

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

*Fusión peruana: Contemporary Peruvian Musical Hybrids*

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree Master of Arts

in

Latin American Studies

by

Kimberly A. Dodge

Committee in Charge

Professor Christine Hunefeldt, Chair  
Professor Milos Kokotovic  
Professor Daniel Widener

2008



The Thesis of Kimberly A. Dodge is approved and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm:

---

---

---

Chair

University of California, San Diego

2008

This thesis is dedicated to my  
friends throughout the Americas  
who have shared their stories with me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Signature Page ..... iii

Dedication ..... iv

Table of Contents ..... v

Acknowledgments ..... vi

Abstract ..... vii

Introduction ..... 1

Chapter 1 – Situating Contemporary Peruvian Musical Hybrids: Questions of Mixing,  
*Mestizaje*, National Identity, and Global Music Trends ..... 4

Chapter 2 – Peruvian Popular Music in the Twentieth Century: Musical Hybrids,  
International Influences, and National Identity Projects ..... 34

Chapter 3 – *Fusión peruana*: Bringing Peruvian Musical Heritage into the Present ..... 83

Conclusion ..... 118

References ..... 120

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to all of the musicians throughout Peru and the rest of Latin America who inspire so many with their creativity, their sounds, and their words. I would like to thank the friendly *limeños* and *arequipeños*, musicians, music store employees, *taxistas*, bus drivers, hostel staff, club patrons, and international travelers who pointed out interesting music, endured my questions, shared their preferences, explained regional genres, accompanied me to concerts and dance clubs, and otherwise helped me to find a thesis topic that I loved. I would like to particularly thank Claudia for pointing me in the right direction so early in the research process.

I would like to thank Christine Hunefeldt for her guidance and support throughout this experience; Misha Kokotovic for encouraging my decision to study music from the very beginning; and Danny Widener for taking the opportunity to learn about Peruvian music. I am grateful to Erica S., Erica V., Genevieve, Guillermo, Jessica C., Jessica S., Jorge, Laura, Ricardo, and Sarita for their friendship and support through the past two years and for providing entertainment and stress relief when it was most needed.

Finally, I would like to thank the Center of Iberian and Latin American Studies and the Institute for International, Comparative, and Area Studies for awarding me summer travel grants. Their financial support made my research possible.

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

*Fusión peruana: Contemporary Peruvian Musical Hybrids*

by

Kimberly A. Dodge

Master of Arts in Latin American Studies

University of California, San Diego, 2008

Professor Christine Hunefeldt, Chair

This thesis discusses popular Peruvian musical hybrids. It presents an overview of the major conceptual tools used to evaluate cultural mixing, including hybridization, transculturation, and *mestizaje*, and important theories in Latin American musical and cultural analysis, particularly with regards to national identity. Next, it identifies and analyzes Peruvian musical history within the past century, focusing on the hybridization

of national genres with international forms. It describes the *vals criollo*, highlands genres including the *huayno*, the Afro-Peruvian revival, *música chicha*, fusion styles from the 1980s and 1990s, and *techno-cumbia*, and discusses their connection with local, regional, and national identity projects. Finally, this thesis focuses on contemporary musical fusions, analyzing the musical hybrids produced by Miki González, Novalima, Jaime Cuadra, Ángel Lobatón, and Jean Pierre Magnet. It evaluates how these projects modernize Peruvian musical heritage, educate later generations on these traditions, represent elite visions of society, and are relevant to the development of an inclusive Peruvian identity.



## Introduction

During the past five years, Peruvian musicians and producers have created fascinating fusions of national musical genres with internationally popular beats, rhythms, and styles. Reaching into the *criollo*, Afro-Peruvian, and Andean cultural heritages, these artists have revisited Peruvian traditions in musical hybrids which have quickly achieved significant sales within Peru and earned acclaim both from the national and international media. Though these new fusion styles are viewed as fresh takes on Peruvian genres, they build upon a long history of musical hybrids that have developed within particular regions as products of diverse social groups. Peruvian genres like the *vals criollo*, *huayno*, *festejo*, and *chicha* have evolved through similar processes of hybridization and transculturation marked by the integration of local traditions, individual artistic creativity, and international influences. What distinguishes these latest hybrids is that they are explicitly referred to as *fusión*; in fact, they are celebrated because they work within Peruvian traditions to produce commercially viable sounds. As Efrain Rozas, a Peruvian anthropologist, states, this form of fusion “está en el contexto de la globalización, que hace explícita la mezcla, enfatiza la mezcla. Quiere demostrar de una manera clarísima esta mezcla, incluso en las portadas de los discos, los nombres de las canciones, como diciendo ‘mira, esto es modernidad, pero es tradición también’” (qtd. in León 2007). By emphasizing the intentional hybridization, Peruvian musicians and producers are updating and modernizing these traditions in ways that make them accessible to younger generations and potential international audiences. Further, by working with Peruvian musical heritages, these artists are contributing to the

