upon condescendingly. However, my experience was quite the opposite. I was treated mostly with respect and met with a good portion of curiosity. Sometimes, I also felt

⁴⁸ A recent report from the *Instituto Nacional de Estadística* (National Institute for Statistics) lists the countries with the highest femicide rates in the Americas (in absolute numbers). Peru is sixth on this list, after Mexico, Brazil, United States of America, Colombia and Guatemala (INEI 2021: 48), all countries with considerably larger populations.

⁴⁹ This statement is based on my many conversations with other women, Peruvians and foreigners about their experience in the city and my own experiences.

⁵⁰ From what I observed, the only person expressing their non-heterosexual gender identity was Eme. Beyond that, most musicians express directly and indirectly their heterosexuality and masculinity while highlighting their tolerance.

looked upon with surprise when handling the camera equipment, but it was never commented on. Overall, my experience as a female researcher was positive, and I assumed initially (and maybe naively) that it had to be related to the music world's inclusive discourse: promoting gender equality and political and economic inclusion of all members of society regardless of their descent, gender or origin. However, with the growing distance from the field and the controversy⁵¹ that arose after I finished my fieldwork, I think my sex and gender were less determinative of my relations in the field than my whiteness⁵² and middle-class background. My privileged position, being able to do a PhD with my family's support (emotionally, logistically, and financially) in this endeavour, and the fact that I could afford the equipment I used to film were detrimental to how I was perceived. Being German, female, blond and blue-eyed, middle class, and economically stable, in combination with my personal history connecting me to Peru, certainly influenced my understanding of the research topic and, equally, how the participants perceived me as a researcher.

⁵¹ One musician was accused on social media of violence against his former partner. Several musicians and bands publicly distanced themselves from the accused musician and his band, refusing to perform at an event. This form of public accusation through social media has become common in recent years and is part of the *NiUnaMenos* (Not One [Women] Less) movement. As a reaction, audience members demanded compensation and threatened to sue the organisers (part of the band in question). Some of the event organisers pulled the musician off the stage because he did not apologise publicly for his behaviour, as had been demanded by several parties. This harmed *La Escena Independiente*, causing conflicts between several bands and musicians. This also affected La Feria Perú Independiente, where the incident took place. It was the first time the fair charged entrance fees, taking place at a large commercial venue and not at a public park.

⁵² I use the term whiteness in the sense of Elgenius' and Garner's (2021) definition: "Whiteness is best understood as a structural power relationship in which people racialized as white are collectively advantaged vis-à-vis those who are not, and where other distinctions such as gender, class, religion, etc. are temporarily downplayed, if not overridden by affiliation through belonging to a "white race"" (218).

Discussion

Throughout this chapter, I attempted to describe and reflect on the methods and what I learned rather than chronicle what I did. Consequently, this chapter is, in some ways, quite personal. Research is not only a structured way of approaching a life world to learn and understand, but is often grounded in personal motivations. At least, for me, this was the case. The working of the nation in our everyday life, how we are connected through it, and how the articulation of self is deeply rooted in and intertwined with national categories have fascinated me for a long time. Growing up in two very different countries and cultures highlighted aspects of nationality and belonging, making them a constant topic of conversation and of how I moved through the world. Researching and writing this thesis made me understand imagined community as an active and interactive category grounded in everyday life.

Doing fieldwork and reflecting on it taught me the importance of considering all our senses as researchers when co-producing knowledge. More importantly, we are not the source of knowledge but rather an interlocutor between participants and audiences, between those we interact with during the different stages of research – from fieldwork to presenting at a conference or defending the thesis. Additionally, in this chapter, I intended to illustrate how the research design aimed to understand the processes of the re-production and co-articulation of the imagined community. More precisely, it shows how different moments and aspects of music performance are part of these processes and form part of how we experience nation in our everyday lives. Simultaneously, the research design aimed at understanding the discourse, or the discourses, on Peruvianness conveyed through music and musical practices.

In the following three chapters, I discuss my findings by examining the musicians' approach to music production, describing aspects of the performance on stage and the audience's behaviour during the concerts. Each stage of the fieldwork provided insight from a different angle into these three themes I ultimately decided to focus on because they are examples of how aspects of musical practices in the context of a concert are means to articulate and re-articulate the nation. While my research design includes

three stages (as described in the introduction), the analysis is informed essentially by the knowledge produced during the second and third stages, the observations, ethnographic filmmaking and interviewing.

In the first analytical chapter (*La Escena Independiente: Telling an Alternative Story*), I discuss how the musicians ground their authenticity claims in their biographies and how notions of descent, hardship and personal character (especially resilience) are central to the claims of rightfully articulating and conveying Peruvianness. This chapter is informed primarily by interviews with selected musicians. In the second analytical chapter (*The Sounds of Peruvianness: Performing Diversity and Imagining Community*), I focus on the performances on stage, especially the lyrics and certain musical elements, and how the musicians use these to convey their notions of Peruvianness. This analysis is based on the concert recordings and transcripts in combination with my field notes. In the third analytical chapter (*Echoing the Sounds of Peruvianness: Embodying Ideal Relationships in the Audience Space*), I describe how the audience moves within the venues in relation to the music and performance and how this movement can be interpreted as expressions of and participation in the reproduction and co-articulation of an imagined community. My analysis is based on my observations, using the field notes and audio-visual material as reference. The three chapters are intended to provide different perspectives on a complex and intertwined process of musical production, meaning making and expression of nation-ness.

La Escena Independiente: telling an alternative story



It is a gloomy winter afternoon. I am heading to the rehearsal room from *La Nueva Invasión* in Barranco to meet with Luis, the lead singer. I am setting up the camera and recorder since this interview is intended for the documentary¹, focusing on the band's musical style and the history behind the two songs presented in the film. We climb a steep set of stairs to the roof, reaching a room made of pressed wood panels. Luis sits on a stool, texting with a graphic designer developing the cover for the new album while I set up the camera and microphones. We started the interview, and he told me about the band's history and musical style. When I ask him what he considers differentiates *La Nueva Invasión* from other bands, he replies:

I think it is, in the first place, the combination of two different cultural heritages, of two apparently different ways of life which in practice are very similar: on the one hand that of an itinerant band and on the other a punk band that moves in underground circuits but dialoguing with reality (Vicente 2018).

Luis articulates explicitly what the musicians of *La Escena Independiente* express through different narratives and conventions, embedding them historically and culturally in two different traditions, chicha music and Latin American rock and punk. The music they perform – all bands, except Eme, write their songs – expresses cultural hybridity, a representation of themselves, as they all argue. Through the narratives and conventions which I will discuss throughout this chapter, they articulate a performance persona (Auslander 2004) for each musician and the band. As Graver (2009 [1997]) points out, this is how they present themselves within a “particular discursive domain” (227). As the self-denomination of *La Escena Independiente* indicates, they understand themselves as independent, although the conceptualisation of what this means varies somewhat from other music worlds. I discuss this in the first section of this chapter, illustrating how the musicians articulate the music world revolving around the ethos of *autogestión* – resembling the DIY ethos (Guerra and Costa 2016, Moran

¹ The questionnaire for the interviews for the documentary differs from the other interviews, focusing on specific songs and how the musicians describe their music. I have permission to use these interviews for the documentary and the research.

2010) in industrialised societies – representing a set of values and conventions rather than a shared musical style or taste.

After discussing the discursive domain, the context within which the musicians situate themselves and their performance persona, I continue elaborating on how the musicians affirm this notion that their music is a representation of how they feel, identify and relate to the world through their lifetime soundtrack narratives. Istvandy (2014) devises in her research on the relation between music and memory the concept of lifetime soundtrack, defining it as a “[...] metaphorical collection of music that relates in unique and personal ways to a person’s autobiographical memories” (52). This soundtrack is not bound to personal taste but rather to personal experience (ibid.: 6). The concept describes “[...] an individual’s music ‘canon’ as a fixed yet fluid notion that can be thought of as both personally distinct, yet is also influenced by the lifetime soundtracks of others” (Istvandy 2017: 52). In contrast to Istvandy, I am interested in how this lifetime soundtrack is deployed in combination with musicking practices, especially songwriting, to sustain claims of musical authenticity and legitimise the musician’s discourse on Peruvianness. I discuss this in detail in the second section of this chapter, differentiating between the lifetime soundtrack when referring to the musical canon and the lifetime soundtrack narrative to describe the use of this canon as a legitimising instance.

In the third section of this chapter, I discuss the musicians’ approach to songwriting as a collaborative process, allowing them to draw on different experiences and lifetime soundtracks. The musicians argue that this canon is the source of the “initial stimulus” (Bennett 2012: 154) when they write their songs, combining, adapting, appropriating and changing musical elements, styles, instruments and instrumentation. The lyrics’ themes are based on their personal experiences and memories, for instance, their upbringing in a neighbourhood or experiences of racial discrimination² (I discuss the topics and discourses of the bands in detail in Chapter 5). Similar to the lifetime

² Another important topic of the lyrics is romantic relationships and heartbreak. Still, I focus here on the songs and themes the musicians use to convey their vision of community by expressing values of collaboration, tolerance and diversity. Although it would be interesting to explore how the perspective on romantic relationships, love and heartbreak relate to the concept of community, considering that imaginings of the nation often invoke models of family and gender-specific roles.

soundtrack narrative, how they present their songwriting practices grounds their claims for musical authenticity and discursive legitimacy within their biography and praxis. One reason for including all band members in the songwriting is that most musicians I interviewed do not have formal musical education and consider themselves autodidacts. Similar to the notion of *autogestión*, the musicians articulate conventions regarding musicking practices around songwriting, especially the value of collaborating, as a reaction and in consequence of the context.

All three aspects, the *autogestión* ethos, the lifetime soundtrack narratives and collaborative songwriting, are part of the overall narrative of *La Escena Independiente*, depicting the participants as resilient, dedicated and entrepreneurial, mirroring the Peruvian version of the self-made man (Callirgos 2018: 490) who succeeded against all odds through hard work in community. Moreover, how they present these narratives and perspectives affords the musicians the grounds for their claims of musical authenticity and discursive legitimacy. They only express and present themselves based on their biography and experiences and, more importantly, because they are embedded in the socio-cultural and political context. The narratives oscillate between the private (their lifetime soundtrack narrative) and public (their music persona), blurring the lines between the spheres and grounding their claims in the personal experience framed by the broader socio-cultural context. Their biographical narratives are intended to reflect this context and represent the experiences of many other Peruvians because, as the musicians claim, they are part of the people.

“It's not a musical style“: discourse and practice of musical production in *La Escena Independiente*

At first glance, *La Escena Independiente* seems incoherent. The bands' musical styles and aesthetics differ, yet they are part of this music world. The bands I chose to discuss in my thesis represent this musical diversity. *Barrio Calavera*, *La Nueva Invasión* and *Olaya Sound System* combine cumbia and Andean musical elements with rock, punk, ska and reggae. *Tourista* includes experiments with abstracted versions of Latin American musical references, and *Karolinativa* uses prerecorded hip-hop beats to perform their songs. Eme's repertoire, in contrast, comprises a selection of Peruvian and Latin American folklore. Nevertheless, they constitute a music world, a network of musicians, staff and audiences that convene to music together, articulating a social space to express themselves and voice their opinions, dreams and hopes. But rather than revolving around shared musical taste and common aesthetics, this music world is defined and delimited by social values and social and musical conventions about musicking practices and musical production. One very explicit convention is not to sign with a record label to maintain their autonomy regarding artistic expression and managerial decisions. This describes the approach to music production and one of the central values of the music world: freedom to express their opinions and views. Ricardo Gutiérrez, the guitarist from *Tourista*, describes being independent: “It's not a musical style, but a way of producing music. It means that we don't have a record label that endorses us” (Gutiérrez 2018a). The underlying argument is that a record label would limit their artistic freedom and constrain their political voice.

In industrialised societies, this approach of cultural production, denominated as DIY, is often understood as a protest against the commercialisation of culture. In the Peruvian context, it is, for most musicians, the only way of producing, given the precarity of institutions and markets. Moreover, it is a way of embedding *La Escena Independiente* in the socio-cultural context and situating it historically because the practice of self-producing and managing is referred to as *autogestión* (self-management), a central concept of the imagining of Peruvianness, representing the

myth of the Peruvian self-made man, the *emprendedor* (the entrepreneur). The overall narrative of the interviews is one of overcoming obstacles and making music against all odds. Be it the economic hurdles or the parents' protest against becoming a musician, the lack of education or the disregard of music as a profession by society.

As the musicians explained, they have to assume different roles and the corresponding tasks in producing their music. The band members write the songs, rehearse and perform them, produce the albums and concerts, organise tours, advertise the events, and negotiate with the venue owners, beer vendors and security personnel. Ricardo illustrates some of the tasks the musicians assume when organising a concert:

It's a damn hard job! Finding a date where nothing else is happening [...] and negotiating with the providers, how much for the beer and how much will it be for the lights, for the equipment, the sound, who will hire the sound guys, it's madness, it's a fucking madness (Gutiérrez 2018a).

They assume these different roles out of necessity, mainly due to lacking financial resources and the precarious institutionalisation of the music market³. Becker (1983) describes in his discussion of Art Worlds that each “[...] person who participates in the making of artworks [...] has a specific bundle of tasks to do” (11). The musicians from *La Escena Independiente* have to assume various roles and, consequently, several bundles of tasks regarding music production. They need to develop multiple skills beyond music: accounting and management, advertisement strategies (most commonly used social media) and creating unique and specialised networks. Moreover, they must be resourceful and flexible in their approach to music production and the organisation of concerts – often relying on support from friends and family. For instance, it is not unusual for a friend to sit at the venue's entrance selling tickets and offering merchandise (CDs, stickers, posters and, in some cases, t-shirts).

Given the personal and social context of the musicians, they had to acquire the necessary skills through participation and growing experience in musicking and

³ There is an established music market around cumbia and urban huayno, with a network of managers, studios, radio stations, TV shows, etc.

cultural production. As Threadgold (2018) describes in his analysis of an underground music scene in Australia, the musicians had to “manufacture their own pathways” (159), forging their music careers⁴. He points out that DIY is a reaction to the precarity in post-industrial societies caused by “neoliberal development in the global economy” (158). This alternative economy and career path might be a form of transgression and political and social protest in industrialised societies with their normal life course and employment-centric perspective. In the Peruvian context, precarity and, more poignantly, informality have been and still are the dominant structure of labour. *Autogestión* is the context-specific version of DIY describing the praxis of the *emprendedor* (entrepreneur) myth – the Peruvian self-made man

Another critical factor that shapes *La Escena Independiente* is that most musicians are autodidacts. Only three musicians from the bands I discuss here have a formal musical education at the conservatory or a university: Eme, Alonso Rodriguez, the bassist from *Olaya Sound System* and Ricardo Gutierrez from *Tourista*. All musicians point out the lack of access to musical education, the cost, and the families’ reluctance to allow them to pursue a musical career. The way the musicians learned to play an instrument or sing varies. While some never attended any music class, others participated in workshops for children, school choirs or music lessons (at school, summer schools or private lessons). For instance, Paloma Pereira, a percussionist who performs with *Karolinativa*, attended music lessons and workshops at a non-profit organisation dedicated to providing art education for children. She played the *cajón* for the first time and became part of the children’s ensemble, performing regularly and even touring through Argentina (Pereira 2018a). Carolina Carbajal from *Karolinativa*, in contrast, describes how she sought singing lessons to learn to use her voice more effectively (Carbajal 2018a). José Vargas from *La Nueva Invasión*, on the other hand, remembers how he learned to play the drums by joining a metal band as a teenager, later participating in a folklore workshop at the university, where he learned to play

⁴ Oliviera and Guerra (2016), Bennett (2018), and Haenfler (2018) propose the concept of a DIY career to describe the alternative path. While there are similarities, the idea of DIY, as discussed in the socio-cultural context of industrialised nations, applies only partially to the Peruvian case. Thus, I do not use the term DIY career.

traditional rhythms (Vargas 2018). In contrast, Pablo Begazo from *Barrio Calavera* remembers how he learned to play the guitar from and with his friends in the neighbourhood.

Fernando Castro from *La Nueva Invasión* considers that being an autodidact is not a matter of conviction but the only way of becoming a musician:

It is an idiosyncrasy rather than a conviction. I've heard of places where people say out of conviction that they are autodidacts because they don't want to go to school, but [for us] music school wasn't an option. For a middle-class family, it was like: 'No, don't do it, you'll starve to death'. Or: 'Do it but study a proper degree and consider it [music] as plan b (Castro 2017).

Most musicians chronicle a similar experience. Several musicians studied *comunicaciones* (communications)⁵, an undergraduate course combining journalism and audio-visual techniques because they thought they would acquire skills that could be applied to musical production. Others studied law, anthropology, history, agronomy and one is a pilot. Rather than a contradiction, this is a typical career path for most musicians from *La Escena Independiente* and underlines the *autogestión* approach to musicking – from learning to play to producing – as a way of being an *emprendedor* (entrepreneur) in the music sector, a self-made musician. As Tarassi (2018) observes in her study on Milan's independent music scene, "[...] skills and expertise are acquired only through experience and by following the advice of other colleagues, and any kind of professionalism is always mediated by the creation of new ties" (214). This certainly applies to *La Escena Independiente*, too.

More than a descriptive concept, *autogestión* is a means to ground their musicking practices and approach to cultural production historically and discursively in the *imaginarios* of the Lima of the new urbanites and their cultural expressions, but also relate them to the Latin American protest song, punk and rock. Fernando describes

⁵ The Peruvian educational system offers only a few options to learn a profession. With very few exceptions, the foremost opportunity for formal education is the universities, most of which are private.

how *autogestión* was essential for the musical production of *chicha* and urban huayno in the 1980s and 1990s:

Chicha [culture] always had it clear that if they wanted a radio space, they had to buy the radio. They would not ask the rock and salsa radio stations to play chicha, which was impossible. The *Chicheros* and the Andeans were the gutsy ones and took the radios by storm, [as well as] the spaces. They took the parking lots in the Historic City Centre to organise concerts. That was the most *autogestionario* (self-managerial) possible in those times (Castro 2018).

As he describes, the existing radio stations did not play *chicha*, excluding these bands from the music markets of the 80s and 90s. Bailón (2004) affirms this, stating that *chicha* was broadly excluded from mass media despite its popularity within the desired sectors (60), except for *Radio Inca* (Inca radio). He explains that the *Chicheros* (*chicha* musicians) did not complain about lacking access to radio and television but sought alternative ways to expand their audience. Nevertheless, the “[...] *chicheros* never sought to be a group of resistance or anti-establishment. Their goal was to get into the market and take it by any means necessary” (60). One of their strategies was modernising their sound by introducing new instruments. This new version of cumbia became known as *tecnocumbia* (ibid.) because of the incorporation of electronic instruments (I described this in more detail in Chapter 1). Bailón continues explaining that they also had to be creative in their search for venues: renting parking lots, using empty lots, or using abandoned circus tents, which were called *chichódromos* (large *chicha* venues) (ibid.:58). The musicians from *La Escena Independiente* implement similar strategies of musical production as the *chicheros*, underlining the precarity of their labour but more importantly, portraying how they react to it with resilience, creativity, flexibility and entrepreneurial enthusiasm.

As the history of the *Chicheros* illustrates, *autogestión* is not an alternative path but an indicator of the reality of cultural production, or most economic activities for that matter. Despite its inevitability, or maybe because of it, *autogestión* is a central value of *La Escena Independiente*, as Ricardo highlights: “*autogestión* is fundamental. Without that, there would be no scene” (Gutiérrez 2018a). Simultaneously, they seek

to be financially sustainable, arguing that only then they can advocate for social and political change, as Fernando from *La Nueva Invasión* explains when describing *La Feria Perú Independiente* (The Independent Peru Fair) (discussed in detail in Chapter 1):

I think that when the political and the economic [converge] in the arts, something important is emerging that is gaining ever more transcendency, and that will set a milestone that I haven't seen in other parts of South America. And I think this has much to do with the diverse cultures present in Lima. Right now, we are experiencing a particular moment where everything has come together, and a movement is emerging around music, art, graphics, and alternative markets like the fairs [...] (Castro 2018).

This reasoning that art has to be economically sustainable is grounded in two aspects. First, the musicians desire to focus on their music career and be able to make a living from their music. Second, to use the market as a channel to promote their ideas of community and Peruvianness. All musicians I interviewed express the notion that music is a means to express their social and political critique and convey their vision of a better society. In this sense, music is, for them, a means to communicate rather than entertain. For Anibal Dávalos from *Barrio Calavera*, music is a means of communication. He states: "I don't consider myself a musician. I think of myself more as a *comunicador*⁶ (communicator), a chronicler who narrates what is happening in the present" (Dávalos 2018). He continues explaining how he understands music as a historical record, illustrating political and social issues, musical preferences and technological developments of the moment it was created. He illustrates this by highlighting the importance of music, and art in general, for the *movida subterránea* (underground movement) as a means of communication during the internal conflict with *Sendero Luminos* (The Shining Path) and the censorship of the media by the Fujimori regime. *La Escena Independiente* is discursively the sequence of the *rock subterráneo* (underground rock) movement (which I described in detail in Chapter 1)

⁶ In Peru, this term describes someone purposefully using media to communicate a message.

in their approach to musicking as a political instrument and a social space where they can embody and express their diverse cultural backgrounds.

Nevertheless, not all bands and musicians I interviewed use the term *autogestión* when describing their musicking practices and the music world in general. However, they all self-manage and articulate through their practices a discursive domain – *La Escena Independiente* – where they can express and embody the values they associate with being independent and Peruvian. Especially Eme stands out from the other musicians. His approach to music and cultural production differs because he does not identify with the *Chicheros'* notion of *autogestión*. Nevertheless, he embodies the values of *La Escena Independiente* most radically, demanding social inclusion and justice, political participation, tolerance and recognition of cultural, social and gender diversity. He transgresses social norms in his performance of Peruvian and Latin American folklore through his transgender body. In between the songs, he illustrates the situation of the LGBTIQ+⁷ community and his own experiences, presenting them as narratives of resilience, overcoming adversities and transforming hate and rejection into love and acceptance of differences. The musicians of *La Escena Independiente* understand art and music as tools to question, make visible and transform (Costa and Coelho 2018: 26) socio-political norms and hierarchies by linking art and politics to articulate and convey social claims (Raposo 2015: 3). Art becomes an instrument of rupture, contestation and rebellion, seeking to consolidate legal rights (Nogueira 2021: 87) of excluded and underrepresented groups.

Using music as a political instrument is not a particularity of Lima's punk and rock music world but a characteristic of rock music in several Latin American countries in the second half of the 20th century. In the context of the military regimes, underground punk and rock music worlds formed in different countries of Spanish America: Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Peru – using their music to voice protest, rejections and critique. The political conditions shaped the musical production and musical forms, for instance, the need to navigate censorship. Favoretto (2013) illustrates how Charly

⁷ This is how Eme refers to his community in the official video of the first song he wrote - Corazón Resiste (Heart Resist) - intended to be a hymn of hope for the LGBTIQ+ community. Throughout the thesis, I will discuss this song and Eme's musicking in more detail.

García, an influential Argentinian rock musician, used allegories in his lyrics to define new expressions for the resistance to the oppression by the regime (126). Another significant example is the Chilean band *Los Prisioneros* (The Prisoners), using their music as a protest against the military regime and, as Sepúlveda (2011) argues, a way to channel their frustrations about society in general (107). Although not as explicit, these bands and music worlds follow the path of *La Nueva Canción Latinoamericana* (The New Latin American Song), the Latin American version of the protest song⁸. The musicians from *La Escena Independiente* equally articulate a social space using music and art as a form to express themselves, stating their critical awareness of their social and political context and embedding themselves culturally and historically in the traditions of the *chicheros* as cultural entrepreneurs and Latin American rock as a voice of protest. Moreover, these two ways of transgressing social norms, artistic aesthetics, and economic hierarchies converge. *La Escena Independiente*, as described by the musicians interviewed, is both a discursive domain, sustaining production practices and musical styles through historical and socio-cultural references and a reaction to the conditions in which the music is performed and produced.

⁸ For more details on *La Nueva Canción Latinoamericana*, see Fairley (1984), Gavagnin et al. (2022), and Rink (2022).

The roots of musical diversity in *La Escena Independiente*

The convention of not working with a record label mentioned earlier expresses the musicians' aim to maintain artistic autonomy. The musicians I interviewed stress that this is a central aspect because art is a way to voice their visions and critiques and a space to present themselves in the sense of Auslander's performance persona. Consequently, if the artistic expressions were limited or corrupted by the politics of a record label, they would not be an authentic expression of themselves. Moreover, they use their performance persona to claim musical authenticity and discursive legitimacy by rooting their narratives, references and sonorities within their biography. During the interviews, the musicians establish that their music and musicking practices express their personal histories, individual experiences and cultural heritage, presented as the lifetime soundtrack narrative. In this section, I explore how the musicians sustain that the musical styles they combine and the cultural references they make are embedded in their biographies. This narrative is central to how they portray their performance persona as the reflection of the private person. Who they are as musicians is a consequence of who they are as individuals, of their experiences and context. Both the private and public person are inextricably linked.

The interviews revealed a narrative pattern of how the musicians present their lifetime soundtrack. All musicians I interviewed structured the narrative in the same manner, starting with the music of their childhood in the family home, followed by how the music they listened to during adolescence and early adulthood. In other words, the lifetime soundtrack narrative is divided into two segments characterised by different musical styles, providing two musical canons they can draw upon during songwriting (I discuss the songwriting practices in more detail in the next section). Further, both soundtracks are differentiated by the degree of agency the musicians had over curating the canon. During childhood, they are passive listeners, consuming the music listened to by others, and during their adolescence and early adulthood, they select the music and discover their musical taste, claiming a certain degree of agency. While the content of the narrative, the different musical styles referenced, and the situations mentioned are in themselves informative and provide insight into how the musicians justify their

musical authenticity and discursive legitimacy, the narrative itself is a claim of agency over the canon because they decide what to include and what to forget. They choose to structure and narrate the lifetime soundtrack narrative in a way that affords them a legitimate source of inspiration.

The narratives assert that the musicians listened to cumbia, huaynos, tangos, and other musical styles, mainly Latin American, in their family homes. They then encountered other music styles and worlds when growing up, such as rock, punk, metal or reggae. Nevertheless, these different musical styles constituting the lifetime soundtracks are not contradicting despite their differences but constitute a complex and diverse personal musical canon. It is the reflection of the musicians' cultural hybridisation. They present themselves — with very few exceptions — as the descendants of the new urbanites who grew up with their families' cultural traditions on the one hand and the urban culture on the other. Eme illustrates this embeddedness in different cultural contexts when explaining the meaning of the title of his first album, *RaizEs*:

[...] my first production, well, the only album I have so far is a bit of everything. It ended up being my attempt to curate the explanation [of who I am]. There are a lot of fractions or roots within me. I like the image of how roots expand, searching for nurturing themselves from many different places. I am not the heir of a pure folkloric tradition because I grew up in Lima listening to albums like Queen that my aunt gave me or Jethro Tull, you understand? I mean, it is almost a confusing variety (Eme 2018a).

The album's title, *RaizEs* (Roots), expresses the notion of the diversity of his cultural roots. It can be read as the plural of root (*raizes*) but also separated as *raiz* (root) and *es* (be) – roots are. He explains that for him, this wordplay depicts the notion that some cultural practices, the roots, are part of his family's cultural heritage, and others are not necessarily delimited by place or history, but that is where he decided to take root. While Eme's discourse focuses strongly on the inclusion and social justice for members of the LGBTIQ+ community, this notion summarises the central argument of the musicians' lifetime soundtrack narratives, sustaining the combination of

Peruvian and Latin American musical styles with rock, punk, ska and reggae as an authentic expression of who they are and what they do.

During the interviews, the musicians start the narrative of how they became musicians and their musical influences by illustrating their childhood soundtrack, determined by their parents', grandparents' and teachers' musical preferences. They depict music as part of everyday life experiences and activities within the family home. Anibal from *Barrio Calavera*, for instance, narrates how his grandmother, with whom he lived as a child in Pucallpa⁹, used to get up at 5 am for her morning prayers before preparing breakfast for the family and listening to *boleros* on the radio. For him, this is the earliest memory related to music. As he grew older, he remembers hearing cumbia at his father's welding shop when he helped out during his early teen years. Turning 14, Aníbal moved to Lima to attend school, living with his other grandparents. He describes his childhood soundtrack as defined by the musical preferences of the adults surrounding him: "That was my first [musical] influence, not that I liked it, but it marked me, and it is something I remember. [...] A combination of *boleros* and cumbia, but I hadn't chosen any of the music" (Dávalos 2018). Aníbal's description resembles Istvandity's (2014) observation that throughout the narratives, music is assigned to someone (97), in this case, the grandmother and the father. This underlines the "[...] role of the child more or less as a bystander [...]" (ibid.) without control over the music listened to.

José from *La Nueva Invasión* also narrates a memory from his family home. He describes how he would listen to his teacher's local radio show during lunch hours growing up in Moquegua¹⁰. He describes:

[It was] a Creole music radio show, and it was called *El Perú Primero, Criollísimo y Jaranero* [Peru First Creole and Jamming]. So, we wanted to hear our teacher because he was hilarious and would greet us. We would listen to Creole music during lunch hours, from 1 pm to 2 pm (Vargas 2018).

⁹ Pucallpa is a city in the Amazonian region, located at the Ucayali River, a tributary of the Amazon River.