development and definition of a Peruvian identity that recognizes its diverse branches as part of a unified whole.

The intention of this thesis is to situate these contemporary trends in Peruvian popular music in terms of the nation's history of cultural mixing and musical hybridization. Peruvian musical genres have often been linked to projects of local, regional, and national identity and have been variously appropriated and celebrated by different social and ethnic groups. This thesis will illustrate how musicians and producers have worked with Peruvian culture to expand the realm of musical possibilities for other artists and participate in the evolution of national popular music. It will also describe how this music has been supported or criticized by listening audiences, the media, and the government, often based on the identities it reflects in its lyrics and sounds. While this project does not cover every hybrid form, or identify each musician or group which has produced innovative musical hybrids based on Peruvian traditions, it attempts to describe a wide range of styles and suggests sources for related research as well as future directions for study.

Chapter 1 presents an overview of the major conceptual tools used to evaluate cultural mixing, including hybridization, transculturation, and *mestizaje*, and important theories in Latin American musical and cultural analysis, particularly with regards to national identity. Chapter 2 identifies and analyzes Peruvian musical history within the past century, focusing on the hybridization of national genres with international forms. It describes the *vals criollo*, highlands genres including the *huayno*, the Afro-Peruvian revival, *música chicha*, fusion styles from the 1980s and 1990s, and *techno-cumbia*, and

discusses their connection with local, regional, and national identity projects. Chapter 3 focuses on contemporary musical fusions, analyzing the musical hybrids produced by Miki González, Novalima, Jaime Cuadra, Ángel Lobatón, and Jean Pierre Magnet. It evaluates how these projects modernize Peruvian musical heritage, educate later generations on these traditions, represent elite visions of society, and are relevant to the development of an inclusive Peruvian identity.

**Chapter 1**  
**Situating Contemporary Peruvian Musical Hybrids:**  
**Questions of Mixing, *Mestizaje*, National Identity, and Global Music Trends**

Music is generally considered one of the most complex cultural forms because of the range of ways it may be experienced, the variety of meanings attributed to it by musicians, consumers, and cultural gatekeepers, and the potential it has to absorb influences and reappear revitalized. Moreover, in many countries, including Peru, musical genres are often viewed as the expressions of particular classes, cultures, or generations, which may link them with similarly situated groups in other nations or regions. Finally, as the global communication network continues to connect diverse peoples across the world, musical forms have become a contested site of cultural change, raising questions of globalization and appropriation, and challenging the meanings of local and global in cultural production. In Peru, a country which has integrated influences from several sources for centuries, and whose cultural legacies have been variously celebrated and adopted as symbols of nationhood, these issues of cultural mixing and *mestizaje* reflect a lived reality.

In order to position Peruvian music as a cultural product that establishes and interrogates projects of *mestizaje* and identity, it is necessary to identify useful terms and concepts and briefly revisit key debates in cultural theory which address integration and mixing, the relationship of music and other cultural forms to power, and recent concerns about the dissolution of differences between global and local musics. This chapter will be divided into three sections: the first will discuss the language of cultural mixing and the various labels which have differentiated and divided racial and ethnic categories

within Peru; the second will evaluate the use of hybrids in world music, and how music can evoke images of nation even while incorporating global influences; and the third will focus on music's multiple levels of analysis and introduce how the Peruvian case will be analyzed in this thesis.