¹⁰ Moquegua is the capital of the province of Moquegua in the south of Peru.

José continues explaining that he does not listen to or actively play Creole music. Nevertheless, he enjoys it, and when he goes back to Moquegua and visits a friend, they gather for a *jarana*, the Peruvian version of a Creole music jam session. Nevertheless, Creole music is not part of his current musical practices and musical environment beyond these rare occasions.

On the other hand, Rodrigo Castillo's narrative (from *Olaya Sound System*) focuses on how he enjoyed listening to music with his grandfather. He describes:

I think I started enjoying music through my family, grandfather, and parents. They always listened to a lot of music. My grandfather listened to Cuban music, a lot of Creole music, and tango. In my house, there was a lot of Latin American folklore, Latin music, jazz, and rock. A lot of local rock, my father would buy the cassettes" (Castillo 2017).

Rodrigo continues that his grandfather's musical taste influenced his own, especially his preference for Cuban and Creole music. These three narratives illustrate how the family home is a significant space where the musicians are exposed to music and practices associated with them. Although the musicians are not active agents in most of these experiences, they determine this part of the personal lifetime soundtrack. This underlines what Bogt et al. (2011) argue in their study on the intergenerational continuity of musical taste and music socialisation, that parents model musical taste to their children. They explain that "[...] simply as a function of living in the same home, children are inevitably exposed to the cultural repertoire preferred by their parents [...]" (300). Istvandy (2014) elaborates further on this argument, stating that this "[...] mediatory practice provides the beginning of an individual's memory for music [...]" (90), determining partially how the individuals engage with music throughout their life (ibid). Nevertheless, as Istvandy points out, this mediated musical canon does not necessarily shape the individual's musical taste. For instance, Aníbal and José's narratives recognise how the childhood soundtrack is part of their personal musical canon without having shaped their personal musical taste. In contrast, Rodrigo's musical taste is influenced by his childhood soundtrack. Despite the differences, they acknowledge the relevance of the childhood soundtrack by including it in their lifetime soundtrack narrative.

Another recurring topic in the lifetime soundtrack narratives is family gatherings. Here, they experienced music as an integral aspect of the adult's sociability through musicking, either by listening and dancing or performing. Similar to the family home, the musicians came in contact with different musical styles during those gatherings. Pablo Begazo from *Barrio Calavera* narrates such an instance, remembering how he would listen to cumbia during the gatherings his uncles would organise:

I had listened to cumbia not because my family was from the Amazonian region but because it used to be played at the gatherings when I was a boy, at my uncle's parties. Sometimes, we [the band members] talk about that, remembering how we all have fallen asleep crooked on a chair at a party. You simply fell asleep (laughing) while your parents were partying or dancing. You brought your child with you to not leave them alone at home, you see. And, of course, you have the influence of cumbia, Creole music, and Colombian cumbia. At home, we would listen to huayno. I mean, my mother listened to it. She still listens to a lot of huayno, a lot, a lot. (Begazo 2018).

Pablo's memory of the gatherings and parties his parents would take him to is something I experienced myself. Most musicians I interviewed remember the internal conflict as part of their childhood experience. Some anecdotes, like falling asleep at a party, are a common trope in our generation. Other examples of those anecdotes are the cheap candles stored throughout the house or apartment for the next power shortage, the buckets of stored water, the inflation, the queues at the stores to buy groceries, the curfews until sunrise and military police patrolling the streets of Lima. Similar to what Pablo narrates, my parents would take me and my sister with them, and we would sleep in someone's bed, the car, or a couch. This might seem irresponsible from today's pedagogical perspectives, but it was the safest option at that time. What the musicians present as anecdotes from their childhood, such as sleeping on a chair during a party and remembering the grandmother waking up every morning at 5 am to pray, are personal memories that represent the socio-cultural and political context they grew up in.

The narratives discussed so far revolve around being exposed to music without actively engaging with it. Eme and Fernando portray different musical experiences

during their childhood, actively participating in the musicking practices in their family home and social gatherings. Coming from a family of musicians, Eme recounts the family gatherings taking place regularly revolving around music performed by family members. He remembers:

I grew up with this tradition of family gatherings, which I wouldn't call *jaranas* because that would give them a very Creole connotation. It was more of a [musical] fusion of migrants bringing their Andean traditions, but they also have influences from the coast because they have been living here. So, I grew up listening to a mix of huaynos, *carnavales*, waltz, *Nueva Ola*, *boleros* and *baladas*. During these live sessions with small sound equipment, all my uncles played several instruments and sang. I grew up in that environment in my grandfather's house. I really wanted to participate in that space, and my family would always encourage our generation of cousins to be part of it. In the beginning, my role was to present the next song and connect the different parts, a bit like the master of ceremony. I did what I could, telling jokes and imitating (Eme 2018a).

Fernando's narrative, in contrast, revolves around the cultural habits and traditions of the regions of Cusco and Puno, where his family originates. Both Eme and Fernando are very aware of the cultural traditions their family's musicking practices are embedded in. Fernando elaborates:

I think [making music] is a family heritage. Just that we, the cousins of my generation, do it professionally, but there was a previous custom. My family is from Puno and Cusco, where this custom is very strong, and there were many traditions of dancing at the festivities, to play at the festivities. It is something very present in the Andean south. Music and dance are ways to participate in the festivities (Castro 2017).

Both Eme and Fernando mention in their narratives that their families originated from cities other than Lima. As I described earlier (Chapter 1), Lima is Peru's economic and political centre. Here are the best and most expensive schools and universities (why Anibal moved away from his parents), and it has also been the centre of cultural production and music markets for a long time. Lima is a big, cosmopolitan, modern city in the imagination of Peru. The other smaller towns are considered less important – except for Cusco – and are often portrayed as rural, backward, and less cultured. This

Lima-centric view of Peru shifted slowly over time, especially in the perspectives of younger generations like the musicians of *La Escena Independient*, whose families migrated from those smaller towns. The narratives from Eme and Fernando illustrate this shift because they present themselves as new urbanites, being *Limeños*¹¹ with rural backgrounds, although from different origins and traditions. This self is the foundation for the performance persona they articulate, a musician and artist rooted in different lifeworlds and cultural heritages.

While the narratives of Aníbal, Rodrigo, José and Pablo illustrate how music was part of everyday life activities and social gatherings during their childhood, the accounts from Eme and Fernando portray how they actively participated in musicking during their childhood soundtrack, considering this a period of learning about their cultural roots and heritage. Calorina's lifetime soundtrack narrative makes this aspect even more explicit, highlighting the importance of music in the process of "cultural transmission" (Krumhansl and Zupnick 2013: 2057) as the "[...] passing of knowledge, skills, abilities to communicate, and social norms in a social context [...]" (ibid.). The narratives of the musicians evidence what Istvandy (2014) argues by illustrating the experience of "mediated listening" (Istvandy 2014: iiiii) during childhood and its role in the "[...] transmission of cultural values from parent to child [...]" (ibid.) and how this determines the engagement with music in adulthood. Carolina's narrative (from *Karolinativa*) illustrates this intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge, describing how her parents and grandparents influenced her musical canon and taste:

My mom was very ambiguous [in her musical taste]. She liked *huaracha*, *boleros*, and salsa. It was very crazy because we would listen to old-school salsa, not modern salsa. I still die for old-school salsa. I listen to *boleros*. I even danced a *bolero* at my wedding with my dad [...]. Because my grandmother used to listen to this, and so she [mother] listened to what her mother listened to, and my mother made us listen to what she would listen to. And there was always Afro-Peruvian music in our home. It is crazy because my mother would bring Afro-Peruvian music home. It came from my mother's side rather than my father's because my father would bring home more like Afro-American music, well... or more Afro-

¹¹ Denomination for the inhabitants of Lima, especially those born in the city.

Latin music. My mother had other influences. It was different. It was crazy anyway. There was a bit of every music in the house, which was beautiful (Carbajal 2018a).

Carolina's description illustrates how her parents' musical tastes shaped her taste and highlights her awareness of Afro-Peruvian, Afro-Latin, and Afro-American music as a distinct cultural expression. Similarly, Fernando highlights how the music in the family environment is embedded in an Andean cultural context and Eme in the Andean and Creole cultural context. For Eme, Fernando, and Carolina, music is not simply a background to everyday life experiences and practices in the family home but their initiation into actively performing and engaging with music and cultural habits, traditions and perspectives.

The emphasis of the lifetime soundtrack narrative shifts when discussing the adolescent soundtrack, focusing on how the musicians developed their musical taste and articulated their personal lifetime soundtrack through broadening their social circles and experiences. The central theme of this section of the lifetime soundtrack narrative is the claim of agency in the process of finding their musical taste and assembling their musical canon. Throughout the interviews, several musicians highlight specific moments and encounters which they consider crucial in this process, portraying them as instances of discovery often accompanied by strong emotions.

The narrative of discovering new musical styles, bands or musicians constitutes a critical moment. They chronicle how they came in contact with certain musical styles, bands and musicians through their social network, highlighting how they started actively incorporating the music in their canon by searching for music, looking for specific albums, often in specialised stores selling pirated copies, or exchanging cassettes. José Vargas from *La Nueva Invasión* describes how his uncle introduced him to certain bands and musical styles:

Back then [the 80s], there was Latin American music, but I had an uncle who was at the university, and he would listen to rock and roll. I remember he would come with his cassettes of Dire Straits at the end of the 80s. During that time, Peruvian rock sounded really great, really sounded good like *Arena Hash*, *Duo*, *Río*, all those groups. And I liked

them. And he [uncle] would bring other stuff, like Queen, he would bring very, very interesting cassettes. I mean, I said *ffuuooo!* When I listened to Queen, I said: what madness! Really! (Vargas 2018).

Later in the interview, José narrates a similar instance: a cousin introduced him to the Death Metal bands Cannibal Corpse and Napalm Death. He describes: "He put it on and rraaawwww!, for me it was like a crazy explosión, I liked it" (Vargas 2018). Most musicians describe a similar experience of learning about music through their social network, emphasising how they started to claim agency over their musical soundtrack. Aníbal describes this explicitly during the interview:

Then I started choosing music, right? I mean, it wasn't an influence anymore [...]. Because the influence is natural, it's when they turn on the radio, and I'm doing something else, and the music simply sounds in the background. But no, here I started searching for music to calm my emotions and be part of the herd in the same space as everybody else [...]. In the 80s, there was a lot of rock in Spanish here in Peru, and I got into it. But there were also the *punkekes*¹²: *Los Ilegales*, *Siniestro Total*, *Torre de los Muertos*, *Hombre G*, right? And the bands that blew my mind were *Los Prisioneros*, a Chilean band with a social discourse. [...] I found out that they liked The Clash and The Specials. So, here in the Historic City Centre of Lima existed [a place] where they would sell discs, vinyl, cassettes. If you wanted to have an album back then, you had to go there. So, I went searching for The Clash or The Specials. When I arrived, they didn't have The Clash and The Specials anymore, but they said, 'Look, I have this. It's similar to The Clash, but it's Peruvian, the band is called *Eutanasia*. [...] And [they said] 'We don't have Specials, but I have a band called *Kortatu*. It's a Basque band that was an icon of radical Basque rock. *Eutanasia* was dirty, dirty, dirty, dirty. The sound was completely distorted, and I was hooked. I recognised myself within all this noise, my most primitive part, maybe, right. [...] I started attending concerts when I was 17, and that's how I got into the whole *rock subterráneo* thing (Dávalos 2018).

Aníbal's account highlights that within the given social context, the musicians transitioned from passive listeners to active curators of their musical canon and soundtrack and discovered their musical tastes. The childhood soundtrack is described

¹² *Punkeke* is a colloquialism for punks from Lima.

in general categories, such as Latin American music, folklore, and tropical music, and only in some cases they use more specific, although still rather broad, references to styles and traditions, such as tango, *boleros*, samba, salsa, cumbia, huayno and Creole music (for a detailed list see Appendix 12). The adolescent soundtrack is described in much more detail, mentioning specific bands and musicians. The most prominent musical styles named by the musicians as part of their adolescent soundtrack are rock (Spanish and English), punk, ska, reggae and metal (see Appendix 13 for a detailed list), indicating a shift away from Latin American styles towards the pop-rock "sonic idiom" (Regev 2013: 18). Further, the noticeable increase in music interpreted in English, evidences the "aesthetic cosmopolitanization" (ibid.: 3) of Peruvian music worlds through the [...] intensified aesthetic proximity, overlap, and connectivity between nations and ethnicities, or at the very least, between prominent large sectors within them" (ibid.). Regev (2013) argues that these pop-rock sonic idioms are the cultural expression of a "singular world culture" (ibid.: 3) and signify "[...] universal modernity in the field of popular music" (ibid.: 4), affording "[...] individual and collective actors the arrangement and construction of life-worlds, of ways of being in the world" (ibid.). The narratives of the musicians evidence this, highlighting how the pop-rock sonic idioms allowed them to interact with others but, more importantly, gave them a sense of agency. Additionally, it afforded them the grounds for distinguishing themselves aesthetically from former generations without rejecting their sonorities and the meanings they represent. The adolescent soundtrack represents the cosmopolitan, modern and urban part of their cultural roots, which, as Eme describes, they chose to root themselves in.

What is particularly interesting about the accounts from the musicians is that they make the differences between the childhood and adolescent soundtracks, a central feature of their lifetime soundtrack. This allows them to claim musical authenticity by combining various musical styles, performative elements and sonorities because they are articulated as a presentation of self. Rather than standing in contradiction to each other, the soundtracks are an expression of their personal experience embedded and grounded in their sociocultural context. Moreover, presenting their musical canon as divided into two discrete but complementary segments of their lifetime soundtrack

narrative reflects how they integrate dichotomies of tradition and modernity, rural and urban, foreign and national, migrant and local as equal constituents of their life world. This resembles Stewart's (2011) notion of cultural hybridisation. He proposes to understand cultural hybridity as a process of hybridisation in which "bodies of practices" are articulated and rearticulated through their encounters, forming "zones of difference" (53). He stresses that the point of departure of cultural hybridity is not pure entities, for instance, "traditions or groups or languages" (53), but already the expression of hybridisation. Hybridity rather than a state is a sequence of encounters and moments "[...] when exogenous traditions appear new and different to each other" (ibid.). However, Stewart continues that with time, the hybrids resulting from these encounters become discrete entities themselves. They are "[...] perceived as zones of difference to other hybrid entities" (ibid.), establishing a cycle of life. Hybridisation, he concludes, creates simultaneously "new zones of assumed, embodied identity" and "zones of difference" (ibid.: 55). The musicians' lifetime soundtrack narratives portray such spaces of difference by contrasting the childhood and adolescent soundtracks as moments with distinct aesthetic and sonorous characteristics framed by the biographical account.

Within the narrative, these two moments, the creation of the childhood and the adolescent soundtracks, are presented as discrete entities representing distinct lifetime periods and symbolising two traditions, two "socio-linguistic consciousnesses" (Werbner 2001: 136). The lifetime soundtrack narratives can represent traditions and practices because, as Elder (1998) argues, "[...] the life course of individuals is embedded in and shaped by the historical times and places they experience over their lifetime" (3). Rather than being contrasted as mutually exclusive, these two instances are integrated, subsumed and framed to constitute one narrative, that of a musician embodying the cultural hybridity between Peruvian traditions – articulated as their family's cultural habits and expressions – and the world culture represented by the pop-rock sonic idiom – articulated as their personal musical taste and practices. In other words, they resolve the tension between different cultures by presenting both soundtracks as part of the same narrative. This is the grounds for their claims to musical authenticity and discursive legitimacy and the foundation of their

performance persona: a hybrid musician, bringing together traditions and modernity, representing rural and urban Peru, and incorporating the local, regional and cosmopolitan sonorities and aesthetics. Moreover, as I discuss in the next section, it is the grounds for their music practices and how they conceptualise their music.

Voicing diversity through collaborative songwriting

During the interviews, I asked the musicians to explain their approaches to songwriting because the bands I discuss here perform their songs, except Eme, who performs a carefully curated set of songs and has only recently started writing his songs. Their descriptions all highlight the importance of collaboration between the band members to write the songs. More than a shared practice, collaborative songwriting is a convention of *La Escena Independiente*. Similar to the convention of not working with a record label, it is how they practice *autogestión* and a way to enact the values of the community they envision, especially cooperation, inclusion and tolerance. Fernando describes the process of composing from *La Nueva Invasión* as "a constant dialogue" (Castro 2017) between the musicians, where each of them contributes with their personal musical canon (their lifetime soundtrack) and their musical, cultural and technical knowledge affording them the foundation for their claim of representing (cultural) diversity in their music (as I illustrated in Chapter 2). While the bands I discuss here all share the practice of collaborative songwriting, the specific approaches differ between the bands. The descriptions highlight two main themes: first, the inclusion of all band members as equal partners who trust each other, and second, the desire to share their knowledge and experiences with the band members and the audience.

Throughout the narratives, the musicians I interviewed express the importance of trust between the band members because they have to rely on each other to produce the music and the events, but also because they use their personal experiences and musical canon as sources for the songs they write. Consequently, they have to feel safe enough within the group to be able to express themselves. Aníbal and Pablo¹³ from *Barrio Calavera* illustrate this with an anecdote of the moment they felt a strong comradery: One night, the drummer got into a fistfight in a bar, and they all defended him. After this evening, they felt ready to perform on stage as a band because they

¹³ Initially, the interview was planned with Aníbal. On the day of the interview, Aníbal and Pablo had several other engagements for the band and decided to come together. Thus, the conversation was with both.

became a group of friends who like music and share a vision of friendship and community, which they aim to convey their vision of community and a better society. When explaining their approach to songwriting, Anibal and Pablo highlight how their practices reflect this strong bond because they are all equals. Pablo illustrates how composing is an integrative process where each band member looks beyond his instrument or interest, worrying and thinking about all the different elements of the songs:

It is not like each one is only focused on his instrument. We are connected because I think about this; he is thinking about the same thing. In the end, it's not like each one thinks about how to do it for himself, but there is something like a spider web that evolves. We all worry about everything, not only our own part (Begazo 2018).

Fernando from *La Nueva Invasión* describes a similar approach to songwriting, highlighting the cooperative aspect of the band's practices. He describes the band's approach to composing, stating: "Our take on musical creation is quite cooperativist, [because] we are autodidacts, so there is this aspect of supporting each other in the musical labour." (Castro 2017). Fernando uses the concept of the cooperative to describe the songwriting approach, illustrating how he envisions the relations within *La Escena Independiente*. This specific concept of collaboration in a cooperativist manner highlights the idea of equal participation of the musicians in the band. The concept of a cooperative as an organisation owned by the workers has a long-standing tradition in Peruvian history but is mainly associated with the agrarian reform in the 1970s. Through the agrarian reform, the state expropriated large estates and distributed the land to the population working and living on it, handing it over as agricultural cooperatives¹⁴. They became a symbol for redistribution, financial inclusion and social recognition of the excluded and oppressed rural population, often of Indigenous and African descent. Within *La Escena Independiente*, it represents values of collaboration, support and trust, the foundation of working together in an alternative economy.

¹⁴ For more details on the history of the agricultural cooperatives in Peru, see Mogrovejo et al. (2012).

Another vital aspect Fernando mentions in his description of the songwriting approach is that the musicians are self-taught. The musicians rely on each other's knowledge of music production and songwriting. Tarassi (2018) makes a similar observation of the importance of trust and reputation as grounds for a network of relationships "[...] comprised of friendship, of kinship and of connoisseurship [...]" (214), in her analysis of the Independent Music Scene in Milan. She argues that in this kind of cultural production, "[...] there are no professional standards for evaluating the competence" (ibid.) because the necessary skills are acquired through experience rather than formal education. The musicians of *La Escena Independiente* in Lima depict a similar situation, highlighting the central role of the relationships between the band members beyond a working relationship.

In contrast to the approaches of *Barrio Calavera* and *La Nueva Invasión*, in the cases of *Olaya Sound System* and *Tourista*, the roles and tasks are defined by their position in the band and the instrument. For instance, Rodrigo from *Olaya Sound System* explains that the lead singer Lorenzo Zolezzi and guitarist Matteo Bonora mainly present ideas for new songs. However, Oscar, who plays the bongos and sings the chorus, might propose songs too. Rodrigo elaborates:

They present an idea and play it on the guitar, and during rehearsal, we add sections. We define the verses, how the chorus will be, which guitar we want to use, what the rhythmic base should be, which is the song's pulse, the tempo, and how we want it to sound [...]. Oscar focuses on the voices and how they combine because, in contrast to the other albums, we have three voices [in the new album]. Then we think about the drums, which ones to use so it doesn't sound all the same. I focus particularly on a solid groove [...]. Alonso, the bass guitarist, focuses on the notes and cords... giving it another angle, not simply serving it straight away but looking if we can serve it with other ingredients. [...] Lorenzo almost always proposes the songs in the form of a melody, a verse or a chorus and from there, we add [elements] and take it apart to define part A of the song, part B and part C. The painting, the colours, the ensemble [of the elements] comes afterwards depending on how we want it to sound [...] (Castillo 2018).

Rodrigo describes how the musicians collaborate, each contributing his knowledge and perspective. As Rodrigo illustrates, as the drummer, he focuses on the “groove” and the rhythms, while Alonso, the bass guitarist, is in charge of the “notes and chords” because he studied music at the university¹⁵.

Ricardo from *Tourista* describes a similar approach to composing with clearly defined roles based on their position within the band and their musical and technical knowledge. Rui Pereira, the lead singer, is the principal author of the songs, proposing the ideas and writing the lyrics. Ricardo, who studied at the conservatory in Barcelona and then sound engineering at Orson Welles¹⁶ in Lima, is in charge of the song’s arrangement and Sandro Labenita, the drummer, contributes the rhythms—nevertheless, the final product results from consensus and a combination of their expertise.

Bennett (2012) states in his discussion on collaborative practices in commercial songwriting¹⁷ that while “[...] there are no rules for the songwriting process” (154), he observed that there are “[...] common techniques for addressing the creative challenge of framing the main lyric theme” (ibid.). One such technique is using “initial stimulus” (ibid.), for instance, a song title, musical material, or fragment. Bennett continues describing that songwriters might generate the initial stimulus “through play” (ibid.: 155) or choose it from an external source. He proposes a non-linear and interacting model for the process of songwriting in collaborative teams (mainly of two songwriters), defining six stages: stimulus, approval, adaptation, negotiation, veto and consensus (ibid.). In contrast to the songwriters in Bennett’s discussion, the musicians of *La Escena Independiente* are not professional songwriters, and they write songs intending to perform them. Still, the descriptions of how they approach songwriting resemble Bennett’s model. Fernando from *La Nueva Invasión* states: “The raw material comes from one of us, but in the end, it becomes a collective [process] in the studio” (Castro 2017). Despite the differences, all musicians I interviewed emphasise that

¹⁵ Alonso studied music at the *Universidad Peruana de Ciencias Aplicadas* in Lima.

¹⁶ Orson Welles is an institute founded in 1994 in Lima that specialises in sound engineering, offering degrees and workshops.

¹⁷ Bennett (2012) differentiates between professional and amateur songwriters. The difference is that professional songwriters write for others rather than themselves and do not perform the music.

songwriting is a collaborative process involving all band members, sometimes with and others without assigned roles and tasks. Still, they are all equal partners in the process¹⁸.

So far, the examples illustrate the collaboration between the band members during songwriting. As a solo artist, Eme experimented with a different approach when writing his song *Corazón Resiste* (Heart Resist). Similar to the other musicians, he aims to represent diversity and cultural and gender identities by starring different voices. He wrote the lyrics inspired by a poem written collectively by members of the LGBTIQ+ community. He elaborates:

Corazón Resiste is a song that we composed in collaboration based on two texts written by around 60 individuals from the LGBT community, 30 in Lima during an event we organised about art and healing for the LGBT community with *Imaginario Colectivo*¹⁹ [*Collective Imaginary*]. And the other event was with Munay, a feminist organisation in Huancayo. In the two spaces, we wrote some texts in collaboration. Inspired by these two texts, I write *Corazón Resiste*. So the lyrics are a text that is not only mine, right? And that doesn't speak only about my LGBTIQ experience seen through my eyes but the LGBTIQ experience seen through at least 60 [eyes], right? Diverse people and me, so I feel it makes more sense. It is not me appropriating [the narrative] but really more like searching to recover the experiences and the feelings of people from my community (Eme 2018b).

While Eme is the song's author, he uses the experiences and emotions expressed by members of his community to write the song. Beyond the song's explicit message of love, healing, tolerance and acceptance, it expresses the desire to represent personal and collective experiences and visions of community and diversity.

All musicians I interviewed affirm that their experiences and lifetime soundtrack are the sources of the initial stimulus. Their life, personal and collective shared experiences, and the music surrounding them are their sources of inspiration for the

¹⁸ This refers to the involvement in the creative process. I do not have information about the legal aspects of songwriting and the authorship of the song.

¹⁹ Eme explains that *Imaginario Colectivo* is an art collective that promotes cultural policies and uses art to educate about gender identities and diversities. They provide a variety of workshops and spaces for members of the community to develop their artistic projects.

lyrics' themes. Similarly, the combined lifetime soundtracks serve the musicians as a source for their compositions. One important reason they write their song collectively is that it allows the musicians to combine their personal experiences, knowledge and sonorities. Matteo Bonora from *Olaya Sound System* describes how the band's sound is the result of combining different lifetime soundtracks:

Lorenzo and I have a reggae and rock background, and we got together with Rodrigo, who has a more tropical sonority, more Peruvian even. And each guy brought their own sound, and that nurtures us a lot (Bonora 2017).

Interestingly, Matteo described Rodrigo's musical expressions as more Peruvian because his musical repertoire encompasses more traditional and Latin American rhythms. As I discussed earlier, the musicians distinguish between childhood and adolescent soundtracks, associating the first with traditional Peruvian and Latina American musical styles and the second with the pop-rock idiom of the cosmopolitan world culture. Writing the songs collaboratively allows the musicians to legitimately draw on the different lifetime soundtracks because, as they argue, the different musical styles are part of their biography and experience.

While there is this distinction between the two segments of the lifetime soundtrack, the musicians I interviewed consider both parts of one narrative, their biography. Consequently, combining different musical styles and traditions is only an expression of themselves, of how they are embedded in different lifeworlds, as Luis Vicente, the lead singer from *La Nueva Invasión*, describes it:

We [La Nueva Invasión] always understood the position from which we were talking. [...] We always dialogued with many realities from childhood on. So we always were close to those genres [cumbia and folklore] like... they were always part of us. So, we always took the liberty to establish our way of saying things with those genres. I never felt the need to vindicate a popular genre. It didn't seem that it was my claim to make. What I'm entitled to claim is to try to say something with those genres that intersect me, like many others, right? Making music with the ingredients I have, trying to cook with the vegetables I have in the kitchen... without the need to vindicate them (Vicente 2018).

Luis explains how the musicians from *La Nueva Invasión* conceptualise their musical creations as a representation of themselves. The songs they write, incorporating various styles, performative elements and narratives, represent their history, person, and cultural identification, not the other way around. More precisely, they represent the performance persona they articulate as inextricably linked to the private person.

The lifetime soundtrack narrative is how the musicians articulate their performance persona. For example, Ricardo from Tourista narrates his limited exposure to Peruvian or Latin American music during childhood and adolescence. Consequently, these musical styles and traditions were new to him. His musical experience and previous work focused on electronic music, and, as he points out, he was eager to experiment and broaden his knowledge and musical range. Working with the other band members, Rui Pereira and Sandro Labenita, provided this possibility because they brought in the knowledge he did not have, as he illustrates with the example of the *landó* (a rhythm associated with Afro-Peruvian music and culture). Ricardo explains:

I had this idea of incorporating elements that, for me, were foreign to what I was doing. And just then, they [Rui and Sandor] started saying we should bring that stuff into Tourista's music, and I said, damn! That way, I could experiment, too. Since I love to experiment, I said, let's go for it! And that's how we started with all this [...]. The dude [Sandro] said: this is a *landó*. I never heard the term *landó*, and I said, shit: 'Ah, I got it'. I said this could work, and it was amazing because it was like an amalgamation... of his experience and how I saw things (Gutierrez 2018).

Similarly to the lifetime soundtrack as a source for musical elements and styles, the musicians argue that their own experiences, personal and collective, are the source of themes for their lyrics. Fernando justifies this approach by arguing that art is authentic only when grounded in the artist's experience. He explains:

People say that the lyrics from *La Nueva [Invasión]* are very social and have a lot of content. And in fact, it is like that, but we always [tell them we speak] from the perspective of our own experiences. Because I think it is the more honest, artistically speaking. Otherwise, it becomes

something demagogic, and that is boring. No one wants that. [...] I think that art that moves people is art made in the first person because it conveys transparently what that person felt at that moment. That's what we try to convey in the lyrics (Castro 2017).

The experiences the musicians reference when talking about their songwriting approach are either general themes and social issues or particular instances, encounters and experiences. Overall, the descriptions of songwriting focus on the lyrics, which indicates their importance (I discuss this in more detail in Chapter 5). Travelling is one experience referenced as a particular instance by several musicians. For example, Rui Pereira from *Tourista* remembers that the idea for the lyrics came when he observed people dancing on the streets of *El Carmen*, a small town south of Lima known for its Afro-Peruvian festivities and culture. He describes what inspired him:

I remember arriving by chance because I was travelling elsewhere but decided to stay for a few days. It inspired me a lot because that place [El Carmen] has a lot of musicality. Children are *zapateando* [a tap-like dance] in the streets, music everywhere. A lot of colours and murals on the walls, and there are a lot of particular characters, right (Pereira 2018b).

Based on this experience, Rui writes the lyrics for *Gato por Liebre* (Cat for Hare) and together with Ricardo and Sandro, they develop the song which, as Rui describes, “[...] combines the rhythm of the *landó* with electric guitars, drums and synthesisers, so there are post-rock elements” (ibid.). Aníbal also describes a journey as an essential instance, recalling how he realised, visiting friends in Colombia, Mexico and Chile, that he could combine ska with Peruvian cumbia. He describes: “I was thinking we could make ska with Peruvian cumbia, combine different things. As a way of finding oneself because you start realising that this [cumbia] is what you were listening to as a kid” (Dávalos 2018).

Another example of a specific moment, this time at the family home, is Carolina's narrative of how her father brought home a CD with *Pregones*²⁰, which she instantly liked. She began researching and interpreting *pregones*, alone and in collaboration with other musicians. Slowly, she developed her rap style. The ground for Carolina's and César's songwriting practice is researching the Afro-Peruvian history and cultural roots at the core of their songwriting practices, and they are strongly related to their activism to empower the Afro-Peruvian community. She explains: "When you are an activist, you start with research and everything, and when you are saturated with the topic, you start working [...] so your lyrics have much more depth" (Carbajal 2018a). These examples illustrate how the musicians use their experience and lifetime soundtrack narratives to describe their songwriting practices and, more importantly, legitimate them.

As Carolina's example indicates, personal experiences serve as a source for personal lyrics and, more importantly, as a gateway to discuss broader topics and social issues. Carolina identifies as Afro-Peruvian because of her blackness. She explains how she started introducing her Afro-Peruvian heritage as the central theme of her musicking: "It [Afro-Peruvian heritage] was there because of my blackness, because of my ancestors, but very superficially and I did not focus on it [at the beginning,]. Only later, I started using music to vindicate, to get to know and to tell our story" (ibid.). *Karolinativa's* lyrics express their interpretation of history from an Afro-Peruvian perspective. Carolina's and César's objective is to disseminate their vision and raise awareness of the institutionalised exclusion and discrimination of the Afro-American population (understanding the Afro-Peruvian community as part of an Afro-American diaspora).

Luis from *La Nueva Invasión* similarly uses his own experience to justify the lyrics of the song *Camina Bonito*, discussing racial discrimination and propagating the vision

²⁰ Before the massification of print technology and the newspaper, the role of the *Pregonero* (the city crier) was vital to divulge news and official statements. In Lima, a custom formed where street vendors adapted the style of the *Pregonero*, combining singing and spoken voice to appraise their goods. See Cruz (2021) and Gargurevich Regal (2012) for more details.

of cultural *mestizaje* as inherently Peruvian. This is the song during which the audience waves the manipulated flag (as I described in Chapter 2). Luis explains:

People think that *Camina Bonito* is the vindication of our *cholo*, Indian, and *mestizo* ancestors. I don't know. But really, I was inspired by a classmate who was bullied because he was white (laughs), and I identified with him when it was my turn to be the victim of racism. I thought it was important to write a song with a popular rhythm like *chicha* that can make us feel proud of our roots, no matter which ones. I mean white, Indian, mestizo, Black, Chinese, right? Because all those are present in Peru (Vicente 2018).

Both Carolina and Luis expressed their objective to represent the cultural and ethnic diversity of Peru beyond the Andean topos and mestizo discourse. They want to express their vision of cultural diversity in their songs and enact it in their musicking practices. Each band I discuss throughout my thesis has its particular notion of diversity that it conveys through its music and lyrics. Writing the songs collaboratively is a critical aspect of this because it affords the musicians an argument to legitimise their discourse. For the musicians from *La Escena Independiente*, it is a way to embody and practice the diversity they proclaim. Moreover, they articulate the discursive domain of *La Escena Independiente* through these different narratives and descriptions of musicking and production practices by grounding it within their performance persona, the musician they portray as inextricably linked with the private person. All musicians I interviewed aim in one way or another to write and perform music that represents them as they see themselves and as they want to be seen: as young urbanites who incorporate the dualisms of the urban and rural, the traditional and modern, the formal and informal, and the national and cosmopolitan. They are a new generation of musicians, new Peruvians proud of their cultural heritage, which they incorporate into their vision of a cosmopolitan Peruvianness.

Discussion

This chapter examined how the musicians from *La Escena Independiente* justify their discourse on Peruvianness through their performance persona, articulated as a representation of their notion of self, embedded in the socio-cultural context. Their notion of being independent is the reproduction of the *emprendedor* myth championed in the official and unofficial narratives of Peruvianness in the second half of the 20th century. Rather than a form of transgression, being independent or enacting *autogestión* (self-management) is a reaction to the precarity of the music market and deficient institutionalisation of state and government. Still, the musicians understand their music as a form of protest, an expression of their political and social activism. Two aspects of their music are especially central to their activism: representing diversity and expressing social and political critique. The musicians of *La Escena Independiente* understand their musicking and production practices as a form of activism. While *autogestión* is not considered a transgressive form of cultural production, the musicians conceptualise their music and performances as a form of protest. As Oliart (2014) observes in her analysis of a group of bands from Lima who belong to the previous generation of musicians: “[...] to display hybrid forms in cultural performances usually convey challenging representations around issues that are part of the struggle” (176). In the case of the five bands and one solo artist I discuss, this means making “rigid dichotomies” (ibid.) between the categories of rural and urban, modern and traditional, Indigenous and Creole, and Coast and Andes a tangible and explicit theme of the debate about Peruvianness.

The performance persona the musicians articulate is intentionally personal, defined by their biography, experiences and lifetime soundtrack and simultaneously generalisable because it references social, cultural and political generalities. The musician’s narratives about their lives represent an alternative take on Peruvian history told from the perspective of the people, the new urbanites, descendants of internal migrants enslaved people, Lima’s impoverished middle class, and their oppressed cultural expressions and identities. This alternative history provides the musicians with a way of articulating categories of belonging and defining the values associated with

the community they envision. Moreover, they enact their message of collectivity, solidarity, tolerance, and their vision of cultural diversity, a better society and self-realisation in their musicking practices, not only on stage but also in the off-stage space, especially when producing the events and writing their songs.

The musicians express this vision in several ways, beginning with the conceptualisation of *La Escena Independiente* as a musically diverse music world revolving around a set of values rather than shared musical tastes and aesthetics. The musicians understand this music world as a social space where the participants enter a dialogue with one another, embracing and celebrating differences in musical styles and opinions. They articulate *La Escena Independiente* as a representation of how they desire society to be: a community based on communication and tolerance, accepting differences and embracing the ambiguities of cultural hybridity. In so doing, they reproduce the *mestizaje* discourse in their quest to articulate an alternative vision of Peru.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the visions of Peruvianness that *Barrio Calavera*, *Eme*, *Karolinativa*, *La Nueva Invasión*, *Olaya Sound System*, and *Tourista* convey on stage.

The sounds of Peruvianness: performing diversity and imagining community



The sun is setting. I am at *La Feria Perú Independiente* (The Independent Perú Fair) in a public park in Barranco, preparing my camera to film *Karolinativa*. It is a quiet summer evening. The amphitheatre is only half full when *Karolinativa* comes on stage (see title picture of this chapter). They are the first act this evening, followed by *Pochi Marambio*, a known Peruvian reggae band. Tonight, Paloma Pereira accompanies Carolina and César on stage with the *cajón*. The audience is quiet, sitting on the steps of the theatre and the floor right in front of the stage. I am standing next to the sound booth, talking with Luigi Enciso, the sound technician. *Karolinativa* comes on stage, and Carolina greets the audience and tells Luigi to start the pre-recorded tracks. Besides Paloma's *cajón*, they only use microphones because the lyrics are at the centre of the music and performance. In between the songs, Carolina and César repeatedly explain that their music is about disseminating their vision of Afro-Peruvian history. They conceive themselves as activists who use music to express their political and social critique and convey their vision of Peruvianness and community. This perspective on music is one of the central values of *La Escena Independiente*.

The conceptualisation and use of music as a form of political and social protest is nothing new in Latin America. For instance, *La Nueva Canción*, a "poetic protest song" (Montero-Díaz 2014: 248), spread across the continent and evolved into a politico-cultural movement. Originated in the Cuban Government's attempt to utilise music to disseminate its ideology and drive the socialist revolution (Velasco 2007: 140), *La Nueva Canción* became a bridge between different national contexts and between musical traditions from folklore to the conservatories (Gavagnin et al. 2022: 11). The role of rock was similarly crucial in voicing political critique throughout the continent. Prominent examples are Charly García in Argentina and Los Pinochet Boys in Chile. In both examples, the lyrics and the music were a protest against the dictatorship, censorship and political violence. Charly García, with his band *Sui Generis*, resorted to allegories in a context of censorship and political repression to express his critique (Favoretto 2014: 29). Los *Pinochet Boys* expressed their political critique against Pinochet's regime in their lyrics and subversive performance (Ananías and Canales 2016: 155). This conception of music as a means for political and social protest also impacted Peruvian music, for instance, the *rock subterráneo* (underground rock)

movement during the 1980s and 1990s (as I described in more detail in Chapter 1). *La Escena Independiente* is the continuation of this tradition because the participants use their music to discuss social and political issues and delineate national imaginaries.

In this chapter, I discuss the performances of *Barrio Calavera*, Eme, *Karolinativa*, *La Nueva Invasión*, *Olaya Sound System* and *Tourista* to analyse the musicians' discourses on Peruvianness. To achieve this, I selected two concerts of each to examine the main themes of the narratives in the lyrics and explore how they are enacted and embodied in the performance. As I describe throughout this chapter, the musicians have different visions of Peruvianness and express them through the lyrics, music and performance. Still, the analysis evidences that the musicians—except for Eme—use *imaginarios* (imaginaries) of spaces to delimit and characterise the community they envision. These *imaginarios* are the associations of values and norms to spaces, such as landscapes, using these references as signifiers. The *imaginarios* aid social identification (Silva 2006: 104) and mediate categories through which people can interact (Hiernaux 2007: 29). The main *imaginarios* of spaces the musicians from *La Escena Independiente* use are the rural landscape, the *barrio* (neighbourhood), the modern city and Latin America as a transnational political and cultural space. The exception is Eme, whose discourse revolves around the body rather than space. I discuss each *imaginario* in one section of this chapter to illustrate the use of space as a central theme of the narrative. Given the varying relevance and frequency of the *imaginarios*, the sections vary in length.

In the first section, I discuss the juxtaposition of urban and rural spaces in the journey narratives. They echo the motif of romantic travel and the importance of nature in the discourses of romantic nationalism. In the second section, I analyse the narratives revolving around the *barrio* (neighbourhood), which in the contemporary discourses on Peruvianness replace the *imaginario* of nature or landscape. This urban space is contrasted with the modern city to highlight the communal character of the *barrio*. In the third section, I illustrate how the musicians position and differentiate their vision of Peruvians in contrast to Latin American nations and cultures. The last and shortest section focuses solely on Eme's performance. His narrative does not revolve

around notions and visions of place but makes the body the central space of his discourse. While the use of the *imaginario* of spaces is a uniting thread, each band and musician articulates a particular vision of Peruvianness and notions of community. Still, rather than conceiving the differences as contradicting, the musicians from the bands I discuss perceive the difference as culturally enriching and define it as a constituting characteristic of *La Escena Independiente*. They understand and enact *La Escena Independiente* as a space of dialogue where each band voices their vision and perspective. In this context, performance affords a space and mechanism to articulate and encounter otherness to position themselves and the imagined community.

Stories of journeys and encounters with otherness

It is almost midnight, and *Tourista* is on stage. I am at the venue *Centro de Convenciones Festiva* (Festiva Convention Centre) in Lima's city centre. The audience screams excitedly when the beat of the pre-recorded *Cajón* sounds. It is an Afro-Peruvian *Landó* rhythm¹. The recording highlights the rattle of the instrument, making it sound almost harsh. The stage is illuminated with white light, and only when Rui starts playing the guitar does the light change to a bright purple and red. In front of the stage, white light beams create a sparkling effect on the audience. The *Cajón* continues, and Rui introduces the melody on guitar. Ricardo stands on the side of the stage, handling the synthesiser and computer while Rui moves around playing. Sandro, the drummer, chews gum, waiting for his cue. The keyboard repeats the melody, and Rui starts singing the first verse. The song slowly builds up in pace and volume towards the chorus when Ricardo joins in with the second guitar. Then, the music slows down again before growing during the next verse. The *Cajón* and *Landó* rhythms are almost inaudible, resurfacing only during the slower segment of the songs.

The song is called *Gato por Liebre* (Cat for Hare). Rui describes during the interview that he had the melody for years, but only when he travelled to El Carmen, a town south of Lima, was he inspired to finish it. El Carmen is considered a centre of Afro-Peruvian culture, with several families organising *Atajos de Negritos* (dance groups performing the *zapateo*, a tap dance)². Originally part of the religious celebrations around Christmas, it is now part of other celebrations and the town's cultural tourism industry. The song *Gato por Liebre* illustrates the band members' approach to articulate Peruvianness, highlighting an essential theme of the band's narrative, the journey. It is an image that illustrates experiences and represents an idea of searching and striving as part of the quest for self-improvement.

To better understand the musical expressions, I want to elaborate on how Rui, Ricardo and Sandro chronicle the band's history as a journey of (re)discovering

¹ *Landó* is part of the rhythmic repertoire of what today is understood as the Afro-Peruvian cultural heritage.

² For more details on the *Atajos de Negritos* see Hermoza (2021).

regional and national musical styles and embracing cultural expressions in their quest for a unique Peruvian sound. Rui, Ricardo and Sandro started their musical careers playing rock, punk, metal and electronic music without integrating Peruvian or Latin American musical elements. Only recently did they start experimenting with different sonorities. Rui describes:

We started as an indie rock or alternative rock band. But with time, we discovered and reconnected with Latin American and Peruvian music. [...] In this second album, some songs have Andean elements, Afro-Peruvian elements, and, in general, Latin American and Caribbean influences (Pereira 2018b).

The narrative is one of returning to their cultural roots or, in their words, to the music that is original to their place of birth. As they argue, this connection to their place of birth makes their music authentic and their claims to Peruvianness legitimate. Rui argues that the musician's place of origin determines the music beyond the possible cultural influences by stating: “[...] we come from a rock background, very punk, those kinds of sounds. But when we play Peruvian rhythms, it comes easy because it is in our DNA. It is part of our identity and our personality” (Pereira 2018b). Through this “geographic emplacement” (Dorr 2018: 2) of music and person, they articulate a deterministic claim to rightfully participate in the articulation of Peruvianness and its authentic musical representation. As Wade (2000) argues, the rooting of “[...] musical styles in specific places [...] gives the locales special status as the authentic “cradle” of a certain music [...]” (65). In the case of *Tourista*, the geographical emplacement of music and musicians allows them to incorporate musical elements considered Peruvian, such as the *Landó* rhythm interpreted with a *cajón*.

The music and its performance illustrate the band members’ approach to articulate their nation-ness and justify their musical representation. Musically, rock-pop idioms dominate *Tourista’s* sonority, and they insert instruments and musical elements or paraphrase musical styles and sonorities rather than featuring them as equals. One example is the song *Select y Start* (Select and Start). The song’s melody attempts to emulate an Andean sonority, as Rui explains: “It has a moombahton rhythm, combining reggaeton and electronic house, but the guitars interpret Andean arrangements”

(Pereira 2018b). The two guitars, played by Rui and Ricardo (see image 26 on page 210), dialogue with each other and musically paraphrase different Andean styles and traditions. While Rui dominates the song in the beginning with a soft plucking style accompanied by Ricardo's strumming style, the roles change in the middle of the song. Ricardo takes over the lead when the melody gets louder and faster, which resembles the high-pitched sound of the *charango*. During most concerts, the band uses a synthesiser and pre-recorded musical elements (like the *cajón* element during *Gato por Liebre*).

This musical dialogue illustrates the process of cultural hybridisation as conceptualised by Stewart (2011). The dialogue between the two guitars, emulating different styles and sonorities, is a way to put into practice and embody the “zones of difference” (Stewart 2011: 53). Stewart proposes to understand hybridity as a sequence, a continuous process of re-articulations and re-significations based on ever-new encounters and changing contexts. Hybridity is a circular process. In the beginning, two “bodies of practices” (Stewart 2011: 53), foreign to each other, encounter and form a zone of difference, a space where difference is what unites these entities. With growing convergence, the difference fades, constituting new hybrid entities foreign to other hybrid entities. New zones of difference are established. The process continues.

Looking at music and performance, one could argue that this zone of difference is multilayered in that it is articulated simultaneously through different means of communication and interactions. Each instrument, melody, harmony, rhythm, and combinations are part of this articulation. Additionally, each instance of hybridisation occurs and evolves within a web of zones of difference, a network of interconnected, converging, but exclusive bodies of practices. *La Escena Independiente* is a zone of difference; each band is a zone of difference; each musician is a zone of difference; and each song is a zone of difference. Each of these zones of difference has its own means to negotiate and express difference, from the practices of music production and songwriting to the narrative of the personal biography and the incorporation and combination of musical elements, sonorities, instruments and cultural meanings. An

example is the performance of *Tourista's Select y Start*, emulating Andean sonorities — alluding to and paraphrasing musically the Andean topos — with the electric guitar, a symbol of modernisation and cosmopolitanism in Peruvian music (as I discussed in Chapter 1).

Image 26: Guitars in dialogues



Source: author, 03.10.2018

Music is one way to encounter, process, assimilate and express cultural hybridity, often referred to as fusion. Discussing the musical expression of cultural hybridity, Wade (2000) argues that “[...] music is often seen as a symbol of fusion, of the overcoming of difference, but the representation of that symbol involves the continual reiteration of difference” (66). In a similar line, Montero-Díaz (2018) argues in her analysis of the success and meaning of fusion music in Lima’s middle and upper class that the music’s purpose is not to approach the *other* (in this case, the lower classes) but to redefine oneself through interaction with the *other* (107)³. During the interviews,

³ The musicians Montero-Díaz discusses are the generation preceding the bands I discuss here, for instance, *La Mente*, *Bareto* and *La Sarita*.

most musicians expressed reluctance to use fusion as a descriptive concept because they feel it highlights the difference rather than describing their music. As I argued in the previous chapter, the musicians I interviewed understand their music as an expression of self, of who they are as a person and as musicians: hybrids. *Tourista's* performance and musical expressions underline Stewart's argument that hybridity is a process and not a state of being by evidencing how musical elements and practices are a form of dialogue. It is a way to explore notions of self, other, difference and convergence. Each band I discuss in this chapter narrates their own story, articulating and simultaneously negotiating their position within the process of hybridisation.

The theme of the journey is also prominent in *Tourista's* lyrics, where rural and urban spaces are juxtaposed to represent otherness. Both are connected by the journey of the individual seeking a better life, in search of self or a community to be part of—for instance, the song *Thaís* (female name). The song chronicles the journey of a young woman, Thaís, who feels alone and unhappy in the city and decides to leave in search of a better place to be happy. After waking up one day "singing to a grey sky" (Tourista 11.08.2018) in the city, she embarks on a road trip to the south, escaping the "insanity of the city" (ibid.). The grey sky is a common reference describing Lima because, during winter months, the sky appears in different shades of grey tones. The song continues the story of how Thaís drives south to the beach, finding a community where people know and greet each other, and she decides to stay. Ultimately, she realises that it was not the city that caused her sadness but rather how she dealt with the challenges of modern life. The song ends with Thaís' return to the city to face her fears and "demons" (ibid.). Musically, the song does not explicitly incorporate instruments or musical elements considered Peruvian. While Rui and Ricardo play the playful melody with guitar, keyboard and synthesiser sounds, the drums underline the narrative of the lyrics. In the beginning, it is somewhat tame and simple during the first verse describing Thaís' situation. It gains pace and volume when the lyrics chronicle the protagonist's decision to leave the city. After the second verse, the drums dominate the song, interpreting a marching band-like, fast, harsh and precise rhythm. This drum section seems to replace the chorus altogether.

This journey the protagonist undertakes is not simply a road trip but an internal journey of self-reflection. Similar to the band's history, the central motif of the narrative is the contrast and confrontation with otherness. *Thaís* travels to another place to discover herself in a different social and cultural space. These narratives echo the romantic trope of self-discovery through travelling⁴, expressed most prominently in literature. Travelling, more than the displacement from one place to another, is a space to encounter otherness, confronting “[...] self and other, domestic and foreign, the familiar and the extraordinary [...]” (Jarvis 2005: 190) and a space where the “[...] boundaries between physical and mental topographies are constantly being blurred” (ibid.: 187). Although the context in which *Tourista's* travel narratives are being told differs from that of European romanticism, they still reveal the potential relation between art and nation as part of how the imagined community is defined, delimited and envisioned because art helps to articulate and disseminate ideas of the nation's past, the national history. The journey is a representation of the “[...] dialectic idea that historical progress is never linear but a conflict-driven process of constantly renegotiating one's relationship with, and continuation of, the past [...]” (Leerssen 2013: 26). The bands of *La Escena Independiente* often use general images of spaces, such as the city, the rural town, the landscape, or the *barrio* (the neighbourhood), as I will illustrate in the next section, as representations of meanings and values to navigate the negotiations of their relationship with the past and their aspirations for the future.

The lyrics of *Thaís* also point out another critical theme to establish a distinction between self and other: the juxtaposition of the city and landscape. This echoes the romantic rejection of the rationality of enlightenment and the idealisation of nature or landscape as a space of encounter with the self and true human nature⁵. The city represents the problems and dysfunctions of modern society, while nature, or in the case of the *Tourist's* narrative, rural areas and towns, are spaces to remedy these

⁴ For more details on romantic travel, see Cardinal (1997); for a discussion on writing about travel in relation to the self, see Thompson (2011).

⁵ Zimmer (1998) states: “Since Antiquity, various groups, or peoples, have turned to their natural environment as a source of inspiration and collective identification” (638). Examples of this theme are, he continues, “[...] the juxtaposition of rural and urban life, as well as the notion that certain physical environments might be more favourable to the emergence of high civilizations than other [...]” (ibid.).

wrongs. The song *Brasil* illustrates the band's vision and experience of the city: "I am stranded and lost / in this city / searching how to deal with this jungle". In another song, *El Camino* (The Path), Rui sings:

What religion teaches you,
What the government wants you to do,
Is to die without saying anything.
Paying taxes, obligations,
In a system of corruption
(Tourista, 03.10.2018).

These excerpts convey a sensation of lostness, a feeling of despair and a call to awareness about the broken system. In contrast, the path that the protagonist of the song *Thaís* takes leads her out of the city towards a place and (social) space of community.

This negative experience of the urban space, more precisely the modern city, is also a recurrent theme in the lyrics and narratives of the band *Olaya Sound System*. In contrast to *Tourista*, they very explicitly use their music to convey their vision of community and interpretation of history. During the concerts, Lorenzo, the lead singer, justifies the band's intent to convey a message by narrating the story of the national hero José Olaya. He explains this just before performing the song *Manos al Fuego* (Hands to the Fire):

Music is, for us, a way to express ourselves. A way to honour the great José Olaya who took messages [...] of freedom until his last day. We humbly want to bring messages. Messages which will help break the chains of this challenging world that we live in in the 21st century (Olaya Sound System, 09.07.2017).

The history of José Olaya⁶ depicts him as a simple fisherman of Indigenous descent. He is considered a martyr for giving his life for the Independence of Peru, delivering messages between the scattered independence fighters swimming across the bay of Lima. He never gave up the messages after his capture, despite being tortured. Olaya was executed as a traitor by the royalists in 1823. National history and iconography made him a symbol of patriotism, sacrifice and honour⁷. Lorenzo explains during the interview how the band was conceptualised from its beginnings as a means to carry on the legacy of José Olaya by disseminating their message (Zolezzi 2017) (see image 27). Using José Olaya as a historical reference, they acknowledge official history but simultaneously highlight his common origins, implying that everybody can carry a message, be a hero, and sacrifice themselves for the cause.

Image 27: *Olaya Sound System* on stage



Source: author, 09.07.2017

⁶ The band is named after this national hero to express explicitly the band's aim of disseminating messages.

⁷ For more details, see Leonardini (2009), Rottenbacher (2010) and Sotil (2020).

Olaya Sound System's message revolves around the idea that individuals should seek a life in communion with nature, leaving behind the dysfunctional urban society and breaking "the chains" imposed by the modern state, capitalism, and religion. Individualism and egocentrism, specifically, are at the heart of the problems of modern societies, as Lorenzo highlights when addressing the audience during the concerts. But it is also evident in the lyrics. For instance, in the song *Manons al Fuego*, Lorenzo sings:

Man's justice is corrupt,
It is a condition that doesn't scare me anymore.
Silence, the wind told me the key,
To follow the law that reigns over the trees and the birds is the key
(Olaya Sound System, 09.07.2017)

The song's narrative delineates the *we* and the *other* through the association of values to the (rather abstract) spaces of the city and rural areas. While the city of today represents the disenchantment of modern society, the *Gesellschaft*, the rural areas represent the community as a *Gemeinschaft*. Consequently, the individual has to travel, migrate away from the city, and settle in rural areas to live in a community. The narrative of the song *El Camino* (The Path) explicitly suggests that the solution is to leave the urban environment⁸. Lorenzo and Matteo sing:

The path, brothers,
Many of us have to take it.
Together, we have to take it.
Like that, sisters by the hands
Harvesting hope and unity.
Hope and unity.

⁸ Both bands, *Tourista* and *Olaya Sound System*, have a song titled The Path. The story of the song lyrics is similar, revolving around an actual path that has to be taken to get to a better place or situation.

(Olaya Sound System, 09.07.2017)

While *Tourista* and *Olaya Sound System* share the overtly hostile vision of the urban space, especially the modern city, the latter does implement the trope of the journey, not as an exercise of self-discovery by the individual, but instead proposes an already existing collective of brothers and sisters embarking on the journey, searching for a new start and better life. This stands in contrast to other bands of *La Escena Independiente*, who depict the urban space, more precisely the *barrio* (neighbourhood), as a place of community, solidarity and progress. Despite this difference, the modern city symbolises everything wrong with modern society, the state and the government. As I discuss in the following section, *Barrio Calavera*, *Karolinativa*, and *La Nueva Invasión* explicitly use the image of the *barrio* to demonstrate how they envision the community and reinterpret the history of this urban space and the values they associate with it.

Imagining the community in the urban space

Barrio Calavera is on stage at *Palacio del Inca* (Inca's Palace) in the historic city centre, about two blocks from the *Palacio Presidential* (Presidential Palace) and the Cathedral of Lima. The venue is an old *Casona* (mansion). The main area is a long, dark room with double-height ceilings and a balustrade. It smells of stale beer, cigarettes, marijuana and sweat. The walls are painted with murals depicting Andean landscapes, Incaic ruins and symbols⁹. The event is intended as a homage to Chacalón, one of the most influential chicha musicians from the 1990s. Through his boisterous and often controversial performance persona, he contributed to the chicha music being noticed by mainstream media. The back of the stage is decorated with pictures from Chacalón and posters saying *Carpa Grau* (Grey Tent), one of the most notorious *chichódromos* (chicha music venues), set up in an abandoned circus tent. The bands performing that night incorporate cumbia or chicha elements in their music. All these images and musical and aesthetic elements are references that represent commonplaces of history, popular urban culture and cultural heritage.

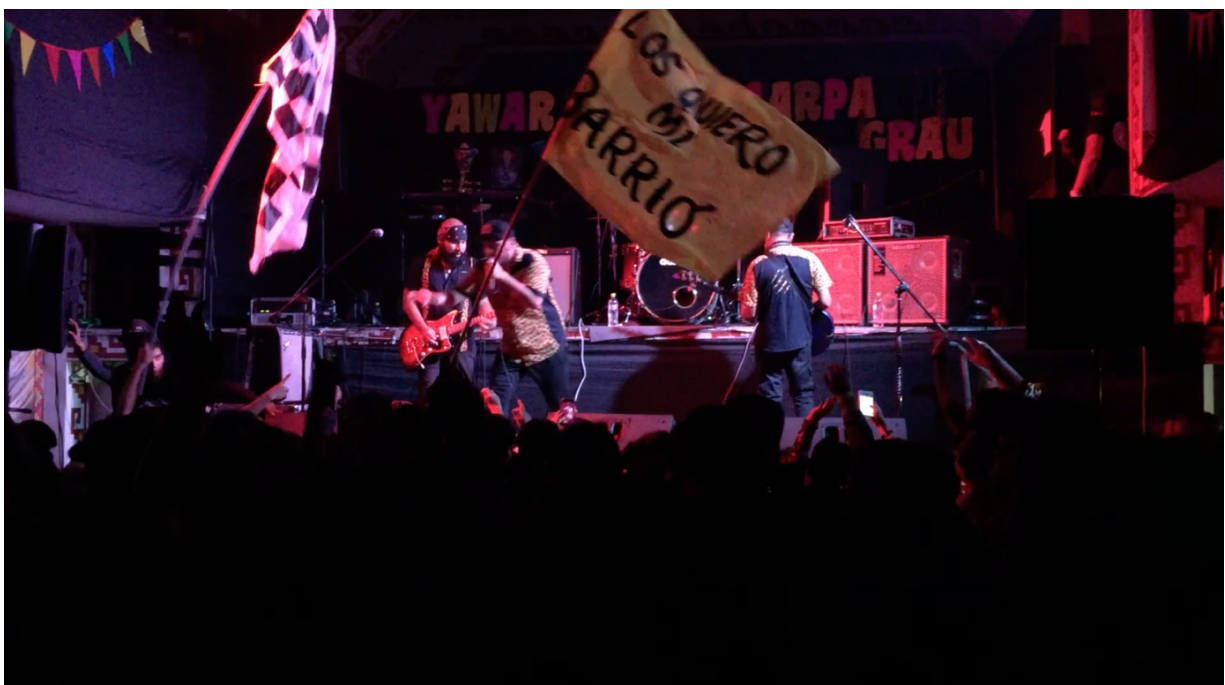
During the performance of *Barrio Calavera*, some audience members wave several banners on long poles. One is inscribed with the wording "*Los quiero mi barrio*" (I love you my barrio), the chorus of the song *Calavera* (see image 28 on page 218). As the first notes of the song sound, the audience screams excitedly, and Winsho, the lead singer, shouts, "*Fuerza popular, alegres y rebeldes toda la vida*" (popular power, happy and rebellious all life long) (*Barrio Calavera*, 04.29.2017). This slogan summarises the band's theme: the people's strength lies in their happiness. The band's message is that celebrating is a form of rebellion and, more importantly, a way to experience community. *Barrio Calavera's* narrative revolves around the experience of young men in the city's old and impoverished middle-class neighbourhoods because it is where the band originates. While not all members lived in this area, they participated in the

⁹ The entrance area is also painted with murals depicting Incaic and pre-Incaic themes, figures, and symbols, for instance, *El Señor de Sipán*, the *Chimu*, and the *Moche* (see appendix 14).

underground music worlds of the historic city centre during the 1990s and early 2000s. To the present day, their rehearsal room is located in Breña, one of the older districts.