### **The Language of Cultural Mixing: From Hybridization to *Mestizaje* in Peru**

In order to discuss the cultural heritages of Latin American nations, it is important to concentrate on the legacy of ethnic, cultural, and social mixing that has defined and redefined Latin America over centuries of colonization and migration. Scholars have adopted several useful terms to address the processes of integration, differentiation, inclusion, and exclusion that have characterized debates over regional and national identities. This section will briefly summarize this terminology and identify which terms are preferred for discussing cultural products, especially music. While musical forms created by combining genres from different regions or generations tend to be referred to as musical fusions, other terms may be more useful for describing the selective processes involved in their creation.

In García Canclini's influential work on hybrid cultures, he defines hybridization as "sociocultural process in which discrete structures or practices, previously existing in separate form, are combined to generate new structures, objects, and practices." He clarifies that "the so-called discrete structures were a result of prior hybridizations and therefore cannot be considered pure points of origin" (García Canclini 2005: xxv). He explains that hybridization can be both an intentional and unintentional process: it

sometimes “occurs in an unplanned manner or is the unforeseen result of processes of migration, tourism, and economic or communicational exchange,” while it also “emerges from individual and collective creativity—not only in the arts but in everyday life and technological development” (García Canclini: xxvii). In his view, understanding hybridized cultural practices requires knowledge of their origins and the process through which they are formed. By considering the sources, we can “acknowledge the extent to which these processes are destructive, and recognize what is left out of the fusion,” as well as “what refuses or resists hybridization” (García Canclini 2005: xxxi).

García Canclini’s use of the term hybridization suggests many of the dualities involved in the creation of a hybridized whole: historical influences combined with present-day innovations; intentional constructs and unplanned results; the outside, foreign, or global mixed with the internal, national, or local; the “modern” with the “traditional”; and rural and urban, among others. The products of processes of hybridization illustrate the effects of inclusion and exclusion as well as conflicts and confrontations with power that occur throughout their developmental trajectories. For this reason, the terms “hybrid” and “hybridization” are especially useful for analyzing Peruvian musical forms which have historically been linked to cultural confrontations and associated with particular ethnic, class, and social groups.

As García Canclini points out, hybridization falls within an important “network of concepts,” including “contradiction, *mestizaje*, syncretism, transculturation, and creolization” (2005: xxix). Some of these terms are generally linked to specific disciplines: hybridization originally indicated biological mixing, syncretism referred to

religious practices, *mestizaje* has been used to describe anthropological developments and historical practices, and fusion has described musical mixing (García Canclini 2005: xxiv). Further, Aparicio and Jáquez suggest that in “some ways, García Canclini’s view of hybrid cultures is located within a genealogy of cultural paradigms, such as Alejo Carpentier’s *lo real maravilloso* and Gabriel García Márquez’s *realismo mágico*, that probe into Latin America’s multicultural and (post)colonial complexity” (2003: 7). While they are right to suggest that these various approaches to Latin America’s dynamic, diverse cultural heritages work to approximate and make comprehensible their complexity, García Canclini’s concept of hybridization attempts to explain the processes that lead to this cultural complexity as well as their products, while *lo real maravilloso* and *realismo mágico* illustrate the effects of these processes of hybridization and highlight the fact that some characteristics are difficult, if not nearly impossible, to explain in conventional ways. However, situating this theory of hybrid cultures in this particular Latin American intellectual tradition shows its potential to highlight particular examples of the uneven, often unpredictable incorporation of myriad influences in Latin American nations and cultures. Along these lines, Aparicio and Jáquez indicate the usefulness of the term “transculturation” to alleviate some concerns with the binary logic of hybridity, since it illustrates the mutual influences and tensions between the “traditional” and the “modern” (2003: 6-7).

As defined by Ortiz, the term transculturation or *transculturación* in Spanish reflects the complex cultural transformations that have occurred in Cuba, and by extension, the rest of Latin America, with the waves of changes that have occurred with

the arrival of each additional group to this region. From the earliest indigenous groups, to the arrival of the Spanish and other Europeans, to Africans forced into slavery, to immigrants from all over the world, these different groups have contributed their own cultures, which have provided influences from varying stages of modernization. The combination of these characteristics has occurred in various stages of cultural adjustment and reevaluation, ranging from the loss of identifying traits, to adaptation, and finally transculturation, which represents the influences and tensions between these different groups (Ortiz 1978: 92-94). Ortiz finds that “el vocablo *transculturación* expresa mejor las diferentes fases del proceso transitivo de una cultura a otra, porque éste no consiste solamente en adquirir una distinta cultura, [...] sino que el proceso implica también necesariamente la pérdida o desarraigo de una cultural precedente, lo que pudiera decirse una parcial *desculturación*, y, además, significa la consiguiente creación de nuevos fenómenos culturales que pudieran denominarse de *neocultración*” (Ortiz 1978: 96). The term transculturation captures the dual processes of gain and loss that result in a cultural creation that retains some identifying characteristics of the combined parts, while becoming a different whole. In this way, Ortiz’s term illustrates how the processes of power and cultural remembrance have been involved in the development of Latin American cultures and their products.

While hybridization is an apt term for describing how local cultures are combined with international influences and how more traditional representations can coexist side by side with ultramodern ones, it seems to suggest an end product, instead of a continuously evolving cultural process. As the process of cultural exchange grows, those who have



previously received outside influences are transforming these and, in turn, sharing their creations and transforming the original sources of inspiration. For this reason, transculturation has become an important term because it demonstrates how sources and recipients evolve while still remaining in tension with each other. As Malm and Wallis indicate with regards to the music industry, the increased access to recording technology and repertoires of foreign music distributed by transnational music companies has led to massive sharing of music, which has called the definition of local musics into question. Describing music in Kenya, they write that the “music they produced was not purely ‘local’ in a traditional sense but often represented a hybrid of globalization and indigenization, with international influences affecting the interpretation of local sounds and styles and vice versa. We have suggested the term ‘transculturation’ for such phenomena” (Malm and Wallis 1992: 8). Their use maintains the sense of flow, with cultural information filtering back both ways after having been transformed into something locally based, but globally influenced. As the changing meanings of racial, ethnic, and cultural labels illustrate, these processes are ongoing and maintain roots in various histories.

Another useful term for understanding the dynamics of cultural influences is creolization. In Hannerz’s view, “If there is any term which has many of the right associations by which to describe the ongoing, historically cumulative cultural interrelatedness between center and periphery, it is [...] ‘creolization,’ a borrowing from particular social and cultural histories by way of a more generalized linguistics” (1991: 126). Creolization “suggests that cultures, like languages, can be intrinsically of mixed

origin, rather than historically pure and homogenous” (127). Like the processes of hybridization and transculturation, creolization reflects both the loss and gain of cultural characteristics and is a process that repeats itself. “[C]reole cultures result as people actively engage in making their own syntheses. [...] There is also in the creolization scenario the notion of a more or less open continuum, a gradation of living syntheses which can be seen to match the cultural distance between center and periphery” (Hannerz 1991: 127). At the same time, “the creolist point of view recognizes history. Creole cultures are not instant products of the present but have had some time to develop and draw themselves together to at least some degree of coherence; generations have already been born into them, but have also kept working on them” (127). Like García Canclini’s emphasis on the processes of hybridization, and the ongoing flows of transculturation, Hannerz’s definition of creolization acknowledges the constant transformations throughout the history of a particular culture. Creolization implies the evolution of a cohesive, identifiable culture which has almost always incorporated outside influences, yet still has become a unique whole. In this way, creolization is another useful concept for understanding the roots of genres used in contemporary Peruvian music forms, which intentionally hybridize older genres that also have historically incorporated outside influences.

Along with hybridization, creolization, and transculturation, *mestizaje* has been an important term for characterizing Latin American cultures. While *mestizaje* describes the process of combining elements from several racial and cultural sources, it has also served as an ideology supported by various governments to encourage combination of racial

heritages to produce a unified nation, with dominant groups often determining which elements should be supported and which should be forgotten. Rowe and Schelling describe it as follows: “*Mestizaje*, a word denoting racial mixture, assumes a synthesis of cultures, where none is eradicated. The difficulty with the idea of *mestizaje* is that, without an analysis of power structures, it becomes an ideology of racial harmony which obscures the actual holding of power by a particular group” (1991: 18). As this illustrates, *mestizaje* in Latin America has historically been used to promote a cohesive national culture that has evolved from the European, African, and indigenous heritages of its people. However, this rarely involved a harmonious, simple mixing of cultures; instead, certain racial and cultural characteristics were identified as desirable, whereas others were denied inclusion in the national imaginary. Further, the processes of *mestizaje* did not have the same goals or occur in the same manner in all Latin American nations.