As I described previously in Chapter 1, the districts of Lima are often used to evoke certain urban *imaginarios*, the collectively constructed representations of meaning and values. Being socially constructed, these *imaginarios* can vary and change over time. The *barrios* (neighbourhood) *Barrio Calavera* refers to are commonly depicted negatively, signifying the disintegration of the social fabric and lacking morality, illustrated by the decay of infrastructure, such as the crumbling walls of old mansions. But in the songs, performances and narratives of *Barrio Calavera*, these *barrios* are resignified by reinterpreting their history and associating positive meanings with them. In *Barrio Calavera's* songs, the *barrio* represents the people living in it. More importantly, it symbolises a close-knit social fabric of friendship and family relations sharing this urban space. They use the term *barrio* in their songs, performances, and the band's name to delineate the community they imagine, defining belonging through participation in the celebration.

Image 28: Banner inscribed with “*Los quiero mi barrio*”



Source: author, 04.29.2017

Barrio Calavera expresses this notion explicitly in the song *Calavera*, especially in the chorus. Here, they define the notion of *barrio* as a representation of social relations through grammatical wordplay, altering the word's meaning. Winsho sings, accompanied audibly by the audience:

I love you, my *barrio*,
That's why we're gonna sing.
I love you, my *barrio*,
That's why we're gonna dance
[repeat].
(Barrio Calaver, 04.29.2017)

In Spanish, the chorus says "*Los quiero mi barrio*" (I love you, my *barrio*) instead of "*Quiero a mi barrio*" (I love my *barrio*), as would be grammatically correct if referring to the physical place. By using the plural pronoun *los* and omitting the preposition *a*, they change the meaning of the word *barrio*, transforming it into a signifier of community. Still, the *barrio* also marks where the community is situated, using the urban *imaginario* of Lima to delineate it and define its characteristics by alluding to socio-cultural values ascribed to this space.

The song's middle section is characterised by an intervention from Shakaman, the keyboardist, who steps towards the front of the stage and starts toasting¹⁰. He greets the audience, asking, "*Cómo está mi gente?*" (How are my people), demanding an answer. Shakaman starts toasting in a deep, monotone voice:

I want my people to raise their hands.
Let those palms generate this vibration,
So that it is heard in the whole nation [echo].

¹⁰ Augustyn (2015) describes toasting as a "Jamaican art form" where the artist "[...] over the instrumentals and breaks of songs via a microphone" (60)

With Barrio Calavera, this improvisation [echo].
(Barrio Calavera, 04.29.2017).

This first part of *Shakaman's* intervention is improvised but conveys a similar message each time¹¹, calling for collective action, unity and resistance against an (elusive) enemy or evil¹². The second part, the interaction between Shakaman and the audience, is always the same. It is a call and answer between him and the audience. It starts with sounds like “yeeoo” as a warm-up and preparation for the actual interaction when Shakaman calls *Barrio*, and the audience answers *Calavera* (see image 29 on page 221). The band includes the audience in the performance, reaching over the edge of the stage. Shakaman holds the microphone towards the audience, bridging the gap between both spaces. The movement and interactions during the concert, throwing hands in the air and clapping, become an embodied manifestation of the demand for the mobilisation of the people.

The verses of the song describe the *barrio* by narrating memories from a fun, free and happy childhood and adolescence in the *barrio*. While the first verse is told in the past tense, the second shifts to the present tense. It starts by depicting the memory of celebrating and drinking in the park of the *barrio*. The song's final section is a call to celebrate with the band in the present, during this instance of the concert, and by extension, with the people in the *barrio* mentioned in the song. The band orchestrates the performance, allowing space for unisonance — beyond the usual singing along to the lyrics — by actively integrating the audience in Shakaman's intervention, providing a space to experience the envisioned community. They extend the space of the *imaginario barrio* into the space of the concert through the lyrics and the performance, articulating the collective experience of being part of a group of friends celebrating together and enjoying life. The participants in the performance sing, dance, and probably drink together, just like the people in the park and on the streets of the *barrio*

¹¹ For example, during another concert, he calls the audience to shout and make noise against all the evil in the country (concert at *La Feria Perú Independiente* 04.29.2018)

¹² In contrast to other bands, for instance, *La Nueva Invasión*, *Karolinativa* or *Olaya Sound System*, *Barrio Calavera* does not explicitly name the enemy or villain, such as the state, modern society, oligarchy, etc.

in the song. The band articulates a moment of experienced simultaneity by creating opportunities for participation and by articulating parallelity, linking the spaces of the song's narrative with the actual space of the venues through their performance of the song *Calavera*.

Image 29: *Shakaman* interacting with the audience



Source: author, 04.29.2017

Similarly, *La Nueva Invasión* articulates moments of experiences simultaneity during their performances. They also use the performative element of call and answer as a device to integrate the audience, for example, at the beginning of the song *Camina Bonito* (Walk Nicely – the song I have been using as a vignette throughout the thesis so far). Before performing the song, Luis Vicente, the lead singer, usually speaks to the audience, addressing current political issues, criticising the government, and denouncing social injustice. During the performance at *San Kalentin*¹³, a music festival organised by *La Nueva Invasión*, Luis encourages the audience to chant with him:

¹³ *San Kalentin* is a small festival organised by *La Nueva Invasión* each year around Valentine's Day. It usually occurs at *Centro de Convenciones Festiva* (Festiva Convention Centre) in Lima's city centre.

“Now brothers, this is the moment when you scream it loudly so it will be heard” (La Nueva Invasión, 03.10.2018). The audience screams in response: “For justice and dignity, Fujimuo never again” (ibid.). This continues for a while, and Luis encourages the audience to continue with a gesture. Then he tells them to stop — again with a gesture — so he resumes his usual speech:

Let’s play a game. Let’s believe for a moment that magic does exist because if we believe, music can heal wounds. This song is intended to heal our country’s historical wounds that intersect you, and you, and me too. And we owe it to ourselves to change our present. This song is called *Camina Bonito*, and it goes like this... (ibid.)

While *La Nueva Invasión* does not use the term *barrio*, they use *imaginarios* of Lima to delineate community and define belonging similar to *Barrio Calavera*. Their vision of community revolves around the *imaginarios* of the neighbourhoods and districts built by the new urbanites. They use the related images and aesthetics to illustrate their message that they, as a band, as part of a community, are taking the city, invading it anew, just as the migrants did. Instead of building houses, they make music as a way of inhabiting the urban space, of claiming it.

Each performance of *La Nueva Invasión* is curated to recreate the *invasión* (invasion) of the urban space of Lima, as they state at the beginning of each concert— for instance, this night at *San Kalentin*. The venue is a paved backyard, the stage is located at the back end, and several stalls selling beer and food are lined up along the walls. *La Nueva Invasión* is on stage. It is past midnight. The electric guitar introduces the melody. The drums, bass and percussion join in, followed by the keyboard with an elongated, squeaky sound. Only then does Luis, the lead singer, come on stage. As soon as he starts singing the intro, the audience sings along audibly. They chant: “Oooooooo *La Nueva ya llegooooo*” (The New has arrived)¹⁴. Colourful lights flash, illuminating the stage and audience space alike. Every performance of *La Nueva Invasión* begins with this upbeat statement that the band has arrived and brings “cumbia, chicha and rock ‘n’ roll” to the people to celebrate, as the first verse states.

¹⁴ The band’s name is often abbreviated to *La Nueva* (The New).

But it is also a political statement, declaring that they will continue vindicating the cultural heritage of the new urbanites by invading the city with their music. As Fernando explains during the interview for this research, they seek to find “[...] new forms of invading the city, take it by art, by music” (Castro 2017). They present themselves as the new generation of *invasores* (invaders), the young new urbanites claiming socio-political and economic inclusion. This notion is also expressed quite literally in the band’s name, *La Nueva Invasión* (The New Invasion). Further, the song delineates the community by asserting that the music and performance are intended for a specific group defined by descent but of different “colours” (*La Nueva Invasión*, 03.10.2018), alluding to the vision of Peru as a multicultural and multi-ethnic country. The lyrics affirm the *mestizaje* discourse, describing how different elements will be thrown in a mixer (they use several references to cuisine) to blend the differences, producing an undistinguishable amalgam of peoples and cultures.

As usual, the concert ends with the performance of the song *Serpiente Dios* (Snake God). It evidences the band's political stance and their vision of Peruvianness. Although it is the first song the band wrote together and released, they still consider it to be the song that best illustrates their vision, as Luis explains during the interview (Vicente 2018). This song shows how the band reproduces and recontextualises the Andean *topos*, which I discussed in Chapter 2, through the lyrics and the musical arrangements. Moreover, it manifests the perpetuation of the *mestizaje* discourse that is, as Wade (2000) argues, a master narrative of the national identity of Latin American nationalism.

The initial inspiration for the song was Arguedas¹⁵ bilingual poem “*Tupac Amaru kaman taytanchisman*” (To our father creator Tupac Amaru¹⁶), in which he criticised the oppression and exploitation of the Andean population and described the experience of the internal migrants when they arrived in Lima. The band adapted and reinterpreted the poem in the song. The live performance of *Serpiente Dios* starts with the interpretation of *Amapolay* (*My Poppy*), a traditional huayno from the Apurímac

¹⁵ Arguedas was born (in 1911) in Andahuaylas, a town in the south Andes. Belonging to the Creole elites, he grew up with servants who introduced him to the regional culture and sought him Quechua.

¹⁶ It was originally published in 1972 in Quechua and Spanish.

region in the southern Andes, part of Arguedas' musical archive. As an anthropologist in the 1950s and 1960s, he recorded and archived vernacular Andean music. Fernando introduces the melody on the *quena*, and he and Luis sing the song in Quechua.

In contrast to the original, *La Nueva Invasión's* interpretation is more upbeat, while Arguedas' recording is a slow, melancholy song only accompanied by an acoustic guitar¹⁷. After a short bridge dominated by the drums introducing the new rhythm, Fernando introduces the melody of *Serpiente Dios*, again on the *quena*. He switches to the *charango*, engaging in a dialogue between the *charango* and the electric guitar played by Diego (see image 30 on page 225). The *charango* is strongly associated with the Andean region, especially Ayacucho in the central highlands. As Mendivil (2002) argues, it has become a symbol of vindication and strengthens the cultural identity of the Andean *mestizos* against the official Peruvian culture. In contrast, the sound of the electric cumbia guitar is associated with the coast and symbolises struggle, but more importantly, the resilience and resourcefulness of the new urbanites. The *charango* and the *electric* guitar dialogue represent two sides, two moments of one overarching cultural space and *imaginario*, the Andes and the Andean *topos*.

¹⁷ Arguedas' recording is available here: https://soundcloud.com/archivosonorodpi/amapolay-mi-amapola?in=archivosonorodpi/sets/jose-maria-arguedas-registro-musical-1960-1963-disco-3&utm_source=clipboard&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=social_sharing [retrieved: 03.27.2023].

Image 30: A dialogue between the *charango* and the electronic guitar



Source: author, 03.10.2018

Before singing, Luis shouts: “This is the popular sound of *La Nueva Invasión*, music for the New Peru” (La Nueva Invasión, 03.10.2018). With this, he reinforces the band’s desire to participate in articulating a “New Peru” grounded in their notion of popular culture as the culture of the people. The song *Serpiente Dios* expresses the essence of this vision and reproduces and redefines the Andean *topos* as a central aspect of this re-articulated notion of Peruvianness. Just as Arguedas’s poem, the song denounces the exploitation of people and nature in the Andes by big mining companies and the state’s and government’s incapacity and unwillingness to protect its population. The narrative of the poem is divided into two themes. The first part describes the exclusion and exploitation of the Andean population, invoking the myth of *Inkarri* in the figure of *Tupac Amaru* and the idea that his resurrection will free the Andean people from oppression. The second part of the poem chronicles the internal migration from the perspective of the migrants and how the Andean man morphed, through cultural assimilation and social adaptation, into the new urbanite, the modern Andean man.

In their music and performance, *La Nueva Invasión* reproduces Arguedas' notion of *mestizaje* as part of the process of modernisation by affirming and preserving Andean culture through the mixing with foreign or modern cultural expressions (López Salas 2020: 32). The Arguedian notion of *mestizaje* is inherently integrative, proposing that differences can exist without hierarchies (Vik 2018: 84). Although this interpretation of *mestizaje* and modernisation positively emphasises cultural hybridity, it still reproduces the underlying assumption that racial categories and place intersect by using the "tripartite division" (Greene 2007: 446) of the country by coast, Andes and *Selva* (rain forest), as representations of different cultures.

Another example of the use of references to urban space, especially the *barrio*, to invoke notions of community is *Karolinativa's* music. Despite the similar emphasis on the *barrio* as a representation of the people, *Karolinativa's* narratives differ from *Barrio Calavera's* and *La Nueva Invasión's* use of the urban *imaginario*. Carolina and her brother César, the duo's members, share the conviction that their music serves the purpose of educating the listeners by disseminating the oppressed history of enslaved African people and their cultural expressions. In contrast to the other bands described thus far, *Karolinativa's* performances are characterised by a strict separation between performer and audience. They do not wish the audience to participate in the performance beyond listening and contemplating their music, especially the lyrics since these are the pivotal elements of their music. During the concerts, the audience sits or stands, listening quietly, for instance, during the performance at a small bar, *Pícaro*, in the district of Lince. Karolina and César (see image 31 on page 227) stand in the middle of the space, the bar behind them, and the audience is seated or standing in a half circle. The pre-recorded tracks sound from a portable speaker connected to a laptop on a small table in the corner. The audience is quiet. No one sings along, moves, claps, talks, or reacts in any way. Many sip their drinks while listening. A small group gathered in the entrance area, separated by a glass wall, is chatting, drinking and smoking cigarettes and not paying much attention to the performance in the main room.

Image 31: *Karolinativa* performing at *Pícaro*



Source: author, 04.03.2018

This night at *Pícaro*, *Karolinativa* interpreted the song *De Cañete a Zaña* (From Cañete to Zaña). It illustrates the duo's explicit aim to use music to disseminate an alternative interpretation of history by providing historical references and discussing how this shaped the contemporary social fabric of Peruvian society. Additionally, it situates the people and the alternative history geographically by naming towns and regions. For instance, the towns mentioned in the song's title: Cañete is a town south of Lima and Zaña, a village in the north of Peru. Both are associated with Afro-Peruvian cultural heritage.

In the song's intro, Carolina sings a cappella, interpreting the song *Toro Mata* (Bull kills), a well-known *Landó* style song considered part of Afro-Peruvian musical heritage. After this pre-recorded track sounds and César raps:

The Creole dream didn't exist for me
The same history of Indigenous and Blacks
They took your name to enslave you.

They changed the history so you couldn't stand up.
In the streets of the barrio, you see identical faces
And also in the city of the oppressors.

[...]

(Karolinativa, 04.03.2018)

In this section of the lyrics, Carolina and César elaborate on how racial discrimination in contemporary Peruvian society is historically rooted and continues to shape its social fabric. They refer to the Creole national projects, the “Creole dream”, which, despite seeking integration on a discursive level, were exclusive and racialised visions of community (I elaborated on this in Chapter 2). They delineate the limits between the *us*, the oppressed and marginalised people, and the *other*, the oppressors. The mechanism of oppression implemented by the elites was taking away people’s names, erasing their history, as the lyrics point out. Thus, bringing the knowledge back to the people, in this case through music, is an act of empowering the oppressed to stand up for themselves. This is central to *Karolinativa*’s argument that knowledge is power, and consequently, to educate the people is a form of rebellion. The last part of this section of the song positions the *us* and the *other* in the urban space, pointing out racial segregation in the urban space, differentiating the *barrio* as the neighbourhood of the people of colour, the historically oppressed population, and the city as the space of the elites, traditionally white.

In the song *Dale Poder al Barrio* (Give Power to the Barrio), the *barrio* becomes a synonym for ‘the people’, comparable to *Barrio Calavera*’s reference. The lyrics call for the people to empower themselves, seeking out the knowledge to make informed (political) decisions and act for the good of the community. While the song *De Cañete a Zaña* delimits and situates the community, this song introduces the central values that characterise the *barrio* expressed by the notions of *autogestión* (self-management) and *emprendedurismo* (entrepreneurship). Both concepts, grounded in the narratives about the emergence of the new urban spaces built by the internal migrants, are deeply engrained in the articulation of contemporary Peruvianness (as I

discussed in Chapter 1). They adapt the self-made man myth to the Peruvian context, promising progress and implying that social inclusion and acceptance will follow economic success. The values commonly associated with *autogestión* and *emprendedurismo* are resilience, perseverance and resolution and, specifically in the case of *Karolinativa*, collective action and empowerment of the masses. The chorus repeats the sentence “*dale poder al barrio*” (Give power to the barrio) (*Karolinativa*, 04.03.2018) over and over again, alternating with insertions such as “with education”, “with information“, ”with intervention, “ or “with your voice” (*ibid.*). The second time Carolina sings the chorus, it changes from “*dale poder al barrio*” to “power to the people” (*ibid.*), sung in English, indicating that the *barrio* and people are exchangeable.

The three examples in this chapter illustrate that the urban *imaginario* of the *barrio* is central to how these bands articulate and convey Peruvianness. In contrast to *Tourista* and *Olaya Sound System*, which juxtapose urban and rural spaces, these bands, *Barrio Calavera*, *La Nueva Invasión* and *Karolinativa*, envision the community purely in an urban environment. Still, by using these collectively articulated representations subsumed in the image and narrative of the *barrio*, they reference specific worldviews, interpretations of history and normativity to delineate the community they envision. *Barrio Calavera* marks belonging through celebrating – in the *barrio* and during the performance – using the *barrio* as a descriptor of the people who celebrate together and where they are located within the social fabric of Peruvian society in Lima's old middle-class districts. The attitude towards life seems more relevant than descent, ethnic or cultural affiliation. In contrast, *La Nueva Invasión* and *Karolinativa* seek to transgress social hierarchies and structures. Central to their notion of *us* is descent, depicted as cultural heritage and cultural hybridity, through which they reproduce the *mestizaje* discourse. *La Nueva Invasión's* narrative is centred on the Andean *topos*, delineating a *we* around the notion of the new urbanite as the modern Andean man. In contrast, *Karolinativa's* discourse seeks to vindicate the Afro-Peruvian history and culture.

In these narratives – expressed through lyrics and performance – the *barrio*, a popular urban space, replaces the romantic notion of landscape and rural space as the

place of community, envisioning the Peruvian nation almost exclusively in the city. In all their musical, performative and discursive diversity, the bands articulate a similar vision of Peruvianness: a community embedded in and embodied through the urban space. The motifs (journey and *barrio*) explored so far are perspective, looking inwards, delineating and characterising a *we* against an *other* who is also part of society—but not of the envisioned community—within the borders of the country. In the next section, I illustrate the role of Latin America, imagined as a large, vast, and united cultural space in the re-articulation of Peruvianness within *La Escena Independiente*.

Music and protest in Latin America

Another dimension of the discourse of *La Escena Independiente*, which the bands articulate through their music and performance, is the *imaginario* of Latin America. The vision of a united continent – mainly referring to the Spanish-speaking countries and diasporas – has a long-standing history rooted in the writings of Simón Bolívar, shaping political movements and expressed through art. It is the vision of an all-encompassing, unifying cultural space, overarching national borders and highlighting similarities rather than differences. The bands from *La Escena Independiente* embrace this idea of a Pan-Latin identity and community, positioning themselves as part of it through their music and performance by paraphrasing musical elements, incorporating sonorities and rhythms, and making direct references in their lyrics. More than just aesthetic references, these are social and political statements and evidence of the musicians' awareness of the discourses on identity, culture, history, and tendencies of music production throughout Latin America.

Ricardo from *Tourista* explains how they position themselves within the Latin American music market, highlighting their musical uniqueness and embracing aesthetic similarities with other bands. He explains:

It is essential to know where you come from to know where you are going. [Because] if you look at where you are and what has been done in that place, you can have a more unique discourse, you know, something that no other band has. No band from Mexico or Colombia because they have their own stuff. I mean, some bands are pretty similar; we do similar [music] and think alike, but we will never be the same (Gutiérrez 2018a).

Tourista experiments with various Latin American sonorities, from the Andean guitar to reggaeton from Central America. Other bands are more consistent in referencing specific sonorities to evoke meaning and express their opinion and vision of community. For instance, one recurring theme is protest, ranging from a general notion of protest to criticism of socio-political issues of racism and socio-economic marginalisation. Still, each band interprets and expresses these references in their particular way for their specific aspiration.

Most of the musicians I interviewed regularly use the term “tropical music” or “tropical rhythm” to refer to Latin American music, especially while describing their musical style. But it is also mentioned during the performances and in song lyrics. For instance, *Olaya Sound System* uses this reference in the song *Manos al Fuego* (Hands to the Fire). The song’s last verse calls the audience to celebrate life, singing together and dancing to “this wonderful tropical rhythm” (Olaya Sound System, 09.07.2017). The Peruvian cumbia-style guitar interprets the melody, but the tropical percussion (drums, congas and small percussion) is equally present in this song. Of all the bands I discuss here, *Olaya Sound System* has the largest percussion because they seek to emulate the tropical feeling of the music.

During the interview, Rodrigo, the drummer from *Olaya Sound System*, chronicles that Peruvian cumbia is strongly influenced by Cuban music. It is, for him, the source of its “*tropicalidad*” (tropical quality) (Castillo 2018). Still, he highlights that the original cumbia from Colombia has equally “tropical” qualities. The concept of *tropical* describes a sonority but also highlights the history of international musical flows throughout the continent. This includes musical styles such as Cuban son and guaracha, salsa from New York and cumbia (Mendivil 2015: 34). Rodrigo continues explaining how *Olaya Sound System*’s sound is a continuation and part of this international flow of music by linking Lorenzo’s guitar style within this history. During the song, *Manos al Fuego* Lorenzo plays the main melody on the guitar with a clear, unaltered sound. Lorenzo’s style and the melodies he composes are strongly influenced by Enrique Delgado, founder of *Los Destellos* (1968). As Rodrigo puts it: “Enrique Delgado is like Lorenzo’s musical father” (Castillo 2018). *Los Destellos* marked a shift in the sound of Peruvian cumbia by including electronic instruments, for example, the electric guitar and electric bass, reflecting “[...] the strong influence of rock, pop, and tropical (Caribbean) music on the Peruvian cumbia (Romero 2002a: 225)” and the introduction of “Creole and Andean accents” (Olazo 2023: 6) to the Colombian cumbia orchestras on vogue at the time¹⁸.

¹⁸ *Elsa* is one of the most popular songs from Enrique Delgado and Destellos to the present day. See: <https://youtu.be/qZDzHMBIDH0> [retrieved: 03.07.2023]

Olaya Sound System combines Peruvian cumbia and reggae. Both are expressions of political and social discontent, conveyed in the lyrics and expressed through musical hybridity. Tucker (2018) makes the argument that Peruvian cumbia is “[...] a means through which Peru’s coextensive hierarchies of class, race, culture, geography, and sound came undone, clearing space for a sense of mestizo nationhood that is ascendant today [...]” (88). In a similar line, Mendívil (2015) argues that in Peruvian cumbia, cultural hybridisation is a way to negotiate and demand socio-cultural and political inclusion by combining a variety of musical elements and instruments but, more importantly, “invading” the urban space with its sound (34) by becoming a substantial market for musical consumption and production. Initially, cumbia was consumed primarily by a rural audience and the new urbanites. Reggae is similarly the sound of socio-political critique in the context of Jamaica’s economic crisis, which worsened racial and class divides (Rhiney and Cruse 2019: 60). As a voice of Rastafarianism and its anti-colonial perspective (ibid.) along with the desire to find the unique Jamaican sound (ibid.: 59). Cultural hybridisation is understood in this context as a way to express political and social demands but also articulate and sustain the national uniqueness of the sounds by embracing local and regional differences.

In contrast, *Barrio Calavera* expresses how they embed themselves in Latin American music traditions explicitly in their song *Kumbiamerikan Rockers*¹⁹. The lyrics describe a community united by their passion for rock and cumbia, regardless of nationality or profession. They position themselves by affiliating themselves to two “aesthetic cultures” (Regeve 2019b: 85), cumbia and rock, by stating, “we are kumbiamerican rockers” (Barrio Calaver, 04.29.2017). More than a musical style, rock is, as Regev (2019a) argues, an “[...] ideology that combines rebellion, hedonism and artistic exploration [...]” (86) and is a “signifier of universal modernity” (86) that is adapted and “indigenized” (ibid.) in an attempt to modernise local musical traditions.

¹⁹ The spelling of the word *Kumbiamerikan* is Peruvian colloquialism. Although there is no research on this, it might have origins in the *movimiento subterráneo* (underground movement), including the *rock subterráneo* (underground rock) discussed earlier. One of the first fanzines published was called Kloaka (sewer), using the k instead of the c, which is argued by one of its founders to be a reference to the Quechua language to vindicate the Andean population, culture and language in their quest to articulate an alternative national identity (Santiváñez 2021: 41).

Furthermore, rock is an agent of youth identities because “[...] global pop-rock music has been a prime supplier of meaningful artefacts for a constantly expanding and increasingly sophisticated global cultural realm of youth identities” (Regev 2019b: 89-90). The attractiveness of rock for youth around the world probably lies in how it “[...] mixes rebellion, fun and hedonism, experimentalism and exploration of uncharted sonic and aesthetic grounds” (ibid.: 98). This is underlined by the song's title resembling the title of a song from Chilean rock band *Los Prisioneros*, “We are Suramerican Rockers”²⁰, from 1988. The band is known for their protests against the Pinochet regime.

Cumbia, on the other hand, once considered the music of the poor and popular masses²¹, is now a symbol of cultural unity without overriding regional and national particularities. The combination of the tropical rhythms of cumbia with rock, ska, reggae, hip hop and electronica is conceived as the representation and expression of a unified and cosmopolitan Latin America. For instance, in the documentary series by ZZK Films (ZZK Films 2016a, 2016 b, 2016c) titled “The New LaTam Sound”²², Bartra (2015) identifies a “[...] transnational music scene that creates its modern hybrid sounds inspired by the different manifestations of cumbia throughout Latin America” (99), denominating it as digital cumbia²³. During the performance, *Barrio Calavera* enacts and embodies this notion by stating that they, the band members and the audience, singing along are *Kumbiamerikan Rockers*. It is the summary of their vision of a cosmopolitan but indigenised cultural practice. They depict a cosmopolitan community situated in Spanish South America, the urban space of Lima, the *barrio*,

²⁰ You can see the official music video here:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=alzWsn-cQUQ>
[retrieved: 04.22.2023]

²¹ Tucker (2013b; 2018), Oliart (2014), and Montero-Díaz (2014, 2016, 2017) discuss how the perception of cumbia changed in Peru, becoming accepted by the urban middle and upper classes.

²² The three parts of the documentary are available on the ZZK Films webpage [<https://www.zzkfilms.com/>]. Interestingly, the three parts are organised by geographical references to the Coastal, Amazonian and Andean sounds within cumbia.

²³ Baker (2015) discusses the role of ZZK Records in the emergence of digital cumbia in his analysis of the three main variants of Argentinian cumbia (Digital Cumbia, retro cumbia orchestras and *música turra*).

which is performed and enacted during the performance by providing a space for unisonance, interaction and collective practices.

In contrast to the approaches to Latin American identity as an expression of cultural hybridity, *Karolinativa's* narrative focuses on the cultural influence of enslaved Africans, tracing a connection between race and culture. In the interview, Carolina chronicles a generational shift in the role of Blackness in the Afro-Peruvian community. While her parents ignored and disregarded their “*negritud*” (Blackness), Carolina and her brother embrace it, considering it a trade of uniqueness and pride. Like the *mestizaje* discourse, they depict *negritud* as a form of cultural hybridity. While they seek to re-articulate Peruvianness by narrating their interpretation of the history, they inherently reproduce the underlying racial categories. Throughout their music and performance, Carolina and César depict *negritud* as the confluence of culture and descent, talking about their ancestors (in Peru) and how the slave trade forged a cultural circuit throughout the Americas, pointing out the idea of a transnational African diaspora.

Karolinativa explicitly references this transnational African diaspora in the lyrics of *Dale Poder al Barrio*, for instance, by mentioning Marcus Garvey in the song, stating that the people in the barrio should self-educate as he did. Indirectly, they also reference Garvey’s theory of Pan-Africanism and black nationalism²⁴. In the same song, they also name Rosa Parks as an example of rebellion against the system and as an indirect reference to the Civil Rights Movement²⁵. These are explicit references to North American and Caribbean Black history and only one example of how *Karolinativa* references the Black Atlantic (Gilroy 2002). The Black Atlantic is a concept coined by Paul Gilroy (2002) describing a Black diaspora extending between Africa, Europe and the Americas.

These socio-cultural and geographical references point to a broader issue of the Afro-Peruvian culture as it is understood today. While there is no question about the presence of enslaved Africans and their descendants in the country, historically, their

²⁴ For more details on Garvey Pan Africanism and black nationalism, see Ewing (2014) and Dagnini (2008).

²⁵ For more details on Rosa Parks, see Carlson (2003), Letort (2012), and Theoharis (2015).

cultural expressions were inconspicuous for some time. *Karolinativa's* lyrics mention, "We need to know the history that time hid" (Karolinativa, 04.03.2018). This gap in recent historiography is probably related to the cultural and social proximity with the white population at the coast and to the tendency of the people of African descent to self-identify as *Criollos* (Creole) (Feldman 2006: 3). As Feldman (2005) argues, in consequence of this historical gap, the revival of the Afro-Peruvian culture relied "[...] on transplanted versions of Afro-Cuban and Afro-Brazilian expressions to imaginatively recreate the forgotten music and dance of their ancestors and reproduce their past, symbolically relocating the "African" homeland [...] to the black Atlantic [...]" (207). Borrowing Gilroy's idea, Feldman defines the concept of the Black Pacific, arguing that the notion of the Black Atlantic neglects the experience of countries of the Andean Pacific coast:

Whereas Black Atlantic double consciousness results from dual identification with pre-modern Africa and the modern West, the Black Pacific negotiates ambitious relationships with local criollo and indigenous culture and with the Black Atlantic itself (Feldman 2006: 7).

Karolinativa's lyrics illustrate this notion of the Black Pacific as an essential cultural reference for articulating blackness and Afro-Peruvian cultural heritage. They situate the community they envision in the urban space but in close relation to the transnational Afro-American diaspora through the combination of Peruvian, Caribbean and North American historical references.

Moreover, *Karolinativa*, similar to *La Nueva Invasión*, uses the motif of the oppressed rebelling against the oppressors. In both cases, the oppressed are depicted as the people, as a group defined by descent and race (the new urbanites are the descendants of the Andean immigrants, and the Afro-Peruvians are the descendants of enslaved Africans). In contrast, *Barrio Calavera* and *Olaya Sound System* ground their geographical emplacement by continuing specific musical styles and corresponding practices rather than descent and cultural heritage. They, too, reproduce the discourse of *mestizaje*, but it is less explicit and uses the notion of cultural hybridity to represent it.

The examples in this section illustrate what Billig (2012) argues, that “[...] nations are reproduced within a wider world of nations” (6). In other words, the nation is articulated and imagined in relation and dialogue with other nations. While the motifs of the journey and the *barrio* I discussed earlier look inward at the nation’s unique history and culture, this section highlights the international orientation and cosmopolitan aspirations of the discourse on Peruvianness in *La Escena Independiente*. Moreover, it illustrates that the re-articulation of Peruvianness by the musicians of this music world is deeply rooted in the region’s cultural and political history.

"Our bodies are not traditions"

Eme is on stage in *La Noche de Barranco*. The music begins, and the audience cheers when two male dancers come onto the stage. They wear black trousers and shirts and no shoes, highlighting the belts, one rainbow-coloured and the other with blue and white stripes (see image 32 on page 239). The band performs the song, *El Chilalo*²⁶, and the dancers interpret the traditional dance *tondero*. This musical style and dance is prominent in northern Peru and is a musical expression of the cultural proximity of Creole and Afro-Peruvian communities in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Usually, this dance is a carefully choreographed courtship where the male dancer attempts to gain the favour of the female dancer. This night, nonetheless, two male dancers perform and resignify the dance. Although Eme performs the song without altering it musically, the performance challenges the heteronormative gender discourse²⁷ by questioning the socio-cultural norms grounded in it. Three moments during this concert illustrate how Eme's recontextualisation of the music and its performance transgress, subvert and resignify the song. First, the dance of the *Tondero* by two male dancers. Second, his performance as an openly transgender person and alteration of the pronouns in the lyrics of the song *El Chilalo*. Third, the intervention during the song *Corazón Resiste* (Heart Resist) staged a choreographed protest.

The atmosphere tonight is quiet and relaxed. People know each other, greeting and chatting before and after the performance. The tables are decorated with small flower arrangements, as is the stage. The lights are warm and dim. During the performance, the audience listens attentively to the musicians on stage. Eme, as usual, performs his songs with strong facial expressions and gestures. In between the songs, he entertains the audience, telling jokes and inviting different musicians on stage who are waiting in

²⁶ Chilalo is a bird from the northern Peruvian coast.

²⁷ Taylor (2012) defines gender discourse as "[...] the ways in which we describe masculinity and femininity and the repetitive bodily enactments that we associate with lexicons of gender [...]" (31).

the audience. The audience laughs and claps and, more importantly, listens to him when he talks about the struggle of the LGTBQI+²⁸ community.

Image 32: Performance *El Chilalo*



Source: author, 08.22.2018

Tonight's performance transgresses the social hierarchies, questioning and defying normativities of masculinity, femininity, love and relationships by changing and rearranging the traditional dynamic between a female and a male dancer of the *tondero* in two ways. First, it is performed by two male dancers. Second, the choreography is rearranged, blurring the roles and, consequently, the dominance of one dance partner over the other. Two men dance together as equals. During the rehearsal, Eme explicitly demands this alteration from the dancers:

I'm not asking that one assumes the male role and the other the female. But be two guys dancing together and play with that energy of attraction, of flirting. Of course, I'm asking something of you that we haven't seen

²⁸ I use this acronym because Eme uses it in the official video of his song *Corazón Resiste*, which is intended to be the hymn of the movement.

before. There is no reference to men dancing *tondero*. You will mark precedence in this dance (Eme 2018b).

The lyrics also challenge heteronormative perspectives and implicit hierarchies. Traditionally, the lyrics of *Tonderos* express "[...] admiration for nature and landscape, love for a woman, for a popular figure or the Tondero itself" (Lenginnam 2018: 18). *El Chilalo* is no exception, telling the story of a bird building a nest for him and his partner. Two aspects of the lyrics and how Eme performs them are significant. First, the slight, almost inaudible, modification of the chorus, which is repeated four times throughout the song. He first sings the unaltered version:

With his expert feed,
He makes his nest in the mud.
Chilalo with his *Chilala*.
(Eme, 08.22.2018)

The couple is comprised of a male and a female bird. In contrast, the second and third times Eme sings this verse, he alters the gender to represent same-gender couples. The fourth time, he uses the ending *-es* (*Chilales*) to represent gender diversities.

The second significant aspect of the lyrics is the narrative. The song illustrates how the *Chilalo* dies when held in captivity in a cage. Eme sings:

If you keep him in a cage,
If he feels like a prisoner.
Chilalo stops singing,
And will seek to die.
[...]
Chilalo does not sing in a cage,
His song is a free song.

(Eme, 08.22.2018)

In the context of Eme's performance, the lyrics gain a new meaning, expressing the demand for society to accept and integrate gender diversities and a demand for freedom. Rather than altering the song, he recontextualises it through the performance. His performance persona – as a male transgender musician – is in itself a transgression of social norms.

Well into the concert, Eme and the musicians leave the stage, and a screen is let down. Lights are dimmed, and Eme's new music video of *Corazón Resiste* is streamed. After playing the music video, the musicians return to perform the song live, staging a choreographed protest. Five protesters slowly make their way towards the stage through the audience, holding up signs decorated with colourful strands of wool in the colours of the rainbow pride flag. On stage, they form a line together with Eme (see image 33 on page 242), marking presence, claiming a place and shaping the rainbow pride flag with their signs. The messages on the signs say (from left to right): "Don't give them the satisfaction of your death"; "Beautiful (plural), although they say differently"; "It is beautiful seeing you shine"; "We are light and full of hope"; and "Your resistance is our hope".

Image 33: Choreographed protest



Source: author, 08.22.2018

This staged protest reflects Eme's approach to music as a way to enact and embody his activism. Although his approach to music and political activism differs from that of the other bands discussed, as does his discourse, he enacts the same values of resistance and *autogestión* (self-management). While the first is evident – he transgresses and challenges social norms with his performance persona – the latter is less explicit, although equally important. As Montero-Díaz pointed out in a recent interview²⁹, *autogestión* and social networks of friendship are how the LGBTQI+ community sustains itself, even more than other communities, movements or music worlds because they often do not have any support outside their group. Tonight's concert is an example of this. Eme and a group of friends and family organised the event. A close friend of Eme sells the tickets at the entrance. Most of the audience are members of his community, the protesters coming on stage are his friends, and the musicians are also part of the community, or at least close to him. Altogether, this

²⁹ She gave this interview for a new podcast called *Musiqas* (available on Spotify), discussing research on the intersection of music and gender in Peru and Latin America, which is yet to be released. I am part of the research group developing the podcast.

concert is different from others I have attended because it is the official release of the new video for the song *Corazón Resiste*, but more importantly, because Eme intended this event to be a statement about his political activism. In other words, tonight's performance is a clear representation of the performance persona Eme as an activist. He explains:

As an LGBTIQ person, I have decided to use my music for a political aim. Stop expecting my presence alone is enough because I think I can take this a step further. Although I think that for many people, just the fact that someone like me sings the repertoire I sing... But I want to go a step further, using music as a political tool to denounce and make visible the problems and violence my community goes through (Eme 2018b).

In this context, music and its performance are political acts. In this case, for two reasons. First, the intention is to use music to raise social and political awareness and change. Second, the intersection of music, lyrics, voice, body and biography during the performance re-signifies the narrative of the song and the dance. This is underlined by the personal musical persona Eme articulates transitioning publicly.

Eme puts into action his aspiration of being more political by writing the song *Corazón Resiste*. The lyrics are inspired by two collaborative poems written during workshops organised by and for the LGBTIQ+ communities in Lima and Huancayo. It is a hymn of resistance, calling the community members to be resilient and practice dissidence from a place of love. The chorus makes this explicit:

Heart, never stop beating.
Heart, never stop fighting.
Heart, resist because we are millions.
You continue caring.
Don't stop loving.
(Eme, 08.22.2018)

In this context, the heart has two meanings. First, the social construct of the heart symbolises emotions, especially within the individual's consciousness. Second, it is a Peruvian colloquialism to address a loved or cherished person. As Montero-Díaz (2022) observes, the members of the community use pet names like *bebe*, *bebita* and *amor* (baby, little baby and love) when talking to each other as a way to "[...] strengthen the feeling of community, of being welcomed and of acceptance" (379). This is something I observed, too, attending Eme's concerts and rehearsals. Consequently, *Corazón* can also be read as a way of directly addressing the community members, calling them to persevere and fight. The lyrics also narrate the violence and aggression the community endures, talking about scars, wounds, and fear and highlighting how they transform these into strengths by healing, being reborn, blooming, and singing. The song is a call to transform hardship into something positive, diverse, and joyful, presenting it not only as a way of personal healing but also as a way to rebel against the system. Eme sings: "My love was forged from pain. / From repudiation we engender colours".

Central to Eme's defiance of heteronormativity is the claim to the body. Especially the personal right to decide over the body without social or legal persecution. He denounces patriarchic control over the body, claiming agency over sexuality, sensuality and identity. The last part of the song says:

Our screams will break the silence.

Memories born from the flames.

Our bodies are not traditions.

They are poems,

They are revolutions.

(Eme, 08.22.2018)

With the sentence "our bodies are not traditions", Eme states that gender is a social construct articulating and assigning values to categories to exercise power. It also refers to the feminist and queer critique that the bodies are gendered and essentialised

by their “discursive re-enforcement and repetitive performance” (Taylor 2012: 31). Eme’s critique questions the socio-cultural justifications of the social fabric rattling the foundations of society.

In contrast to the other bands discussed above, Eme does not delineate the limits of an envisioned community, nor does he define its characteristics because the *we* is already articulated. It is not a possibility of the future but his experience in the present. His point of departure is the LGTBIQ+ community, and his aim is its political, legal and social integration into society. This he shares with all the other bands, the desire for a better, more just, inclusive, and tolerant society built from the bottom up by contesting and questioning through art and hope.

Discussion

In this chapter, I explored the different visions of Peruvianness conveyed by the musicians through their lyrics, music and performance. Despite the differences in the narratives of the bands, they all reproduce the narrative of cultural diversity and hybridity as central characteristics of the community they imagine. The common thread of the narratives is the references to spaces, how they are compared and contrasted to each other, and how they are used to represent values, reference history and culture. A recurrent theme is the juxtaposition of spaces implemented to delineate the imagined community and define its characteristics. As Billig (2009) points out, “[...] nationalism includes contrary themes, especially the key themes of particularism and universalism” (61). The narratives of the artists, expressed in lyrics, music and performance, illustrate this argument. Peru’s particularism is articulated by the musicians using a combination of references to space, culture, and history: the *imaginarios*. Peru’s universalism, on the other hand, is grounded in the notion of being part of a transnational cultural and political space, Latin America. Despite all the differences between the band’s music and visions of community, they all participate in the discussion and re-articulation of Peruvianness within *La Escena Independiente*. Each one tells their own story, experience, interpretation of history and relation to space and place. Rather than understanding these stories as discrete and contradictory, they are conceived as part of a conversation, a dialogue between the musicians. The musicians put into praxis a zone of difference – those spaces of encounter in the cycle of hybridisation – expressing, embodying, and enacting diversity within the discourse domain of *La Escena Independiente*.

The *imaginarios* of the rural landscape, the *barrio*, the modern city and Latin America provide categories, images and symbols to articulate otherness and sustain the particularism of Peruvianness – through geographic emplacement – and underline its universalism as a nation amongst other nations. More than topographical descriptions, the rural landscapes are spaces of self-reflection and self-improvement but also places to build a new community in communion with nature. Mainly, *Tourista* and *Olaya Sound System* use this notion of rural landscape to illustrate their vision of

community and Peruvianness. In contrast, the *imaginario* of the city is used to portray a disenchanting society, characterised by violence, indifference, corruption, racial discrimination, social and political exclusion and a sense of lostness. This theme of the city represents the negative characteristics of society. The musicians use it to highlight the positive qualities attributed to the community the musicians envision and convey. Five of the six bands discussed here — except Eme — use this negative notion of urban space to contrast it with the rural landscape or the *barrio*. Similar to the rural landscape, the *barrio* is characterised as inherently positive. But different from the rural landscape, the *barrio* is an urban space where people engage in culture, community building, and political activism. The *barrio* is an active category depicting a social space where people participate actively in culture and politics, interact and relate to each other. Moreover, it is used to delimit the community by defining belonging through participation in cultural activities, practices, and descent. The legitimate claim to cultural practices is bound to the idea of heritage. Still, rather than a static notion of culture, it is conceived as a dynamic process of the reinterpretation of cultural heritage. The exception, at first glance, is Eme's music and performance. He does not use *imaginarios* to delimit and imagine a community. In his discourse, the body is the central reference, signifying protest, transgressions and otherness. Rather than delimiting a community and defining its characteristics, he demands the inclusion of an already existing community, the LGBTQI+ community, into society. Still, he shares with the other musicians the notion that music is a tool for social and political critique, a means to voice alternative histories and experiences.

While the *imaginarios* of the rural landscape, the city and the *barrio* are inwards-looking narratives, describing spaces within the country and constituting the Peruvian imagined community, the *imaginario* of Latin America adds a transnational dimension. It illustrates a transnational cultural space, bridging national borders and connecting musicians and music worlds throughout the continent. As Billig (2009) argues, the articulation of nation “[...] involves a dialectic of inwardness and outwardness” (61), similar to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting (I discussed this in more detail in Chapter 2). The musicians use this *imaginario* to delimit their vision of Peruvianness against other nations to claim its particularity and sustain its universalism. Moreover,

they position themselves and their community between and alongside other nations and cultures. This transnational comparison aims to highlight the particular characteristics of Peruvianness and simultaneously is a claim to the community's nation-ness. The musicians imagine the community as unique because of its culture, history, people, and geographical emplacement, and equal to other nations because of their similarities.

Echoing the sounds of Peruvianness: embodying ideal relationships in the audience space



In this chapter, I focus on the audiences, their practices, interactions, routines and positioning in the space of the venue. Before delving into the discussion, I want to explain how this chapter came to be. When starting this research, I intended to analyse and discuss how Peruvianness is articulated, expressed, negotiated and conveyed through music performance on stage. Beginning this research, I intended to focus exclusively on the performance on stage. This informed and shaped the research design and data collection. Consequently, I did not allocate the time or resources to collect data on the audience beyond my observations. Nevertheless, during my fieldwork, I made notes about the audience, more out of a sense of duty than enquiring about the audience's role and participation in the performance. Only towards the end of my fieldwork did I realise that the patterns of how the audience engaged with the performance and how they moved and positioned themselves in the space of the venue were expressions of self. I understand the audience to be constituted as the non-professional attendees of a concert. In this sense, the audience is a collective, sharing an interest – experiencing and participating in the music performance – and engaging in practices following the conventions of the music world. As I discuss throughout this chapter, this provides an additional perspective on how the nation is articulated through music performance.

Reviewing the data collected, I was increasingly intrigued by the idea that the audience participates actively in negotiating and articulating the imagined community. The audience might not have the same means to express themselves as the musicians. However, they do convey their notion of community through their presence, positioning of the body, participation in collective practices and compliance with the conventions. This chapter differs from the previous two chapters because it relies solely on my observations and is an initial discussion of ideas and arguments. The aim is to explore possible lines of enquiry to understand the audience's participation in articulating the imagined community through music performance, underlining the audience's agency in the meaning-making process. Throughout this chapter, I discuss how the audience members' movements, positioning and practices could provide insight into the non-verbal articulation of imagined community through enacting and embodying ideal and desired relationships (Small 2011: 183). Small (2011) argues:

"The act of musicking establishes in the place where it is happening a set of relationships, and it is in those relationships that the meaning of the act [of musicking] lies" (13). Moreover, he continues, those relationships model "[...] ideal relationships as the participants in the performance desire them to be: relationships between person and person, between individual and society, between humanity and the natural world and even perhaps the supernatural world" (ibid.). Based on Small's notion, I argue that how participants interact with each other and participate in the performance reveals how they envision community. More precisely, for the case of *La Escena Independiente*, I argue that the audience members participate actively in the re-articulation of Peruvianness during the performance of music in dialogue with the musicians and other audience members within the social space of the performance by imagining, enacting and embodying those desired relationships during a concert.

The chapter is organised into two sections, each focusing on a different moment of the concert¹ and the specific practices and modes of socialising during these moments. In the first section, I describe how the audience members socialise and interact during the time before the performance. In the second section, I discuss the audience's practices and routines during the concert, especially how they engage with the performance and how they position themselves in the space and in relation to the other participants. In both sections, I focus on how the audience members engage with each other and participate in the performance, how they move in the space, and what practices they enact during the concert to discuss how their behaviour echoes the musician's vision of Peruvianness. I use the term echo intentionally to underline that the audience is not a passive recipient but an active entity in this meaning-making process. Moreover, their behaviour is not simply a reflection of the musician's narrative but an active expression of how they understand, interpret and appropriate the band's conception of imagined community.

¹ This was inspired by Kim's (2017) differentiation of musicking practices of K-pop fans into "pre-concert musicking, concert musicking, and post-concert musicking" (38). These categories extend beyond the timeframe of the performance, encompassing musicking "on the day of the concert" (ibid.). I elaborate only on the time before and during the performance on stage, mainly because of limited time.

To see and be seen: socialising and articulating ideal relationships

It is a humid and cold winter night. I am getting my camera ready while *La Noche de Barranco* slowly fills up. The venue is an old mansion. Music plays in the background, and the dimmed lights illuminate the tables in the audience space. Eme performs today. It is the same concert I described earlier in Chapter 5. One row of tables is lined up at the edge of the stage (see image 34 on page 253). The audience is intended to be seated, although there are not enough tables and a good part of the attendees stand without obstructing the view of those seated. I put my tripod in the back, next to the sound booth, with a clear view of the stage and the audience. Before the concert starts, I walk around filming. During most concerts and events, I preferred to hold the camera in hand, walk around, follow musicians and audience members, and move between the backstage and performance areas. In this case, nevertheless, using the tripod made sense because the stillness of the images resembles the stillness of the audience and the calmness of the performance. Eme's performance is slow-paced and strikes a balance between music and entertainment. His audience tends to be seated and listen. Some sing along in a low voice. Others sway slightly. I observe how some participants close their eyes in contemplation. No one dances or moves around the venue or interacts with the other audience members. With the occasional exception of some couples hugging or kissing.

Slowly, the venue fills up. Entering through the black-painted, dark hallway that is the entrance and paying the entrance fee at the small table next to the door, most look around the room, probably checking who is already there. The tables, set up neatly throughout the lower floor, start to fill up, and the servers serve cocktails, beer and other beverages. People walk around greeting each other, approaching the groups that formed. My impression is that most attendees know each other. Some of the musicians mingle with the audience. The atmosphere is calm, and the audience members move around confidently and freely. Laughter and chatting mix with the background music. The lights in the audience space dim, and the music stops—a moment of silence. Then, Eme and the musicians are greeted enthusiastically and

loudly when they come on stage. As soon as the concert starts, the noise stops. The audience shifts and settles in, facing the stage without exception. The focus of attention is the stage, Eme and his performance.

Image 34: Audience waiting for Eme's performance



Source: author, 8.22.2018

This example illustrates how the concert is divided into different moments differentiated by the participants' practices, positioning, socialising, and focus of attention. This pattern of different moments during Eme's concert resembles Small's (2011) description of the symphonic concert in some aspects. He describes how the concert is structured into two moments, each taking place in a designated space within the concert hall. First, the audience members socialise in the foyer. It is a "transitional space" (Small 2011: 23) where the attendees aim to "see and be seen" (ibid.). In contrast, the auditorium is "[...] strictly a place for looking, listening and paying attention" (ibid.: 26) to the music performed. For Small, the building of the concert hall itself is a reflection of the conventions of the classical music world, and its structure aids compliance with those norms. More importantly, he continues, the concert hall

makes the relationships visible. It would be far-fetched to argue that any of the concerts from *La Escena Independiente* resembles a symphonic concert. Still, some of the general assumptions Small develops from his observations are comparable. Especially the differentiation between moments of socialising and moments of engaging with the performance on stage, in whatever form, from quiet listening to loud singing along or dancing.

The venues the bands and artists usually perform at are, in contrast to the concert hall, repurposed buildings and public parks. They all feature only one space and only, in a few cases, a semi-separated entrance, although not comparable to the foyer of the concert hall. Nevertheless, there is a noticeable difference in the behaviour before and during the concert. Similar to what Small describes, for the time before the concert, the audience members interact, chat, drink, eat, move around, approach others, and take selfies and group pictures. The focus of attention is on the audience itself and the others present in the space and probably, to some extent, those not attending but reachable through social media (I will elaborate on this in the next section of this chapter). As Small (2011) points out, “[m]usical performances of all kinds have always been events to which people go, at least in part, to see and be seen; it is part of the meaning of the event” (23). More precisely, the audience members present a version of self. Similar to the musicians, the audience presents a persona during the concert, a vision of self they present to the other participants. How they enact and embody this persona differs between the audiences of *La Escena Independiente*. They are as diverse as the musical styles performed. Still, as different as they might seem, the practices all present the persona.

For Small, the relevance of the space lies in how it frames the relationships of the participants. He argues that the space reflects on and simultaneously shapes the relationships between the participants. These relationships are, as he asserts, intentional and purposeful. He elaborates:

These relationships are not god-given but were bought into existence by human beings for reasons of which they may not even be conscious but which, I believe, model or enact ideal human relationships as those taking part imagine them to be (27).

The concert hall, with its strict separation of space, highlights hierarchical relationships between the audience and musicians, inhibiting any contact between them. Simultaneously, it brings together individuals in the audience who would not necessarily share a space in other moments of their everyday life. As Small describes, most are probably strangers, “[...] yet in certain respects not strangers at all” (Small 2011: 41) because they share values and conventions within the space of the concert. In the case of Eme, the audience members know each other. At least a good part of them do. They are part of a community outside the space of the performance, the LGBTQI+ community.

Despite the apparent differences between the concert hall and tonight’s venue, *La Noche de Barranco*, the latter equally shapes how the participants relate to each other, interact, move and engage with the performance. The audience space is filled with tables and stools, encouraging the audience to sit—those standing equally remain at their place. If someone goes to the toilet, they cross the room quickly, bending slightly over so as not to disturb the view on the stage. Overall, my impression is that the audience members respect each other’s space and try not to intrude on their listening experience. The layout of the space reinforces this behaviour. This night, the audience is constituted mainly by the members of the LGBTQI+ community, as Eme intended. This night’s audience in *La Noche de Barranco* echoes Eme’s vision of community and enacts the values he conveys through his performance and performance persona. They treat each other with respect, tolerance and friendliness. Eme enacts these values in his performance and encounters with the audience members, especially after the concerts. He always takes time to speak to people, smiling, listening, agreeing to take selfies and hugging them. His audience acts similarly and, more importantly, does not defy his proposition by complying with how he curated the performance and the space by listening and contemplating quietly and in stillness.

Another example of an audience characterised by contemplation and stillness is *Karolinativa*’s audience. They behaved similarly during the concerts I observed. Equally seated or standing still, they rarely interact or socialise during the concert. Something Carolina and César seek explicitly for their performances. They want the

audience to listen to the narratives of their songs and their message about Afro-Peruvian history and culture. Consequently, as César explains during the interview, they prefer to perform at small venues such as cafés or bars because, in their view, “[...] the best places to make music that has power [are those] where people are seated, dispositioned to listen to you” (Carbajal 2018b). In both cases, the way the audience members interact is characterised by mutual respect and acceptance. This underlines Small’s argument that the venue, structure, and infrastructure matter because they reflect and shape the relationships the participants engage in during the concert. Space in itself has meaning. It is socially and historically constructed, but the musicians’ decisions about where to perform add an additional layer of meaning. This is not purely based on preference but strongly related to the costs of and access to venues. Still, as *Karolinativa*’s example highlights, space is chosen in function of the performance - providing a quiet space where the audience can listen without distractions - and to aid the objective of bringing into existence ideal relationships.

In the cases of *Olaya Sound System* and *Tourista*, I observed a similar pattern. Socialising occurs primarily but not exclusively before and, to some extent, after the concert. During the concert, the audience members direct their attention almost exclusively towards the stage. Still, in contrast to Eme’s and *Karolinativa*’s audiences, *Olaya Sound System*’s and *Tourista*’s audiences react and engage more actively with the music and musicians but also interact during the performance, with those present taking part in collective practices and others not physically present through social media. This is also reflected in the layout of the audience space, allowing the audience to move around more freely, as it did during the concert of *Olaya Sound System* at *La Noche de Barranco* several months before Eme’s concert, which I described earlier. The area in front of the stage is empty, and only one row of tables is set up in the back of the venue. All tables are reserved, as is usual in this venue. The venue starts filling up. All tables are occupied, and those without a reservation stand in groups in between the tables. Some arrive in groups, and others arrive by themselves, pausing after entering the room, looking around, and apparently searching for their friends. Some take out their phones and make a call or type something. Others move around the venue, approaching different groups, greeting, and chatting. Before the concert,

people chat, drink, eat, and move around the venue, greeting others or ordering drinks at the bar, always avoiding the empty half-circle forming in front of the stage. Only the servers cross the open space carrying trays with food and beverages – mainly beer – and cash because drinks are paid for as soon as they are served.

Some audience members take selfies or group pictures, posing and smiling, hugging and always searching for a good angle. Right after taking the photo, they look at their phones (I presume to look at the pictures), maybe posting them on social media or sharing them. Yet others look at their phones while waiting, barely interacting with others. Still, no one stands or sits by themselves. Music is playing in the background, almost inaudibly over the chatting. The atmosphere is calm and cheerful. It smells of *tequeños*² and beer. The bar serves cocktails and beer in individual bottles (330ml) or a jar (around 2 litres) to share.

The supporting act, *Luzma y el Presidente*³, came on stage. The space just in front of the stage stays empty (see image 35 on page 258), and the audience is observing but not engaging with the performance. Only when the lead singer requests the audience to come closer does a small group of women enter the empty half-circle and dance. After a few songs, they leave the stage applauded by the audience. During the pause between the supporting band and *Olaya Sound System*, the staff prepares the stage, rearranging instruments and the settings, some musicians tune their instruments, and some last coordination with the sound technicians is made. The audience moves slowly towards the stage, occupying the whole space in front of the stage. Those on the second floor gather around the balustrade. They all face the stage, bodies turned towards the front, focusing on the performance and standing next to each other, chatting and some holding their beer. The servers continued to walk around, taking orders just until the beginning of the performance. Later audience members have to approach the bar if they want to order something. *Olaya Sound System* comes on stage. They are received with applause and cheering. They greet the audience only after playing the first song. As soon as the music starts, people stop

² Tequeños are small, deep-fried snacks filled with cheese and mostly served with guacamole (avocado creme).

³ They are an all-female band interpreting modern Latin American folklore.

talking and interacting. Some rock gently forth and back, sing quietly and move their heads. Others sip their beer, watching the performance.

Image 35: The empty space in front of the stage



Source: author, 09.07.2017

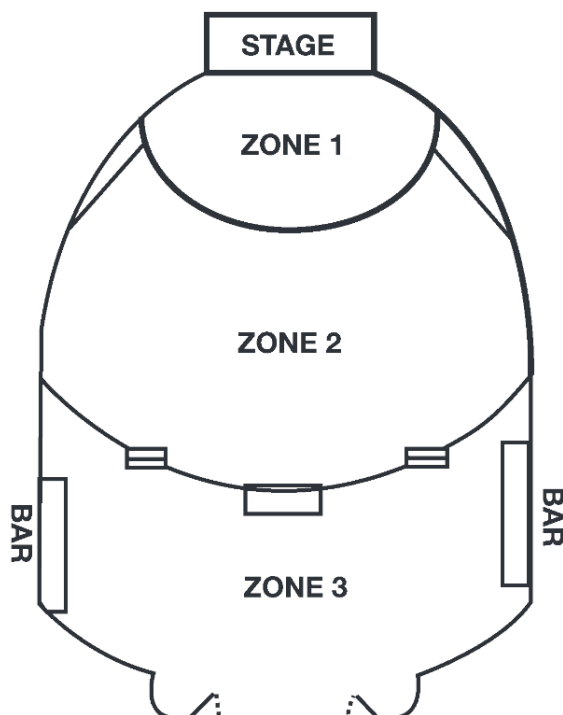
Olaya Sound System's audience echoes the band's discourse of community through their practices and behaviour. Their narratives revolve around the individual rather than an already existing community – like the LGBTQI+ community in the case of Eme and the Afro-Peruvian community in the case of *Karolinativa* – and the way those individuals should build the envisioned community. The audience socialises and interacts before the concerts but is divided into groups. My impression was, especially in contrast to Eme's audience, that the attendees know each other but are as close. Also, noticeably more people do not socialise but instead wait for the performance to start, looking at their phones. The same applies to *Tourista's* audience.

The descriptions so far illustrate the audiences' behaviour during solo concerts of the bands and artists. Consequently, the audience attends to experience exclusively the band's or musician's performance. During festivals or other events where the musicians share the stage with others, the audience is comprised of different audiences. Differentiating who belongs to which audience is difficult. Still, they are distinguishable to some extent by their behaviour and demeanour. The different audiences share the space and need to negotiate not just the interactions with their own group but with the other groups, too. The fans are a group that stands out from the comprehensive audience at the shared events. While they are obviously part of the audience, they also are a distinguishable group. In contrast to the general audience, the fans engage more actively in the performance, waving flags and banners and behaving, in some cases, as an exclusive and closed group. Moreover, they are organised in fan clubs, engaging with each other and the musicians beyond the space and time of the concert. While I did not focus on the fan clubs or engage actively with the members, I started to recognise familiar faces from earlier concerts and the pictures they posted on their social media (I joined several groups on Facebook). In the cases of *Olaya Sound System* and *Tourista*, the fans would wait patiently and seemingly enjoy the other musicians' performances. Still, several positioned themselves early on in front of the stage. My impression is that they respected other fans' desire to experience their favourite band's performance without intruding on or imposing themselves.

The observations of the different audiences sharing the space highlight the relevance of positioning communicative act. The audience members position themselves in relation to the performance on stage and to the other audience members. How individuals and groups engage and participate depends on where they position themselves. Their physical position is a representation of their social position within the space of the performance. Fonarow (2006) conceptualises a model of the audience space, identifying three different zones "[...] based on the distinct types of activities exhibited in these areas" (82) and the degree of density, mobility and the "spectatorial orientation" (116) (see figure 2 on page 262). Zone one is the area in front of the stage, encompassing the front rows, the pit and those in close proximity to the

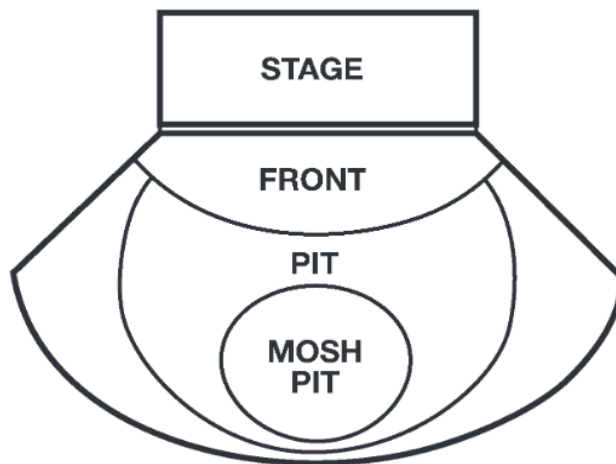
pit (see figure 3 on page 263). While the first rows are characterised by high density and restricted movement, the pit is the most active area. Participants in the pit dance, jump, pogo and mosh, depending on the musical style. In contrast, in “[...] zone two, audience members are physically circumspect and deeply focused on the performance” (ibid.: 105). Zone three is the area with the least focus on the performance. Instead of focusing on the performance, either through physical engagement or contemplation, here, the participants “[...] are more concerned with fellow audience members than with the performance” (ibid.: 122). This structure of participation is relevant because, as Fonarow argues, where individuals position themselves within the audience space evidences how they want to participate and, by extension, how they want to relate to each other. Where they position themselves are judgements of value “[...] about the relative merits of [the] different activities” (114), signalling what is considered good and authentic behaviour.

Figure 2: Fonarow’s model of zones



Source: Fonarow (2006): 83

Figure 3: Detailed model of zone one



Source: Fonarow (2006): 84

Based on this model, Fonarow argues that where and how the audience members position themselves within the venue is part of bringing into existence the ideal relationships because the space is socially constructed and represents a specific meaning. She elaborates:

[...] meaning is built interactionally across modalities; it is made cognitively, verbally, spatially, temporally, and through bodily deployment. The actions of audience members at shows are a part of how meaning is constructed and social relationships are articulated. Where a participant locates himself in space is read by other participants as communicative (Duranti 1992a). Space is culturally organized, and therefore the use of the body in space is a meaning-making process (80).

For instance, the way *Barrio Calaver's* and *La Nueva Invasión's* audiences position themselves in the venue and deploy their bodies underlines and illustrates Fonarow's argument. The behaviour of the fans is especially interesting. They occupy the space in front of the stage and, when possible, transgress the boundary between stage and audience space. The concert of *La Nueva Invasión* in *La Noche de Barranco* illustrates this. The audience segregates into two groups while waiting for the performance to start. Most of the audience sits at the tables or stands around in groups, drinking beer and chatting. A smaller group gathers in front of the stage, occupying the centre of the

audience space. The stage is waste high and borders on the audience space, unlike other venues where a security area clearly separates the stage and audience space. I recognise several audience members from other events and the fan club's social media. The fan club is called *El Pueblo Invasor* (The Invading People). They gather in zone one and settle in, preparing for the performance, placing the blown-up balloons they brought wrapped in a large dark cloth on the edge of the stage between the speaker. Some sit on the edge of the stage, waiting for the concert to begin. One of the female fans unpacks the manipulated flag described earlier, and some wear colourful woollen masks⁴ (see image 36 on page 263). Just like the rest, they socialise and drink beer. But their demeanour is different. There is no doubt about their claim to this space. The way they behave and interact, especially with the other audience members, asserts their dominance over zone one. Their proximity to the stage and appropriation of the physical space of the stage (sitting on it and using it as storage) is the enactment of a particular position through their closeness to the musicians. Fonarow observes this too: "[...] zone one audience members privilege themselves over zone two because of their own physical proximity to the performers and the sacrifices they are willing to make to exhibit their fanship" (Fonarow 2006: 114). They distinguish themselves from the rest of the audience by occupying zone one, controlling access, and, consequently, controlling participation in the activities during the performance (as I describe in more detail in the next section).

⁴ The masks the members of the fan club wear resemble those worn for traditional festivities in the region of Cusco. They are knitted woollen masks covering the head, similar to a ski mask, showing stylised faces in different colours. These masks, together with the banners, were purchased with the support of the band.

Image 36: Fans from *La Nueva Invasión* preparing for the concert



Source: author, 03.04.2018

This claim of dominance over the space becomes more evident when the fans share the space with other audiences, for instance, during the festival San Kalentín at Centro de Convenciones Festiva (Convention Centre Festiva) in Lima's city centre. The fans, again equipped with flags and banners, position themselves in zone one, occupying the front and part of the pit. During the performances of the bands performing before *La Nueva Invasión* that night⁵ the members of the fan club remain in zone one without engaging with the performance. The Peruvian flag — this time not manipulated — is draped over the security fence (see image 37 on page 264). They look at their phones and chat, as far as possible, given the music volume. A group of young women in the first row seem rather bored. Still, other fans also position themselves in zone one, especially during *Tourista's* performance. *Touristas* fans wave a banner, and those in the first row are submerged in the performance, singing along and recording with their phones. In contrast to the fans from *La Nueva Invasión*, they position themselves in the front just before the performance and leave afterwards.

⁵ The bands are *Sonora Patronal*, *Tourista* and *Sabor y Control*

Like all the others, *La Nueva Invasión*'s fans and audience shift their attention towards the front as soon as the band enters the stage, but—as I describe in the next section—the attention is not exclusive. The interactions and collective practices during the performance are equally important to listen to the music. *La Nueva Invasión*'s fans and audience echo the band's discourse about taking the urban space, invading the city through music, just as the new urbanites did⁶, demanding space to live and inclusion into the urban society.

Image 37: Flag draped over security fence



Source: author, 03.10.2018

The fans and audience of *Barrio Calavera* display similar behaviour and patterns during the concert at *La Feria Independiente* in a public park in *Barranco*. They take the space in front of the stage, and they, too, blur the separation of the stage and audience space by using the edge of the stage to store their belongings. One group of

⁶ I discussed the history of Lima and the notion of the *invasiones* (invasions) by the new urbanites in Chapter 1 and how *La Nueva Invasión* appropriates and reinterprets this discourse in their music and performance in Chapter 5.

young men, in particular, do this. They keep their backpacks behind a speaker, hiding a rum bottle, which they pull out occasionally during the concert (see image 38 on page 266). While drinking is common during most concerts, here it is noteworthy because the consumption of alcohol is illegal in public spaces. The organisers of *La Feria Perú Independiente* repeat in the public announcements that the fair is intended to be a drug-free event. Still, people drink and smoke cigarettes. Sometimes, a whiff of cannabis is noticeable, or the large, dense clouds of vaping waft around. The behaviour of this group of young men transgresses social norms and laws. Moreover, they impose their claim onto others by positioning themselves in zone one and demonstrating that they can intrude into the stage space and use it to safely keep their bags, exercising a particular privilege of access based on their proximity to the stage and control over the area. Similar to *La Nueva Invasión's* fans, those occupying zone one form an exclusive group. This will become more evident in the next section when I describe the behaviour and practices of the audience during the performance. Through their positioning and practices, they claim and exercise dominance over the space and control access and participation. This behaviour resembles what *Barrio Calavera* narrate in their songs. For instance, the song *Calavera*, which I discussed in Chapter 4, describes how young people drink and celebrate on the streets of the *barrio* (neighbourhood). The community *Barrio Calavera* and *La Nueva Invasión* delineate and enact through their music and performance are exclusive notions of group, delimited by space and a particular behaviour. In contrast to the other bands, they proclaim how the envisioned community is to be built — through the invasion of the urban space, the taking and occupying of the city — and who can legitimately be part of this community — the descendant of the old and impoverished urbanites and the new urbanites. In other words, the new generations of 'the people' (I discuss this in detail in Chapter 5).

Image 38: Young men using the stage and drinking alcohol during the concert of *Barrio Calavera*



Source: author, 04.28.2018

Despite the differences between the audiences, the observations I discussed here illustrate that the audience is not simply a recipient but rather an active entity expressing notions of self through the ways the members interact, position themselves and engage with the performance and each other. How they interact and with whom, before and during the performance, echoes the bands' discourses, or more precisely, they enact and embody the ideal relationship the bands delineate and convey through their music and performance. I use the term echo to point out that I am not arguing a strict causality between the musicians' message and the audience's behaviour. The audience echoes the musicians' narratives and, in so doing, takes part in the debate about Peruvianness, more precisely, how the concert participants envision community

as a collective. This echoing of the narratives is neither absolute nor unaltered but processed, changed, and adapted by the audience members. They embody and enact the ideal relationships they want them to be. The music performance affords them a space and the means – their practices – to participate in the articulation of the nation. In the next section, I discuss the audience’s practices during the music performance, describing how they engage in the performance and the other audience members.

Delineating belonging through movement and stillness

It is past midnight, and *La Nueva Invasión* is performing *Camina Bonito* (Walk Nicely) at the *Centro de Convenciones Festiva* in Lima's city centre. The fans and audience members in zone one are dancing, jumping, screaming and pushing towards the stage, and the security staff struggles to contain them. Those in the back are less active but still participate more actively during this song than others. In the middle of the song, the music quiets down. The audience is vibrating with excitement. Luis starts talking: "With humility we go down the times it is necessary that we have to go down into the trenches. [Start from the bottom] in our profession, in the work we must do. Because we work to build upwards" (San Kalentin 03.20.2018). He repeats this idea in every performance, proposing that the individuals forming this collective must fight and pursue their dreams for a better society by building it from the bottom up. This is a direct reference to the narratives of how the new urbanites created their neighbourhoods in the desert surrounding Lima without support from the city or the government (I discussed this narrative in detail in Chapter 1).

Meanwhile, Fernando leaves his place behind the keyboard and kneels, playing the *quena* (see image 39 on page 269). Diego, the guitarist, follows his example. Luis continues with his speech while kneeling in the middle of the stage: "I feel every drop of water, every ray of sun, every hug, every smile, every applause. Very small, very small. We go down all the way if we have to" (ibid.). He articulates the notion that through effort and care, something significant and inherently positive will grow out of something small, just as plants grow out of a seed. In the context of the song and the band's overall discourse, this can also be interpreted as the idea that a *New Peru* will grow out of a tiny seed, the individual effort.

Image 39: Fernando kneeling on stage



Source: author, 03.10.2018

The audience in zone one kneels too, or rather crouches, avoiding beer puddles, trampled cups and other rubbish. Faces beam upwards to the stage and the musicians (see image 40 on page 270). The chorus starts as a collective whisper: *Naciendo la esperanza del nuevo Perú* (The hope of the new Peru being born). Some audience members crouching try to pull down those standing next to them. Yet others, located at the edges of zone one, film with their phones. The manipulated flag waves over their heads. The chorus is repeated over and over again, almost like a prayer. The audience starts to clap, still crouching, and slowly bops up and down. Gradually, they get up with the increasing volume of the music. The whispered chorus becomes a scream. The music returns to its average volume, and Luis dances and jumps in circles, emulating a huayno dance style. The *quena* takes over the melody, now audible since Fernando returned to the microphone. After a few more instances, the song stops with a last trill of the *quena* and the audience cheers and applauds enthusiastically.

Image 40: Audience crouching and waving the manipulated flag



Source: author, 03.10.2018

The practice of kneeling during the song *Camina bonito* has become a ritual enacted during each performance of *La Nueva Invasión*, independent of the size or layout of the venue. Small (2011) defines ritual as: "[...] a type of organized behaviour in which humans use the language of gesture to affirm, explore and celebrate their ideas of how the relationships of the cosmos operate, and thus how they themselves should relate to it and to one another" (15). During these ritualised practices, the participants negotiate and convey, or in Small's words, affirm, explore and celebrate the ideal relationships and the community they envision. They negotiate the *who* and the *what* of that imagined community, defining its character and delimiting belonging through their gestures and the positioning of their bodies. As Small (2011) argues:

In the concentrated and heightened time of ritual, relationships are brought into existence between the participants, which model ideal relationships as the participants imagine them to be. In this way, the participants not only *learn about* the relationships but also actually *experience* them in action. In the memorable phrase of the anthropologist

Clifford Geertz (1973), in the ritual act “the lived-in order merges with the dreamed-of order” (Small 2011: 95; highlights in original).

The history of how kneeling and crouching became part of the performance highlights that these rituals are not necessarily curated and imposed by the bands but evolve through negotiations between the band and the audience. As Luis from *La Nueva Invasión* explains during the interview, the ritual of kneeling was not part of how the band curated the performance but the result of a spontaneous reaction to a technical problem in the middle of the song, forcing the musicians to pause and turn down the volume. He describes the situation:

I liked how suddenly the song grew smaller and smaller. My impulse [...] was to make it even smaller and smaller, almost like a prayer, like a whisper. Then I knelt. In the beginning, only I would kneel. And then we made that the song grew again. [...] Like something that starts being really, really small and, in the end, pulls in many people and continues growing. It worked very well during the live performance, and people reacted great. Now, it is impossible not to kneel because the audience kneels, and they kind of force me and others to kneel, too (Vicente 08.22.2018).

Luis' description illustrates how practices and relations between the audience and musicians can evolve and change over time. The musicians could have dismissed the audience's reaction to the sudden change in the performance but instead decided to embrace it. The kneeling and crouching, whispering and singing, jumping and screaming have become a compulsory element of the performance, both for the musicians and the audience. Moreover, it is an essential aspect of the meaning-making process because it allows the audience members to collectively enact the message of building a better future.

This example also highlights a second important aspect. The audience participates in articulating these rituals and defining the ideal relationships through the use and deployment of their body. Be it through positioning it in the different zones or participating in different activities, from jumping to swaying, from humming to screaming. In this sense, the body is one central “expressive equipment” (Auslander 2006a: 118) of the audience through which they can articulate and convey their notions

of self. As Fonarow (2006) argues, the ritual “organizes bodies into specific activities” (98) through its rules about how the body should be used and deployed. She continues that the body’s position is a judgement of values about "authentic relationships with music and performance" (114). Consequently, where the body is positioned and how it is deployed within the social space of performance is a way to express meaning and to present notions of self in relation to the space and others. Moreover, the ritual frames the experience of the ideal relationships during the concert, affording the participants guidance on how and with whom to engage.

Another practice that takes place regularly at the concerts from *La Nueva Invasión* is moshing. It is “[...] a ritualized and furious form of dancing which combines physical aggression with collective displays of emotion” (Riches 2011: 315). For instance, during the concert of *La Nueva Invasión* at the amphitheatre of *La Biblioteca Nacional* (National Library), during the song *Serpiente Dios* (Snake God), a group of young men clear a space forming a mosh pit. They push other audience members aside brusquely, especially one young man who is pushed repeatedly with force until he leaves the area altogether. Apparently, his participation is not welcome. The fans delineate belonging through the practices demonstrating their dominance over the space, deciding explicitly who can participate and who is excluded.

A comparable situation occurred at *Barrio Calavera’s* concert at *La Feria Peru Independiente* in a public park in Barranco. The small amphitheatre is full. Right in front of the stage, the audience is cramped together, moving as one big mass. Still, they dance, sing along and pogo⁷ occasionally. As soon as the melody of the song *Cholita* sounds, a group of young men positioned in the pit starts forming a mosh pit. They push those beside them aside if they do not move voluntarily (see image 41 on page 273). The song begins, and the tension of those engaging in the mosh pit becomes palpable. They jump up and down, shake their arms, and some take off their t-shirts and start whirling them around over their heads. The tension is released when they start jumping into each other, moving forward and backward, closing and opening the

⁷ Pogo is a form of moshing where the participants jump up and down, either on the spot or slamming into each other.

circle. Only a part of the audience moshes during the first part of the song. Yet, when the refrain sounds, most positioned in zone one jump and sing, including those in the first row, despite the physical constraints of being pushed against the stage. The crowd in the front becomes a shoving and pushing mass, and some try to maintain the integrity of the mosh pit but are regularly disturbed by those around them.

Image 41: Preparing the mosh pit at *Barrio Calavera's* performance



Source: author, 04.28.2018

The way the fans and audience members in zone one dominate and control the space illustrates how they bring their ideal relationships into existence. They enact an exclusive community through practice⁸ representing how they want the relationships

⁸ This idea of community through practice is inspired by Wenger's (2000 [2008]) concept of the 'community of practice'.

to be, with whom they wish to relate, and with whom they do not. This is reflected in the practices and where and how they position themselves within the audience space. They control access to zone one and impose the practices within this space. The example of the mosh pit during *Barrio Calavera's* performance illustrates how the fans and audience members claim control over the space and impose their practices and positioning onto the other audience members. Moreover, it echoes the band's discourse of practising community by celebrating in a shared space, especially the *barrio* (neighbourhood) in the song's lyrics and the venue during the performance (I discussed the band's discourse in more detail in Chapter 5).

The behaviour of *La Nueva Invasión's* fans and audience echoes the band's discourse similarly. The band proposes to take the city through art, just as the internal migrants did by building their neighbourhoods in a collective effort of *autogestión* (I discuss this concept in more detail in Chapter 1). The band defines the markers and limits of belonging to the envisioned community in their songs and performances. The audience put them into practice by crouching, whispering the chorus, bouncing, jumping and screaming, and by positioning themselves in the physical space of the venue and the social space of the performance. The crouching marks visibly the belonging and not-belonging. Moreover, it affords the participants the experience of being part of a group by enacting the song's message: going down and growing like a plant from a seed, symbolising the intent to build Peru from the bottom up. The audience practices and experiences unisonance, just as Anderson describes it in the case of those singing the national anthem (Anderson 2016: 145). In contrast, those not crouching are bystanders and do not participate in the (re)building of a *New Peru*.

In contrast to the audiences of *La Nueva Invasión* and *Barrio Calavera*, defined by movement and control over the space and activity, the audiences attending Eme's and *Karolinativa's* concerts are characterised by stillness, quietness and an overall sense of respect for the individual's space and engagement with the performance. While the attendees socialise and interact in the time before the performance, during the performance, the almost exclusive focus of attention is the performance on stage, for instance, during Eme's concert at a public park in Miraflores. The audience sits on

white plastic garden chairs. A group of young women sit in the first row on the grass. Some stand behind the rows of chairs (see image 42). In the background, people walk by, sometimes stopping to listen. Everybody is listening, concentrating, immersed in their own experience. Several sing along, especially when Eme encourages them to sing during the song *Amapola* (Poppy) Before performing it. Eme interacts with the audience, telling them they should sing the chorus and practices it with them. Most audience members participate and sing the chorus audibly. Sometimes, some audience members close their eyes in contemplation of the music. This is one example of how Eme interacts and entertains the audience between songs. He tells jokes, explains the meaning of the songs and narrates experiences of discrimination and resilience from the LGTBQI+ community. Still, the segregation between the stage and the audience space stays in place. There is no attempt from either side to cross or blur it.

Image 42: Seated audience at Eme's concert in the park



Source: author, 05.16.2018

The boundary between the audience and performers is even more evident during the performances of *Karolinativa*. As I illustrated earlier, this is explicitly intended by Carolina and César. They want their audience to listen to their message and to contemplate their interpretation of history. The audience during the concert at the bar *Pícaro* in *Lince* stands or sits while Carolina and César perform in the middle of the room. They drink their beers and listen. The audience at *La Feria Perú Independiente* in the park in *Barranco* behaves similarly⁹. The audience sits on the floor before the stage and on the amphitheatre stairs. The observable reaction of the audience is limited to the applause and cheering between songs and after the performance. Again, no one sings along, claps rhythmically, dances or engages in any other form in the performance.

In both cases, Eme's and *Karolinativa*'s, the musicians curate the performance and space of the venue to shape the interactions between themselves and the audience and, consequently, between the audience members. While the behaviour might not be as expressive and evident as in the former examples, these audiences, too, rely on positioning and gestures to represent their ideal relationships. They rely less on ritualised practices to mark visible belonging. Still, their practices illustrate how they want those ideal relationships to be and how they desire the community they envision to be. In contrast to the other audiences, divided into fans and general audience, the audience forms one large group, all behaving and participating in the same way. Where they position themselves within the audience space is less relevant than the fact that they participate in the concert. In other words, their presence in itself has meaning.

Both Eme and *Karolinativa* challenge social norms by questioning often unquestioned social categories, especially gender and race, and the common stereotypes shaping social relationships. They demand inclusion of the communities they belong to – the LGBTQI+ and Afro-Peruvian communities – into society and legal equality. They transgress social structures through musicking and their performance persona. The audience echoes the musicians' discourses through their presence and

⁹ Due to a technical issue I lost the footage of the audience in this case and consequently I have no images of the audience.

their behaviour. Being present is in itself a form of transgression, a questioning of social norms and stereotypes. Moreover, they behave and interact with each other with respect for the individuals' bodies, experiences and notions of self. In these cases, the central marker of belonging is compliance with the conventions of quiet contemplation and respectful distance rather than physical proximity and active engagement in the performance.

The examples of the practices of *La Nueva Invasión's*, *Barrio Calavera's*, Eme's and *Karolinativa's* fans and audiences during the music performance illustrate how the audience members embody a sense of community grounded in the physical presence. The ritualised practices and compliance to the conventions enable the participants to imagine community beyond the timeframe of the concert because it is repeated time and time again. The practices and conventions are structures through which the participants articulate and experience the parallelity of space and time. It is reasonable to assume that the participants expect the conventions to be practised and embodied every time the respective band is on stage. Equally, as it seems, in most cases, the groups enacting these rituals are more or less the same. But even if one or more members of this group are not present, they can assume that those attending will crouch, sing, jump, pogo, listen, sit still, and close their eyes in contemplation. The activities and, more importantly, their ritual character affords the members of these particular groups to imagine this group they belong to beyond the restricted time and space of the concert. Being present and participating is the foundation of the collective imagining of the community.

This aspect is significant because it allows the audience to imagine and experience simultaneity, one central aspect in the imagining of community, as Anderson proposed. As I argued earlier (in Chapter 2), each medium, be it the newspaper or music, has its own grammar, an internal logic by which the communicative elements are organised, such as words on paper or melodies in a song. Central to the imagining of the nation is the framing and conveying of temporal and spatial parallelity, connecting people, places, narratives and values. Using the example of the anthem, Anderson (2016) argues that singing together creates a sense of simultaneity because those singing it

are aware that they are part of a group of strangers engaged in the same activity, singing the anthem. This unisonance, the "echoed physical realisation of the imagined community" (Anderson 2016: 145), is a way for the participants to imagine, experience and enact simultaneity. The rituals of kneeling and moshing, the stillness and quiet contemplation are similar mechanisms to imagine, experience and enact the simultaneity of an abstract community.

The examples so far illustrate how simultaneity can be experienced by engaging collectively in practices within the same enclosed space and limited time. Still, they also afford the imagining of an a-synchronic simultaneity over time. The knowledge about the ritualised practices and the awareness that they will occur at every concert expands the scope of the imagining. This applies also to the use of the smartphone and social media platforms during the concerts. In all the concerts I attended for this research, the smartphone played a role in the audience's engagement with the performance. Although to varying degrees, depending on the physicality of the audience's engagement in the performance. Undeniably, the smartphone and social media have become part of how many people socialise and interact. Regarding the imagining of community, it potentially expands the sense of parallelity and simultaneity by affording individuals and groups not physically present at the concert to witness the performance — or excerpts of it — in real-time but also the position and participation of those sharing it. It adds an additional dimension to Small's (2011) argument that the meaning of the music performance is to see and be seen. With the technology of the smartphone and social media, this aspect of the concert — to see and be seen — reaches beyond the physical space of the venue and the limited time of the concert, opening up a "hybrid space" (Chesher 2007: 219). As Fonarow (2006) argues, where the audience members position themselves within the physical space, express the decision to participate in the performance in a certain way and relate to other audience members. Smartphones and social media provide an additional space where the audience members can position themselves by displaying their physical participation and position in the venue beyond the immediate experience in the physical space. As Glitsos (2018) argues, the use of the smartphone during the concerts suggests a "[...] *synthesis* of the mediated with the live in new and unexpected ways" (34; highlight in

original). She also underlines that the smartphone provides the possibility of reviewing the material on-demand (39), evaluating it and deciding its quality before uploading it on social media or sharing it. The smartphone screen and the social media platform become part of how the concert is experienced and mediated.

This is evident during the performances of *Olaya Sound System* and *Tourista*. I observed how the audience members used smartphones on different occasions and in different ways. Before the concert, they took selfies and group pictures and communicated through their phones or engaged in social media. While I have not looked at each phone, the swiping gesture when looking at social media is relatively apparent, as is the typing. In contrast, they used their phones during the performance to take pictures of the band, stream on social media and film the performance. The focus of attention shifted from themselves and the other audience members towards the stage and the band. For instance, a young man standing in the middle of the audience during the concert of *Olaya Sound System* in *La Noche de Barranco* streams the concert with his smartphone (see image 43 on page 280). His gaze is focused on the screen. Hearts, thumps and smiley emoticons float over the screen. Comments appear and disappear. He is only one of several people using their phones to stream, take pictures, post, or chat throughout the performance.

Another example is a young woman in the back of the space holding her phone up while drinking her beer (see image 44 on page 281). Glitsos (2018) conceptualises this interaction via social media during the live music performance as “social media storytelling” to describe the use of technology, the smartphone, in combination with social media platforms to articulate and share narratives of an event. While the storytelling is an individual act, it nevertheless results in a complex “combinational story” (ibid.), producing a “new sense of *belonging* in the live music group dynamics” (ibid.: 45; highlight in original). The audience members upload pictures, videos or live streams on social media platforms, such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter or TikTok, affording different kinds of virtual interactions and media¹⁰. The users can tag other

¹⁰ There are music-specific online platforms allowing audiences to engage in different ways with each other and the performance and, more recently, attempts to include the audience in the performance through the use of applications, live streaming from the musicians, etc. My discussion of social media

people, the venue and the band. They can upload descriptions and comments articulating a complex and intertwined narrative of the performance across platforms and media.

Image 43: Audience member streaming *Olaya Sound System's* performance



Source: author, 09.07.2017

is grounded in my observations and what I know of the music world, where the general social media platforms, especially Facebook and Instagram, play an important role. For a more detailed discussion on the use of the smartphone and social media, see Oh and Wang (2011), Bennett (2012), Cresswell Jones and Bennett (2015), and Danielsen and Kjús (2019).

Image 44: Audience member with phone during *Olaya Sound System* concert



Source: author, 09.07.2017

As Danielsen and Kjus (2019) argue in their analysis of musical festivals, music performance has become a hybrid experience of live and mediated forms of participation because of the increasing “[...] blend of ‘here-and-now’ and mediated forms of expression and communication – both off and on stage” (731). Borrowing from Hesmogdhal (2013), they argue that it “[...] has grown from a mainly co-present form of social publicness to also include mediated forms of social publicness at various social networking sites” (ibid.: 717). The audience members connect with and include

individuals outside the space and time of the performance, expanding the space but also the time since the recorded and posted media can be consumed repeatedly. The audience as a group extends beyond the venue and timeframe of the concert through the mediatization of the immediate and physical experience of being present.

During the performance of *Tourista* at *San Kalentin* in *Centro de Convenciones Festiva*, I observed a similar use of the smartphone. The audience in zone one sings along, dances and jumps. Those in the first rows, pushed against the security fence, unable to dance or jump, are submerged in contemplation. Several hold their smartphones up. Throughout the concert, the screens glow over the audience's heads. A young man in the first row caught my attention (see image 45 on page 283). His gaze shifts between the stage and the screen. While holding the smartphone, he sings along audibly, streaming the band's performance and probably his participation. He rocks back and forth, sways from one side to the other, and nods. I imagine the video he shared is neither steady nor has a clear sound. Still, as to so many others, it was apparently important to him, evidencing physical presence, participation and position in the virtual sphere. Rather than seeking a perfect video or stream, he preferred to share his experience of the performance, indicating that it might be intended as a testimony of his participation and position. He is only one of many using their phone (see image 46 on page 283), indicating that this practice is common and accepted. These examples suggest that the use of the phone does not interrupt or disturb the audienceship, in this case, the contemplation and dancing in the form of swaying on the spot, singing along and consuming alcohol. Instead, mediating the experience and position during the music performance is a common practice, expanding the social space that is the performance beyond the physical place of the venue.

Image 45: Singing and filming audience during *Tourista's* performance



Source: author, 08.11.2018

Image 46: Audience filming *Tourista's* performance



Source: author, 08.11.2018

The smartphone and social media use is not exclusive to *Torusitas* and *Olaya Sound Systems* audiences. Still, it is an interesting analogy to the bands' narratives about connecting two spaces, the urban and rural spaces, through travelling (as I described in Chapter 5). Moreover, it illustrates a different way in which the audience members state their participation in the social space of the performance. It is less physical than the ritualised practices of *Barrio Calaver's* and *La Nueva Invsion's* audiences, yet not less dynamic and evocative. Here, a central aspect of how the audience articulates community is by circulating the band's messages and vision of community by expanding the social space of the performance, allowing others not present to listen, observe, and interact virtually (by liking and commenting) the performance. The participants tell a story of belonging through social media by demonstrating their presence and position.

As the examples discussed suggest, the audience's behaviour during the concert can provide insight into how they participate in the articulation of nation. This is but an initial argument and requires further research focusing on the audience. Still, it is intriguing to look beyond the notion of the audience as recipients of a vision of nation and focus on how they actively participate through their practices. Instead of asking how they interpret what the musicians narrate through their performance, I think it is interesting to discuss how they communicate and dialogue and challenge what has been articulated and conveyed through the performance of music on stage. The audience echoes the bands' vision of community, or more precisely, how they envision the members of this community relating to each other and the world through their practices. The audience members enact and embody these ideal relationships in dialogue with the bands and the performances to explore and articulate how they want to relate to others and the world. By positioning themselves within the space of the venue, within its structure, they express with whom they wish to relate and, through their practices, how they want to relate to them.

Discussion

In this chapter, I described the audience's behaviour to discuss how the audience members co-articulate the nation with the musicians through enacting and embodying ideal relationships within the social space of the performance. I aimed to explore possible lines of inquiry regarding the audience's participation in articulating the nation, in this case, in the articulation of Peruvianness. The point of departure for my reasoning is Small's (2011) argument that the meaning of musicking is to establish relationships between the participants, more precisely, ideal relationships that reflect how the participants in the performance desire them to be. How the participants socialise and engage in the performance are manifestations of those ideal relationships brought into existence during the concert. Observing these practices and the enactment of the conventions, therefore, can provide first insights into how they envision those ideal relationships.

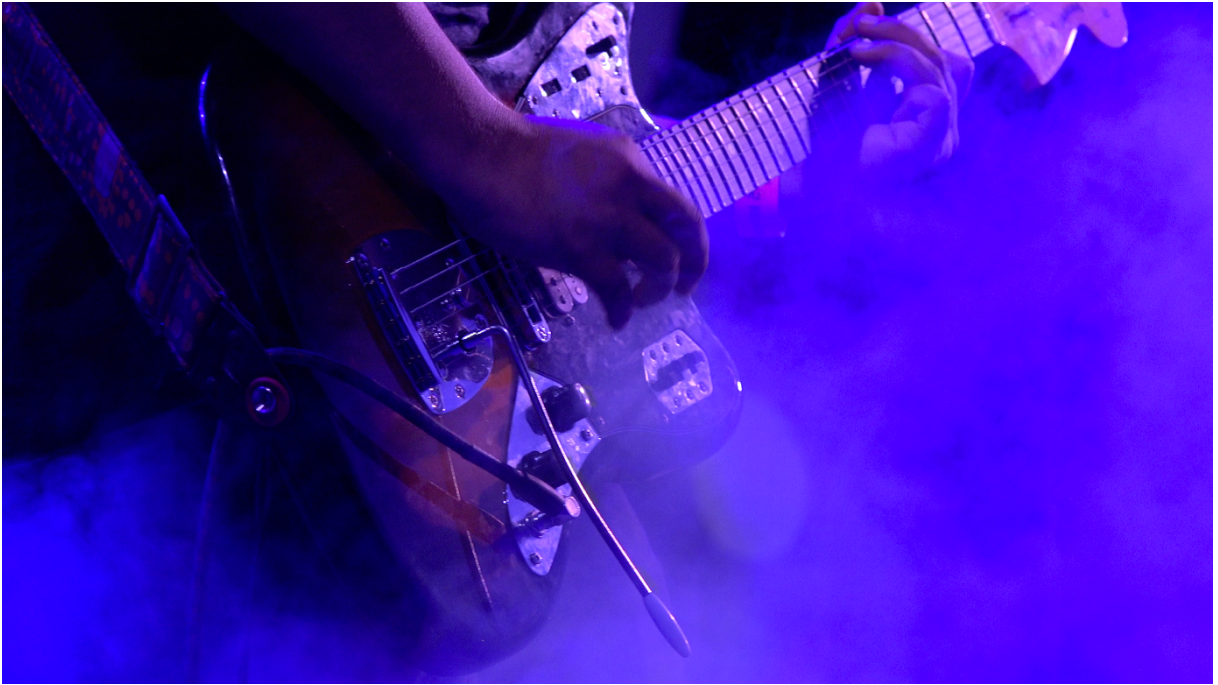
As I illustrated, the concert is divided into two moments, each characterised by specific practices and modes of socialisation. During the time before the performance, the audience members usually socialise, take selfies, walk around greeting each other, consume beverages and, where available, food and start to position themselves within the space of the venue. The focus of attention in this period of the concert is the audience itself. During the music performance, the audience members engage in different ways with the performance but barely socialise with each other. In Eme, *Karolinativa*, *Tourista* and *Olaya Sound System* cases, the audience shifts their attention almost exclusively towards the performance once the musicians are on stage. They form one large group, sharing the space. In contrast, the audiences of *Barrio Calavera* and *La Nueva Invasión* are divided into two main groups: the fans and the general audience. In these cases, the fans constitute a segregated entity actively occupying zone one and claiming the space for their ritualised practices, for instance, kneeling and moshing. They do not share the space with the other members of the audience. In contrast, the audiences from Eme, *Karolinativa*, *Tourista*, and *Olaya Sound System* are less possessive of the space in front of the stage and less determined regarding the practices enacted in this area. Rather than engaging in

physical activities, these audiences engage in the performance by listening, especially in Eme's and Karolinativa's cases, where the audience is seated.

The audiences communicate their vision of community by enacting and embodying ideal relationships during the concert. What practices they engage in, where they position themselves in the space and which conventions they follow or ignore are means through which they can represent and simultaneously experience these relationships. As Fonarow argues, the position the audience members take within the venue is relevant because they convey a socially constructed meaning. This is similar to the practices and conventions. Their meaning resides not in themselves but in their relation to the narrative conveyed through the performance on stage. For instance, the way *La Nueva Invasión's* audiences occupy the space, take possession of it and control access and the practices realised within it echoes the band's discourse on invading the city. This is a reference to the narrative of the new urbanites as the urban Andean man, reconquering the city and the country, regaining his rightful place as the heir of the Incas (I discussed this in more detail in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2).

The example of *La Nueva Invasión's* audience also illustrates how the audience members can articulate simultaneity within the social space of the performance, establishing relationships between the participants. Similar to the singing of the national anthem in unisonance, as Anderson describes it. Moreover, they articulate an a-synchronic parallelity of places and people through their ritualised practices, connecting performances over time and facilitating the imagining of a community beyond the immediate shared experience of the concert. The audience members know that these rituals will take place at future performances and already took place in the past, even if they did not attend personally. This certainty is the foundation for the consciousness of belonging to an abstract, imagined community. This consciousness is rooted in practices and experiences, for instance, singing the anthem or, in the case of the bands and audiences of *La Escena Independiente*, moshing, jumping, kneeling, singing along, waving a manipulated flag or a banner, sharing on social media or listening to the music in stillness. The nation is not just imagined but experienced, not just envisioned but embodied through musicking.

Conclusions



This thesis discussed how the nation is articulated through music performance by analysing the discourses and practices of bands from *La Escena Independiente* in Lima, Peru. It explored the argument that the participants – musicians and audiences alike – in music performances co-articulate the imagined community through their practices and thus actively participate in articulating the nation. The theoretical foundation of this research was Anderson's (2016) concept of imagined community and recent scholarship conceptualising performance as a social space. My research reinforces and extends Anderson's argument of how the nation is imaged, illustrating how it is applicable to the performance of music. In so doing, I argue for a stronger consideration of practices, gestures and movement as part of the process of articulating the nation.

Throughout this thesis, I have explored different aspects of music production and performance in *La Escena Independiente* in Lima, Peru. I discussed how these practices are enacted to negotiate and articulate the nations by answering three research questions.

1) What are the conventions of musical production within La Escena Independiente?

2) What is the musicians' notion of Peruvianness conveyed through their music and performance?

3) In what ways does the audience interact with the performance and relate with each other and the musicians?

Each question informed one of the analytical chapters (Chapters 4-6). In this last chapter, I outline the argument of the thesis by discussing the findings in relation to the theoretical argument elaborated in Chapter 2, illustrating that music performance and production are means to imagine the nation. Rather than respond to these questions separately, I draw on the findings described in each chapter regarding music production and performance to elaborate on how these intersect and provide insights

into the process of meaning-making through music performance. This chapter concludes with a short outlook for further research.

Re-Articulating Peruvianness - imagining the nation through performance

La Nueva Invasión just left the stage at *La Noche de Barranco*. Lights come up, and the audience starts to move towards the exit. At the edge of the stage, a female fan folds up the manipulated flag carefully. She wraps it in a plastic bag and stores it in her backpack (see image 47 on page 291), together with the *Tawantinsuyu* flag, which Lius, the lead singer, had just worn as a cape during the performance. The venue is hot and humid, and the audience starts to move towards the exit for some fresh air. Many look somewhat dishevelled, with runny makeup and messy hair; several men are shirtless. Some audience members wait for the musicians to take selfies with them or approach musicians from other bands from *La Escena Independiente* gathering around the entrance area. Some of these musicians attended as guest musicians, others as audience members. The female fan with the backpack waits to greet the musicians as they leave the backstage area. Meanwhile, she chats enthusiastically with other audience members, guarding the backpack with the flags, stored safely until the next concert.

The practices of which the manipulated flag is part illustrate how the participants in a music performance actively negotiate and co-articulate the nation in a dialogue between musicians and the audience. While the ritualised practice of kneeling and lowering the volume in the middle of the songs originated in a technical issue, the audience now expects and demands this to take place during each performance, forcing the musicians to kneel on stage. It also exemplifies how the musicians and audiences from *La Escena Independiente* reproduce common narratives and resignify symbols of Peruvianness. Rather than rejecting categorically the existing vision of Peruvianness, they appropriate it, taking agency over its articulation and shaping it to represent the community they imagine. They are already part of the imagined community but do not agree with how it is imaged, expressed and experienced.

Image 47: Storing the manipulated flag



Source: author, 03.10.2018

Furthermore, this vignette exemplifies two themes that emerged from my analysis. First, the *imaginarios* – socially constructed representations using space to signify values and norms – are a central category through which community is imagined and practised in *La Escena Independiente*. Second, this community is conceived as inherently diverse and culturally hybrid.

The *imaginarios* are the thread connecting the different narratives, symbols, sonorities and practices, as the example of the manipulated flag and the ritualised practice of kneeling during the performance of the song *Camina Bonito* illustrates. Moreover, the *imaginarios* serve as a source of motifs, images, sounds and historical and cultural references through which the community can be imagined, articulated and conveyed. They also provide a frame for the participants to articulate with whom they want to relate. In other words, they afford categories to delimit the community, both imagined and experienced during the performance. The musicians from *La Escena Independiente* reference four *imaginarios*: the rural landscape, the *barrio* (neighbourhood), the city and Latin America, as I discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Each

imaginario provides a range of images, sonorities and narratives commonly associated with these spaces and the cultures they ought to represent. The musicians use them to articulate and convey their vision of community by quoting, paraphrasing, combining, appropriating and recontextualising musical elements and lyrics. For instance, the rhythms, instruments and melodies combined in the song *Camina Bonito* (during which the audience waves the manipulated flag) are references to the *imaginario* of the rural landscape, more specifically the Andes – the Andean *topos* as I called it in Chapter 2 – and the *imaginario* of the *barrios* built by the new urbanites¹. Additionally, the song is a reference to the cosmopolitan pop-rock world culture (Regev 2013).

Another example of how the musicians use musical elements to reference the *imaginarios* is the way *Tourista* emulates the sonority of the Andean guitar and *charango* with the electric guitars and stages a dialogue between the two guitars in the song *Select y Start* (Select and Start) (Discussed in Chapter 5). This is comparable to what Billig (2012) calls the routine deixis of words such as *we* or *here* that operate as signifiers for a contextualised meaning beyond their linguistic function. Musical elements equally work as signifiers, as communicative elements referring to meaning beyond themselves.

Another way the musicians reference these four *imaginarios* to articulate and convey the community they imagine is the lyrics. Continuing the tradition of *La Nueva Canción Latinoamericana* (The New Latin American Song) – the Latin American version of the protest song – in combination with the rock ethos of rebellion, the lyrics are of great significance for the musicians of *La Escena Independiente*. In their lyrics, which the bands and artists write themselves (except Eme), they reference the *imaginarios* in different ways. In some cases, they name the spaces, especially the *barrio*, and in other cases, the references are metaphorical. For instance, *Karolinativa's* lyrics are very descriptive, illustrating how they envision the community living in the *barrio*, characterised by resilience, entrepreneurship, and a spirit of collaboration.

¹ I elaborated on the history of urban expansion and how it is conceived as a narrative of social change and protest in Chapter 1.

Similarly, *Barrio Calavera* describes the *barrio* as a space of living in community, this time focusing on celebrating together. Both examples use the imagery of *barrio* to illustrate how they imagine community as constituted by ‘the people’ in juxtaposition to an elite *other*. *Olaya Sound System* expresses this juxtaposition of people in opposition to the elite explicitly in their lyrics using the *imaginario* of the city as a symbol of the modern society, governed by the state and driven by greed and ridden with corruption. In their lyrics, they propose that community must be built by leaving the city and moving to the countryside: an idyllic, non-definable rural landscape. All the bands and artists use the juxtaposition of two *imaginarios* to underline the positive characteristics of the community envisioned and simultaneously delineate its limits, especially contrasting the notion of the modern city with either rural landscapes or the *barrio*.

Through the performance of their music, the bands and artists create a social space within which the participants can express themselves, interact, socialise, and collectively negotiate and articulate the imagined community. They curate the space of the performance—both artistically and physically—to enable the audience to participate in the performance. The musicians decide where they will perform, although the choice of venues is very limited, and define if the audience will be seated or standing. While seemingly obvious, this is relevant to the audience’s behaviour and illustrates how the musicians from *La Escena Independiente* can impact and shape the audience’s participation and practices. In some cases, they seek a strict separation between the audience and stage spaces to ensure that the audience listens rather than takes part in the performance. In other cases, they allow and even seek to blur the border between stage and audience space.

This is especially the case for *Karolinativa*’s performance. They expect undivided attention from the audience to the narratives during the performance. There is no instance where the audience and musicians reach over the separation between the two spaces. Through this separation of space, they put into praxis the declared aim of their music: to educate the people about Afro-Peruvian history, vindicating the Afro-Peruvian culture by disseminating an alternative interpretation of history. In their discourse, *Karolinativa* draws a clear line between *us* – ‘the people’ and the Afro-

Peruvian population – and the *other* – the white elites. The organisation of the physical space of the performance and the performance itself reflects this notion of clearly defined boundaries of the imagined community. These are two separate spaces that do not intersect.

Another example of how the musicians use the space to express and enact their vision of community is Eme's performance of *Corazón Resiste* (Heart Resist). In the middle of the performance, five people holding signs cross the audience space and climb the stage. While this is not a spontaneous reaction from the audience, it is a way to create the illusion of bridging the two spaces. For Eme, music is a political tool to demand and fight for social inclusion and the political equality of the LGBTQI+ community. Similar to *Karolinativa*, he depicts a delimited community in his narrative. These two cases differ from the other four bands from *La Escena Independiente I* discussed throughout this thesis because the intent is for the audience to listen in stillness rather than engage in physical activities. Still, this does not imply that the audiences are passive receivers and consumers of the message. On the contrary, they deliberately participate in the performance by being present and listening in stillness. They adhere to the conventions of this social space, demonstrating their presence and presumably engaging with the musicians' discourses.

The audiences of the other bands listen, sing, scream, dance, pogo, and mosh. Moreover, they do so collectively. The way the audiences inhabit the space varies between the bands, echoing the different visions of community the musicians convey. The audiences from *Olaya Sound System* and *Tourista* generally share the space; in the case of the festival, they share it with other audiences, allowing everybody to participate. *La Nueva Invasión's* and *Barrio Calavera's* audiences are somewhat possessive of the area in front of the stage, controlling both access and the practices enacted. By claiming the space, they echo the band's description of how the members of this community relate to each other and non-members. They enact and embody these relationships and simultaneously co-articulate them, as the example of the kneeling ritual mentioned earlier illustrates. The audience accepted the ritualised practice of kneeling and, more importantly, appropriated it. Today, even if the band

members decide not to kneel, they feel pressured by the audience's expectations. The audiences of *Barrio Calavera* and *La Nueva Invasión* control access and the practices in the area in front of the stage, watching over who enters this space and who participates in what manner. The discourses of the bands are similarly restrictive, delineating a community defined by emplaced descent.

Another way the audience members participate actively in the performance is through mediation using their smartphones, taking pictures, filming, posting on social media and live streaming. All audiences engage in these practices, but it was especially evident in the cases of *Olaya Sound System's* and *Tourista's* audiences. Through this mediation, the audience members extend the social space of the performance, affording others not physically present to experience the concert virtually, at least in parts. This mediation also communicates the individual's position within the physical and social space of the concert. As Fonarow (2006) argues, where the audience members position themselves is an expression of how they relate to each other, to the musicians, the music and the performance. It is an expression of how they want to relate to each other and the world. The audiences voice their opinion and vision by singing, dancing, screaming, jumping and positioning, and through compliance to the conventions (or rejecting and negotiating them) and, in so doing, actively co-articulate Peruvianness.

The second theme that emerged from my research is that the notion of Peruvianness articulated by the musicians from *La Escena Independiente* revolves around their conception of cultural diversity. They enact and embody this diverse community through collaborative songwriting and music production practices by *autogestión* (self-management). The collaborative practices of the musicians, especially songwriting and organisation of events, are the way they practice diversity by allowing each musician to make contributions from their experience and cultural knowledge. As the musicians stress, their music is a reflection of their lifetime soundtrack (Istvandity 2014, 2015), their personal musical canon, representing experience and cultural knowledge. Music production becomes a space for dialogue and exchange between the musicians, each contributing from their own experience. It

also provides the justification for the claims of musical authenticity because, as the musicians explain, they express who they are through their music. Or, using Stewart's (2011) concept of cultural hybridisation, the music production practices of *La Escena Independiente* allow the musicians to establish a zone of difference where they can embrace diversity and make it a unifying category. In other words, they practice cultural hybridisation.

Beyond being a way of enacting diversity, these practices are socially and culturally embedded in the recent history of Lima, or rather in how this history is narrated and used to represent values and notions of community. The notions of *autogestión* (self-management) and *emprendedurismo* (entrepreneurship) are especially central concepts that provide normative categories to define community through behaviour and attitude. The concepts promote the notion that the individual can achieve economic success and, consequently, inclusion in society through resilience, ingenuity and hard work. The gateway to becoming a full member of society is personal effort. Especially the concept of *autogestión*, the Peruvian version of the DIY ethos, is rooted in the history of Lima's urban expansion, the so-called *invasiones* (invasions) by internal migrants, mainly from the Andean region. The process of urban expansion and the socio-cultural changes that came with it have been discussed, analysed and idealised extensively in literature, music, media and academia throughout the last decades. Initially, the new settlements were called *barriadas*, describing how the internal migrants built their huts in the desert and the slopes of Lima's hills. Now, they are fully urbanised and thriving districts. Still, the early moments of these neighbourhoods are romanticised and prevail as a key reference for Lima's *imaginario*, depicting them as a space of solidarity, communal spirit, resilience and hope. Today, these spaces are denominated as *barrios*. While the physical space has changed drastically, as has the name, the values and ideas these spaces stand for remain the same: tolerance, collaboration and resilience.

By referencing the *imaginarios*, the musicians reproduce the underlying relationships between race, place and culture. Although today, the discourses of Peruvianness within *La Escena Independiente* and society at large emphasise culture

as the defining category, drawing an image of cultural hybridity and multiculturalism, these are historically linked with categories of race, descent and place of birth. The discourse in *La Escena Independiente* revolves around diversity, and the Peruvian community envisioned is understood to be the result of cultural hybridisation. This is perceived as a good quality, a desirable characteristic and not just the consequence of historical circumstances and social reshuffle through migration. Instead, it is seen as the solution to society's problems of exclusion, discrimination and violence. Nevertheless, the narratives reproduce and recontextualise the *mestizaje* discourse prominent throughout Latin America and Peru, propagated by different groups of interests with varying political affiliations. Rather than a new vision of Peruvianness, it is the reproduction of the underlying historically grown relations between race, place and culture. It is a reframing of the *mestizaje* discourse as multiculturalism of cultural hybridity. Is it really a new narrative, a new conceptualisation of Peruvianness, or just a new tune to old lyrics? Throughout Peruvian history, the three *imaginarios* of *Costa, Sierra y Selva* (coast, highlands and rainforest) have dominated the imagining of the Peruvian nation in combination with the concepts of the Spanish, Indian and Inca, as Greene (2007) points out. The musicians reproduce these *imaginarios* to articulate their notion of diversity by combining musical styles, instruments and rhythms to make references to places, history and culture in the lyrics. Yet, rather than simply reproducing these *imaginarios* and concepts, they re-contextualise them and combine them with references to other cultural spaces, especially the urban space of Lima and the cosmopolitan pop-rock culture and the values they represent.

As with any other nation, the discourse on Peruvianness has been—and still is—conveyed through different media, including literature, scholarly writing, political documents (censuses, etc.) and, in the last decades, through national branding. I intended to outline here how the different aspects of music production and performance are similar means of imagining the nation. Moreover, I wanted to illustrate how these are means through which the nation can be actively negotiated and conveyed. I aimed to explore and argue how music performance is a means to articulate the nation, comparable to Anderson's examples of the census, map, and museum. Crucial for the imagining of the nation is that the media, whichever it might

be, affords the participants a sense of simultaneity and parallelity with others, strangers near and far, engaging in the same manner with the same narratives, images, sounds and symbols. As Anderson argues, the census, map, and museum are a form of organising narratives, images and symbols through their inherent logic, what he calls their grammar. Each medium has its specific grammar through which the communicative elements that constitute it – for instance, words in a newspaper or rhythm in a song – are organised. This grammar is more than a set of rules. It is a representation of values and provides conventions for communicating in general and, by extension, negotiating the nation.

Throughout this thesis, I have described and argued that music performance is equally a way of organising these elements, as different as they might be from Anderson's examples. They afford the participants a space to enact, embody and experience the imagined community. For instance, Anderson argues that the readers of the newspaper or a novel are conscious of the other readers, although they probably will never meet them. Yet, the reader knows the other readers engage in the same activity and consume the same narratives, which affords them to experience a sense of simultaneity. The newspaper frames events, stories and news within its pages, creating a sense of parallelity. The same can be argued for the performance of music. It frames different narratives – from the narratives of the performance persona to the different *imaginarios* referenced – and musical styles – from punk to cumbia. Moreover, it frames a range of activities and affords the participants a way to socialise and relate to each other directly. During the concert, they sing together in unisonance, or listen together, dance or pogo. There is a sense of direct simultaneity. But there is also the consciousness of the a-synchronic simultaneity because they know the performance has taken place before and probably will again in the future – just as Anderson's newspaper has been printed, distributed and read in the past and probably will be in the future. Music performance is a frame, similar to the newspaper, within which practices, narratives and relationships are organised and structured by the logic of this particular social space within which the participants negotiate, articulate, enact and embody the different narratives and visions of community through musicking and the practices, interactions, movements, gestures it affords them.

Further Research

The previous discussion of the findings suggests that the nation is not only imagined through words and symbols; it is not simply a mental image of a community but imagined through movement, gestures and practices. Moreover, it underlines the individuals' agency by illustrating how the participants in a communicative situation co-articulate the nation. Thus, the process of articulating the nation is multidirectional in that it is simultaneously a bottom-up and a top-down process. The participants in *La Escena Independiente* reproduce official narratives and symbols — for instance, the story of the national hero José Olaya or the manipulated flag. Simultaneously, they articulate alternative interpretations of history by recontextualising, reinterpreting and resignifying them by claiming to tell these histories from a different perspective: the people's perspective (as opposed to the elites). These findings are relevant both for nationalism theories and methodological approaches because they underline the importance of considering different modes of communicating. Put differently, nationalism studies need to consider the different modes of knowing and experiencing the nation to understand better how it becomes part of and shapes the individuals' way of relating to and positioning in the world.

While doing fieldwork and writing this thesis, my view on knowledge and how knowledge is produced changed (as described in Chapter 3). One of the main lessons for me as a researcher is the critical engagement with the concept of what constitutes knowledge and how it is conveyed. Knowledge is more than a mental construct in our minds made of narratives, words and images. We also know with and through our bodies and senses. Thus, as researchers, we must consider how people experience and exchange knowledge. Recent scholarship on nationalism started to explore how the nation is experienced, shifting the attention from the individual as a receiver of a message towards the individual as an active agent in the articulation of the nation. For instance, Sumartojo's (2018) auto-ethnographic approach describes how the nation is reproduced through everyday life experiences and routines and underlines the nation's sensory aspect of the process. My findings point in the same direction, indicating the

importance of the sensory experience and its expression through nonverbal modes of communication in collectively imagining the community.

Anderson's (2016) example of singing the anthem also highlights this. To experience unisonance, the participants need to engage in the practice of singing the anthem, which often includes specific gestures, postures and demeanours, such as holding the head up or putting the hand over the heart. In the context of the concerts I discussed in this thesis, comparable gestures and practices are the positioning of the body in the space, crouching, moshing or pogoing and listening in stillness in the cases of the audiences. In the case of the musicians, these gestures and practices range from playing an instrument to kneeling on stage. These gestures and practices convey contextualised and historically embedded meaning comparable to words and symbols. Based on this notion, the movements, gestures and practices are intertextual because they have meaning for those carrying them out, comparable to words or musical elements. Kramer (2021) argues that music is a placeholder for language, which also can convey meaning through its intertextual relations and linkages. He argues that only language can recognise meaning. But, as I illustrated throughout my thesis, based on the notion of sensory ethnography articulated by Pink (2015), knowledge or meaning is not only bound to language. There is a non-verbal dimension to knowledge and meaning that is part of our everyday experience, social relations, and understanding of them. Suppose all meaning is only recognisable through language; why is it so difficult to describe certain meanings, experiences, sensations, feelings and related knowledge about the world and our position in it? Instead, knowledge has a variety of forms beyond language, and the academic discussion starts to acknowledge this. For intertextuality, this would mean that utterances, in the form of practices, sensations, sounds, and gestures, can be understood without language. Intertextuality is much more complex if we stop using language as its epistemological axis that all other expressive forms have to revolve around and fall back to.

Further research on how the nation is articulated should consider the sensory aspects to understand better how people 'know' the nation, how they experience it, and how they represent and reproduce it by embodying it. Just like Pink (2015) calls

for a sensory ethnography, I think future research on nation should experiment with methods to explore how nation is part of our embodied knowledge beyond the words *we* and *here*, beyond its symbols and narratives. This thesis is an initial attempt and outlines possible lines of inquiry. For instance, analysing further the idea of how the audiences participate actively in the articulation of the nation through movement, gestures and practices as a non-verbal way of expressing their vision of Peruvianness. As I stated in Chapter 6, this idea is an argumentative exercise rather than a fully developed concept and needs further methodological and theoretical foundations. Still, I consider that the approach of sensory ethnography and the idea of embodied knowledge provide a point of departure to further the understanding of the imagining of the nation and how it is part of our everyday life experience.

My research reinforces Anderson's (2016) theory of the imagined community. It simultaneously underlines the importance of individual agency in the process of articulating the nation, as more recent scholarship on nation and nationhood argues (Skey and Antonsish 2017), as I discussed in Chapter 2. I extend Anderson's argumentation, showing that music performance affords the participants the space and means to imagine the nation comparable to a novel, newspaper, census, map, and museum. I propose to think of the nation as simultaneously imagined and enacted. Or, put differently, to think of the nation as imagined through its practice.

Moreover, the nation is not only a theoretical vision of community but part of the embodied knowledge of its members, intersecting all dimensions of everyday life. In this sense, this research contributes to the discussion of how Anderson's theory can be applied to communication beyond language and print media, arguing for the importance of considering different modes of communication and knowing when researching and conceptualising the nation. This is especially relevant for the analysis of how the nation is articulated, imagined, enacted, and experienced in social contexts where print media and text-based knowledge production are not as relevant as they are in Western societies. Consequently, it could broaden the understanding of the foundations of nation-ness.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: List of interviews and concerts cited in this thesis

List 1: Interviews cited

Names are as given by the interviewees. Some interviewees were interviewed twice because they were interviewed for the documentary or were interested in participating further.

Interviewee as referenced	Full nam/ Artist name	Band/ Artist	Date	Instrument
Bonora 2017	Bonora, Matteo	Olaya Sound System	9/13/2017	voice, guitar
Castillo 2017	Castillo Salguero, Rodrigo	Olaya Sound System	9/13/2017	drums
Marlow 2017	Marlow, Jim	Olaya Sound System	9/13/2017	percussion
Mauricio 2017	Mauricio, Oscar	Olaya Sound System	9/13/2017	percussion, voice
Rodriguez 2017	Rodriguez, Alonso	Olaya Sound System	9/13/2017	bass guitar
Zolezzi 2017	Zolezzi Cárdenas, Lorenzo	Olaya Sound System	9/13/2017	voice, guitar
Castro 2017	Castro Chavez, Fernando	La Nueva Invasión	10/5/2017	quena, keyboard, voice, charango
Carbajal 2018a	Carbajal Navarro, Carolina	Karolinativa	4/3/2018	voice
Carbajal 2018b	Carbajal Navarro, Cezar	Karolinativa	4/3/2018	voice
Begazo 2018	Begazo, Pablo	Barrio Calavera	4/9/2018	guitar, chorus

Davalos 2018	Davalos, Anibal	Barrio Calavera		bass guitar, chorus
Gutiérrez 2018	Ricardo Gutierrez	Tourista	5/3/2018	guitar, synthesizer, chorus
Eme 2018	Eme	Merian	5/4/2018	voice
Castillo 2018b	Rodrigo Castillo	Olaya Sound System	5/9/2018	drums
Pereira 2018a	Pereira, Paloma	Karolinativa	5/14/2018	percussion
Gutiérrez 2018b	Genko	Tourista	8/8/2018	guitar, synthesizer, chorus
Labenita 2018	Labenita, Sandro	Tourista	8/8/2018	drums
Pereira 2018b	Pereira, Rui	Tourista	8/8/2018	voice, guitar
Eme 2018b	Eme	Merian	8/21/2018	voice
Vicente 2018	Vicente, Luis Antonio	La Nueva Invasión	8/22/2018	voice

List 2: Concerts cited

Reference	Band	Date	Concert title	Venue
Olaya Sound System 2017a	Olaya Sound System	9-7-17		La Noche de Barranco
Olaya Sound System 2017b	Olaya Sound System	9-23-17	Yawarfest - Homenaje a Papa Chacalon	Palacio del Inca
Barrio Calavera 2017	Barrio Calavera	9-23-17	Yawarfest - Homenaje a Papa Chacalon	Palacio del Inca
La Nueva Invasión 2017	La Nueva Invasión	11-31-17	Hallowinka	Centro de Convenciones Festiva

Tourista 2017	Tourista	12-17-17	Feria Perú Independiente - Edición Navideña	Parque de la Familia
Eme 2018a	Eme	3-4-18	Feria Perú Independiente	Parque de la Familia
Karolinativa 2018a	Karolinativa	3-4-18		Parque de la Familia
La Nueva Invasión 2018	La Nueva Invasión	3-10-18	San Kalentin	Centro de Convenciones Festiva
Karolinativa 2018b	Karolinativa	4-6-18		Pícaro Club Bar
Barrio Calavera 2018	Barrio Calavera	4-29-18	Feria Perú Independiente - Edición Trabajador	Parque de la Familia
Eme 2018b	Eme	5-12-18		Parque Francisco Miranda
Tourista 2018	Tourista	10-3-18	San Kalentin	Centro de Convenciones Festiva

Appendix 2: Band profiles

Profiles of the bands discussed in this thesis. Organised in alphabetical order.

Barrio Calavera



Source: Official Facebook page *Barrio Calavera*. Retrieved 13.11.2019

Band members artist names (from left ro right)	Instrument
Aníbal Dávalos	bass guitar
Shakaman (Joao Kahn)	keyboard, voice
Winsho	voice
Pablo Skacore	guitar
Mijail Palacios	drums

Description of musical style or project:

Musically we make what comes to us... we don't want to be traditional because, while it is true that we respect the traditional [music], like *cumbia*, *saya*, *boleros* we are not musicians who interpret boleros, or saya or folclor. So we do it our way. [...] We are rockers, lets say it, we are more rockers [than anything else], we interpret differently what we do with the music (Davalos 2018).

Discography:

Suena Calle (2009)

Kumbiamerikan Rockers (2015)

Eme



Source: Official Facebook page Eme. Retrieved 13.11.2019

Band members
Eme

Instrument
voice

Description of musical style or project:

It's a bit of everything, I would say. This has been characteristic of my last discographic production, well, the only one so far. It is a bit of everything. I mean, it ends up being an attempt to curate an explanation of some sort... There are many fractions within me, or several roots. I like this expansive image of the roots that nurture us from many different places. I mean, I'm not an heir of a pure folkloristic tradition because I grew up and was born in Lima listening to Queen that my aunt gave me. Or Jetro Tool, you know (Eme 2018a).

Discography:
Raíz/Es

Karolinativa



Source: Official Facebook page *Karolinativa*. Retrieved 13.11.2019

Band members	Instrument
Carolina Carbajal Navarro	voice
Cezar Carbajal Navarro	voice
Paloma Pereira (regularly hired)	percussion

Description of musical style or project:

When I started to make music I also started to do rap and getting into the theme of of afro. Although not very specifically. It was there because of my ancestors, but not explicitly. [...] Now I feel it that it is the axis of this project, I mean using the music to vindicate, to get to know, to tell our story, roght. So I think that now it is another kind of music than I used to make (Carbajal 2018a).

Discography:

Que mi voz se escuche (2012)

Familia (2017)

La Nueva Invasión



Source: Official Facebook page *La Nueva Invasión*. Retrieved 13.11.2019

Band members (from left to right)	Instrument
Artist names	
Fernando Casto Chavez	keyboard, quena, charango and voice
José Vargas Canaza	drums
Luis Antonio Vicente	voice
Jerónimo Morán	bas guitar
Gonzalo Lissia	percussion
Diego Manuel Vicente	guitar

Description of musical style or project:

I think it is tropical Andean music [...] We prefer to name the styles that we do, cumbia, rock (Castro 2017).

Discography:

Subele a la Radio (2011)

Vitamina Inka (2016)

Amory Resistencia (2018)

Olaya Sound System



Source: Official Facebook page *Olaya Sound System*. Retrieved 13.11.2019

Band members (from left to right)

Oscar Maruricio

Jim Marlow

Alonso Rodriguez

Lorenzo Zolezzi

Matteo Bonora

Rodrigo Castillo

Instrument

congas and voice

small percussion

bas guitar

guitar and voice

guitar and voice

drums

Description of musical style or project:

The essence is reggae, right. [...] The Olayas are the Beach Boys of Cumbia [...] and it actually is a crazy idea because the other bands don't play with the voices and harmonies... it can sound like the Beach Boys but also like an old reggae band, right (Castillo 2018).

Discography:

Nadar en el cemento (2010)

Nuestra casa (2012)

Quién es Quién (2015)

Música del Mar (2017)

Tourista



Source: Official Facebook page Tourista. Retrieved 13.11.2019

Band members (from left to right)

Ricardo Gutiérrez (Genko)

Sandro Labenita

Rui Pereira

Instrument

guitar, synthesizer

drums

voice

Description of musical style or project:

We started being an indie rock or alternative rock band. But with time we re-discovered and re-connected with Latin American music (Pereira 2018b).

Discography:

Déficit de Atención (2012)

Colores Paganos (2016)

Fantasmas (2019)

Appendix 3: Peruvian currency

The use of the sun as a symbol in Peruvian currency.

Image 1: The *Sol de Oro* (Sun of Gold), Peruvian currency between 1931 – 1985



Moneda de 50 soles (1930).



Moneda de 2 centavos (1936).



Moneda de 1 centavo (1936).



Moneda de 5 centavos (1944).

Source: Contreras Carranza (2020): 480

Image 2: The *Inti* (Quechua for sun), Peruvian currency between 1985 – 1991



Moneda de 5 intis (1985).



Moneda de 50 céntimos (1985).



Moneda de 10 céntimos (1985).



Moneda de 5 céntimos (1985).

Source: Contreras Carranza (2020): 487

Image 3: The *Nuevo Sol* (New Sun), Peruvian currency since 1993



Moneda de 1 nuevo sol (2012). Marca Perú.



Moneda de 1 nuevo sol (2015).
Commemorativa de los 450 años de la Casa Nacional de Moneda.

Source: Contreras Carranza (2020): 493

Appendix 4: Concert advertisement

Concert advertisements in the streets of Lima.

Image 1: Street view with banners



Source: author, 11.25.2015

Image 2: Wall with posters



Source: author, 07.27.2015

Image 3: Bus station with posters



Source: author, 12.28.2015

Appendix 5: Radio stations and magazine covers

Radio stations (not comprehensive):

Radio La Kalle
Radio Exitósisa
Radio Oxígeno
Radio Cumbia Mix
Peru Cumbia
Radio Ritmo Romántica
Radio Inca
Radio Nueva Qqqqumbia
Radio Oasis Po&Rock

Andean music magazine *Full Ritmo*



Source: Obtained at a shop selling concert DVD's in 2016

Cumbia music Magazine *Novedades*



Source: Obtained at a shop selling concert DVD's in 2016

Appendix 6: Comprehensive list of concerts attended

	Band/ artist	Event	Date	Venue
1	Merian	Merian	8/22/2018	La Noche de Barranco
2	Tourista, Olaya Sound System, La Nueva Invasión	Lima Arde	8/11/2018	Centro de Convenciones Festiva
3	Karolinativa	Festival Nosotras Estamos en La Calle	6/3/2018	Parque de la Familia
4	OneBrille	Festival Nosotras Estamos en La Calle	6/3/2018	Parque de la Familia
5	Merian	Merian	5/16/2018	Parque Miranda
6	La Lá, Carmen Lienqueo	La Lá	5/5/2018	Tremenda
7	Barrio Calavera, El Sonido de la Resistencia	Barrio Calavera	4/28/2018	Feria Perú Independiente (Trabajador)
8	Maria Laura, La Lá	Marialala	4/19/2018	Cine Olaya
9	Karolinativa, La Torita, Las Crudas	Karolinativa	4/6/2018	Pícaro
10	Alejandro y Maria Laura	AYML Banda	3/24/2018	La Noche de Barranco
11	La Nueva Invasión, Olaya Sound System, Los Mirlos	Bibliofest	3/16/2018	Biblioteca Nacional del Perú
12	Sonora Patronal, Turista, Sabor y Control, La Nueva Invasión, Los Mirlos	San Kalentin	3/10/2018	Centro de Convenciones Festiva
13	Karolinativa	Feria Perú Independiente Carnavales	3/4/2018	Parque de la Familia
14	Pochi Marambio y Tierra Sur	Feria Perú Independiente Carnavales	3/4/2018	Parque de la Familia
15	La Nueva Invasión	La Nueva Invasión	3/4/2018	Parque de la Familia
16	Alejandro y Maria Laura, Expression Stone	Feria Perú Independiente Carnavales	3/3/2018	Parque de la Familia
17	Expression Stone	Feria Perú Independiente Carnavales	3/3/2018	Parque de la Familia

18	Merian	Feria Perú Independiente Carnavales	3/2/2018	Parque de la Familia
19	La Mamba	Feria Perú Independiente Carnavales	3/2/2018	Parque de la Familia
20	Nuria Saba	Feria Perú Independiente Carnavales	3/2/2018	Parque de la Familia
21	La Nueva Invasión	Carnaval por nosotras	2/24/2018	Casa Bagre
22	La Nueva Invasión, Seleccionador 77	Feria Perú Independiente Navidad	12/26/2017	Parque de la Familia
23	Seleccionador 77	Feria Perú Independiente Navidad	12/26/2017	Parque de la Familia
24	Vez Tal Vez	Feria Perú Independiente Navidad	12/21/2017	Feria Perú Independiente (Navidad)
25	Tourista	Feria Perú Independiente Navidad	12/17/2017	Feria Perú Independiente (Navidad)
26	Area 7	Festival Metal	11/25/2017	Parque de la Muralla
27	Ambiente Criollo	AcriollArte	10/31/2017	Británico Miraflores
28	Sonora Patronal, La Mente, Bareto, La Nueva Invasión, Los Mirlos	Hallowinka	10/31/2017	Centro de Convenciones Festiva
29	Alejandro y Maria Laura	Alejandro y Maria Laura	10/7/2017	La Noche de Barranco
30	Luhco Quequezana	Sonidos Vivos	10/1/2017	Gran Teatro Nacional
31	Uchpa	Uchpa	9/29/2017	La Noche de Barranco
32	Los Mortero, Olaya Sound System, Barrio Calavera, La Nueva Invasión, Chinoclón,	Yawarfest	9/23/2017	El Palacio del Inca
33	Olaya Sound System	Olaya Sound System	9/7/17	La Noche de Barranco
34	Lucho Quequezana	Lucho Quequezana	06/23/2016	Gran Teatro Nacional
35	Lucho Quequezana	Ludofonico	6/23/2016	Gran Teatro Nacional
36	Novalima	Novalima	06/17/2016	Sargento Pimienta
37	Lucho Quequezana	Concierto Facebook	2/6/2016	Teatro Peruano Japonés
38	Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional	Concierto inaugural Temporada Internacional de Verano	2/5/2016	Gran Teatro Nacional

39	Miki Gonzales	Puedes Creer Tantas Veces	11/20/2015	Centro de Convenciones Barranco Arena
40	Uchpa, La Sarita, Liberatokani	Escúchate Perú Oído a tu Sangre	4/9/2015	Teatro Nacional
41	Lucho Quequezana	Lucho Quequezana	2013	Huaca Pucllana
42	Novalima	Novalima	2017	La Noche de Barranco
43	OneBrille	Evento Pro Fondos cine femenino	09/02/2018	Trenza
44	Jean Pierre Magnet	Jean Paul Magnet	2012	Pentagonito

Appendix 7: Observation sheet

Observation sheet used to organise observation during the concerts (filled out afterwards)

Observations of concert Research: music and Peruvianness

Event:

Observation #

Date:

Announced beginning of event:

Time (meeting/ journey to venue – start of observation – end of observation – coming home/journey home):

Time of observation:

Venue:

Address:

Characteristics of venue/ space

Venue open air or roofed	Notes
Type of local – Bar – Disco – Convert venue – Theatre – Park	
Size and division of the space/ venue	
Type of building – Part of the building, whole building – House, part of a house – Rooftop, basement	
Official capacity (legal information on door)	
Location of the venue in the city – Neighbourhood – Avenue – Street – Alley	
Organization of the entrance – Security – Ticket selling – Ticket control	
Ticket selling – Door – Online	

– Shops	
Decoration of the venue (flags, paintings on the walls, pictures, posters, artefacts, etc.)	
Technical aspects – Sound system – Technical problems	

General characteristics of the audience

Age	
Gender	
Clothing	

Movement of audience

How does the audience move in the space – Bar – Tables – Front of stage – Numbers seat – Dancing floor	
Consumption – Food – Beverages (alcoholic and non-alcoholic) – Drugs (visible, notable)	
Dancing in the audience – Dancing to particular song – More conversations than dancing – Sitting or standing	
Use of cell phone (pictures, selfies, videos) – Use of cameras, recorders (not cell phone) – Announcement about use of phone or cameras	
Until what time do people arrive (notable influx)	
Venue filled up (impression)	

Organization of the concert

Number of bands – Supporting band/ introduction – Concert of one group or several (without supporting group)	
Structure of the concert – Sequence of bands/artist – Pauses – Duration of concert (per band and pauses)	
Organization of the stage	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – All bands use the same instruments (change of instruments depending on band) – Transition between bands 	
Moderation, presentation, animation before, during or after the show (additional to what the musicians do)	

Composition of the stage

Decoration of stage	
Peruvian stereotypes or stereotypical aspects of stage decoration <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Official references, symbols (flag, colours, shield, images of heroes, etc.) – Cultural references, symbols (colours, artefacts, patterns, images, landscapes, etc.) 	
Light show <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Designed – Not designed 	

Concert

How many musicians are on stage <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Are there invited musicians/ additional to the original cast – Are there announced in any way 	
Female musicians on stage <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Original cast or guests 	
How many songs are presented <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Sequence of the songs 	
Interaction with the audience <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Participation in the music by the audience (singing, clapping) – Interaction between songs (conversations, questions by the musicians or audience) 	
Musicians clothing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Peruvian stereotypes or stereotypical aspects of clothing (colours, jewels, poncho, chullo, hats, etc.) – Clothing of invited musicians 	
Dancers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – What kind of dancers 	
Talking during the concerts (musicians) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Is there an introduction to the concert – About what do the musicians talk – End of the concert 	
Choreography of show <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – How is the interaction between the musicians 	

Additional observations and impressions
Comments

Appendix 8: Camera equipment

Camera equipment used for this research

- Camera: Sony Handycam FDR-AX100
- XLR adapter: Sony XLR-A2M
- Audio recorder: Tascam DR-100MKIII Linear PCM Recorder
- Handle audio recorder: Rycote
- Directional microphone: Rode NTG-2
- Tie-clip microphone: Sennheiser SK 100
- Tripod: Calumet
- SD cards: San Disk Extreme Pro
- Light: Manfrotto

Appendix 9: Comprehensive list of interviewees

The following two lists name all musicians and artists who granted me an interview, including those not cited in the thesis. The names in this list are given by the musicians and artists interviewed.

List of musicians

Name Interviewee(s)	Date	Place of interview	Band
Lorenzo Zolezzi, Mateo Bonora, Rodrigo Castillo, Alonso Rodriguez, Oscar Mauricio, Jim Marlow	9/13/17	“Cuartel Olayero” - rehearsal room Olaya Sound System	Olaya Sound System
Fernando Castro Castro	10/5/17	Casa Amapolay	La Nueva Invasión
Alejandro & maria Laura (Alejandro y Maria Laura)	10/19/17	Their home	Alejandro y Maria Laura
Giacomo (Alejandro y Maria Laura)	3/21/18	Tinkuy, students space Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú	Alejandro y Maria Laura
Jose Vargas (La Nueva Invasión)	3/28/18	Garden Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú	La Nueva Invasión
Gonzalo	4/2/18	Estudio Brocha Gorda	Brocha Gorda
Carolina Carbajal, Cesar Carbajal	4/3/18	Their house	Karolinativa
Anibal Davalos, Pablo Skacore	4/9/18	My house	Barrio Calavera
Ricardo Gutierrez “Genko”	5/3/18	My house	Tourista
Merian	5/4/18	Pucp	Merian
Giovana Nuñez Pasolini	5/8/18	Don Mamino	La Lá
Rodrigo Castillo	5/9/18	My house	Olaya Sound System
Paloma Pereira	5/14/18	La Bodega Verde	Karolinativa
Rui Pereira, Sandro Labenita, Genko	8/8/18	Rehearsal room Tourista	Tourista
Merian	8/21/18	Merians home	Merian
Luis Antonio Vicente	8/22/18	Rehearsal room La Nueva Invasión	La Nueva Invasión

List of graphic designers

Name interviewee	Date	Place of interview	Artist name/ name of artist collective
Carlos	3/3/18	Feria Perú Independiente (Carnavales) - Parque de la Familia	Faite
Roni	3/3/18	Feria Perú Independiente (Carnavales) - Parque de la Familia	Styla
Carlos Gallegos	3/3/18	Feria Perú Independiente (Carnavales) - Parque de la Familia	Nox Hassen
Yefferson Huaman	3/4/18	Feria Perú Independiente (Carnavales) - Parque de la Familia	Ruta Mare
Cindy & Gonzalo	3/4/18	Feria Perú Independiente (Carnavales) - Parque de la Familia	Brocha Gorda
"Sapito"	3/15/18	Shop La Casa de la Abuela	La Casa de la abuela
Yefferson (Ruta Mare)	3/22/18	Studio Ruta Mare	Ruta Mare
Fernando Castro	4/30/18	Feria Perú Independiente (Trabajador) - Parque de la Familia	Amapolay Manufacturas Autónomas
Espacio Abierto	4/29/18	Feria Perú Independiente (Trabajador) - Parque de la Familia	A collective of artists

Appendix 10: recorded consent for interviews

Questions for recorded consent for the interviews. Originally asked in Spanish.

- Do you agree that the interview will be recorded?
- Have you been informed about the topic of the investigation?
- Have you been informed that you can access the information and the respective parts of the research regarding you and your band?
- Have you been informed about your right to withdraw information, granted permissions and participation in this investigation at any moment?
- Do you agree to use your name, or would you like to stay anonymous?
- Could you give me your preferred name?

Appendix 11: Written consent for filming

Declaración de consentimiento

A quien le corresponde

Con lo siguiente doy mi consentimiento a la realización de grabaciones audio-visuales de interacciones, entrevistas, performance y conversaciones por Malena Müller para fines sin lucro y afines a la investigación sociológica sobre identidad y música en la escena independiente en Lima, Perú. Asimismo le concedo el derecho de editar las grabaciones, tanto de video como de audio, y el derecho de difusión en medios virtuales y análogos a su criterio de productos finales, siempre y cuando respete los derechos de autoría y de integridad personal de los partícipes.

Todas las actividades, expresiones de opinión y expresiones artísticas son propias y hechas libremente. La música es de mi/ nuestra autoría o adaptación/ reinterpretación y concedo el permiso del uso de la misma para fines del proyecto de investigación y los productos finales audio-visuales.

Confirmando que soy mayor de edad y participo en este proyecto voluntariamente y consiento de los permisos y derechos otorgados.

Nombre
Fecha

Firma

Appendix 12: Childhood soundtrack

Table 1: musical styles mentioned by the interviewees

Mentioned genres	Country/Region attributed too	Main language
Argentinian music	Argentina	Spanish
Tango	Argentina	Spanish
Samba	Brasil	Portuguese
Salsa	Caribbean/ Latin America	Spanish
Cuban music	Cuba	Spanish
Guaracha	Cuba	Spanish
Trova	Cuba	Spanish
Boleros	Cuban	Spanish
Latinamerican music	Latin America	Spanish
Latinamerican folklore	Latin America	Spanish
Nueva Ola	Latin America	Spanish
Tropical	Latin America	Spanish
Afro peruvian	Peru	Spanish
Creole Music	Peru	Spanish
Huayno	Peru	Spanish/ Quechua
Peruvian rock	Peru	Spanish
Polcas	Peru	Spanish
Pregones	Peru	Spanish
Waltz	Peru	Spanish
Carnavals	Peru	Spanish
Cumbia	Latin America	Spanish
Beat Box	USA	English
Rock	USA/ Europe	English
Sicuri	Peru	Instrumental

Table 2: bands and musicians mentioned by the interviewees

Mentioned bands	Country of origin	Main language
Beethoven	Germany	-
Inti Illimani	Chile	-
Beatles	United Kingdom	English
Carpenters	USA	English
Elton John	United Kingdom	English
Led Zeppelin	United Kingdom	English
Nat King Cole	USA	English
Queen	United Kingdom	English
Ray Charles	USA	English
Steve Wonder	USA	English
Carrapicho	Brasil	Portuguese
Arturo Zambo Cavero	Peru	Spanish
Bobby Capó (Félix Manuel Rodríguez Capó)	Puerto Rico	Spanish
Celia Cruz	Cuba	Spanish
Charly Garcia	Argentina	Spanish
El Polen	Peru	Spanish
Los Chachaleros	Argentina	Spanish
Los Jaivas	Chile	Spanish
Mercedes Sosa	Argentina	Spanish
Pablo Milanés	Cuba	Spanish
Silvio Rodríguez	Cuba	Spanish
Sonora Maticera	Cuban	Spanish
Sui Generis	Argentina	Spanish
Victoria Santa Cruz	Peru	Spanish
Joan Manuel Serrat	Spain	Spanish/ Catalan

Appendix 13: Adolescence and young adulthood soundtrack

Table 1: musical styles mentioned by the interviewees

Mentioned genres	Country/Region attributed too	Main language
African music	Africa	-
Tango	Argentina	Spanish
Brasilian music	Brasil	Portuguese
Trova	Cuba	Spanish
Raggae	Jamaica	English/Creole
Ska	Jamaica	English
Sound System	Jamaica	English
Ska Jazz	Jamaica/ USA	English
Heavy Metal	Europe/ USA	English and others
Pop	Europe/ USA	English and others
Punk	Europe/ USA	English and others
Latinamerican music	Latin America	Spanish
Pachanga	Latin America	Spanish
Salsa	Latin America	Spanish
Chiquipunk	Peru	Spanish
Afro-Peruvian	Peru	Spanish
Creole music	Peru	Spanish
Peruvian rock	Peru	Spanish
Cumbia	Latin America	Spanish
Reggaeton	Puerto Rico	Spanish
Spanish rock	Spain/ Latin America	Spanish
American pop	USA	English
Blues	USA	English
Country	USA	English
Electronic music	USA/Europe	-
Rock	USA/Europe	English and others
Death Metal		English

Table 2: bands and musicians mentioned by the interviewees

Mentioned bands	Country of origin	Main language
Alexisonfire	Canada	English
Anderson Paak	USA	English
Backstreet Boys	USA	English
Beach Boys	USA	English
Beasty Boys	USA	English
Broken Social Scene	Canada	English
Cannibal Corpse	USA	English
Childish Gambino	USA	English
Dire Straits	United Kingdom	English
Downset	USA	English
Faith No More	USA	English
Fugees	USA	English
Lauren Hill	USA	English
Led Zeppelin	United Kingdom	English
Metalica	USA	English
Napalm Death	United Kingdom	English
New Kids on the Block	USA	English
Queen	United Kingdom	English
Rage Against the Machine	USA	English
Slayer	USA	English
The Clash	United Kingdom	English
Tribe Called Quest	USA	English
Arena Hash	Peru	Spanish
Caracoles Suicidas	Peru	Spanish
Duo	Peru	Spanish
Hombres G	Spain	Spanish
Los Illegales	Spain	Spanish
Los Prisioneros	Chile	Spanish
Río	Peru	Spanish
Siniestro Total	Spain	Spanish
Todos tus Muertos	Argentina	Spanish

Appendix 14: Murals at *Palacio del Inca*

Image 1: The Inca in *Palacio del Inca*



Source: author, 04.29.2017

Image 2: *El Señor de Sipán at Palacio del Inca*



Source: author, 04.29.2017

Image 3: *Chimu* figures and pizza



Source: author, 04.29.2017