In the Peruvian case, *mestizaje* has not always been a naturally occurring or benevolent process, but rather contains and reflects the effects of centuries of social domination, embedded racism, and discrimination based on ethnic and class characteristics. As Portocarrero states, “Tradicionalmente la idea de mestizaje ha servido para encubrir conflictos. Negar diferencias: ese ha sido el pacto liberal y republicano. Pero negar un hecho no es hacerlo desaparecer. Las diferencias se ignoran pero se siguen reproduciendo. El olvido no sirve y la dominación continúa. Las concepciones dominantes de mestizaje no se han emancipado del colonialismo” (1993: 10). This description illustrates the long tradition of domination and the use of *mestizaje* to deny or

ignore cultural and ethnic differences among Peru's diverse population. Official discourse describes Peru as a *mestizo* nation, since centuries of interracial mixing have made it nearly impossible to claim only one ethnic heritage. However, racism has continued to be a pervasive problem in Peru, and has manifested itself in the desire of some elite intellectuals and politicians to "whiten" the nation. For example, Clemente Palma blamed Peru's "backwardness" on the Peruvians of African, Chinese, indigenous, even *mestizo* heritage and suggested that the nation would only "advance" if it became more white (León 1998: 47). The prevalence of this attitude among elite sectors established and continued racial discrimination among Peruvians, though these problems are not officially acknowledged (León 1998: 69-70). As León indicates, "Decir que el Perú es un país de mestizos permite soslayar la problemática racial, y forjar una aparente unidad de todos los peruanos, unidad que está lejos de ser sentida como real por la mayoría de ellos" (1998: 74).

Despite the denial or ignorance of racism by Peruvian politicians, racial classifications have continued to govern interactions and determine social status in most regions. Markers of particular groups have ceased to be solely based on physical traits, and now include cultural and class characteristics which serve as symbols of social position, often within specific contexts. In Peru, some of the most common designations include *mestizo*, *indio*, *criollo*, *cholo*, and *negro*, though many others have also been used. As these categorizations have been relevant to understanding the sociocultural contexts of particular Peruvian musical genres, these will be defined below, though it is necessary to recognize that these meanings are always in flux and certain labels may be

applied differently in particular contexts. Further, many of these designations are usually defined by contrasting particular racial, economic, or cultural characteristics against people perceived to pertain to another category.

*Mestizo*, which has come to represent the mixed racial identification of the Peruvian nation, has slightly different meanings in the urban and highlands regions. As Mendoza states, “The category of mestizo at the national level [...] has become associated with a higher social status [and] usually indicates a fuller identification with national/urban culture and a more privileged position in the economic structure than that of cholo. In the highlands the category of mestizo, or *misti* in its Quechua form, has been associated with those who hold an advantageous economic and political position over the peasant population” (2000: 15). She found that *cusqueños* could “become part of the urban world through formal education, occupation, language use, clothing, and music and dance styles [which they used to] ‘de-Indianize’ themselves and to become more powerful in local society” (2000: 17). As this example illustrates, *mestizos* in Peru are considered to be more urban and have a more privileged social status than *indios*, whom they are defined against.

Like *mestizo*, the term *criollo* is generally associated with urban Peruvians; *criollos* generally reside in the coastal region and are of a more elite socioeconomic position. The use of the term *criollo* in Peru is more specific and local than elsewhere in Latin America. It is most often used to indicate coastal cultural practices and the people that identify with these, such as the *vals criollo* which will be discussed in the next chapter. The designation *criollo* and the practice of *criollismo* generally reflects cultural

nationalism of Lima natives who follow national traditions which have evolved out of European and African practices, but generally exclude indigenous practices (Tompkins 1981: 91-92). As León Quiros states, the prioritization and use of the term *criollo* over the somewhat more inclusive term *mestizo* “points toward the subordination of these other ethnic and cultural influences to a predominantly European-based sense of cultural identity” (2003b: 8). It is important to note that while the term *negro*, or black, is used to identify people of African heritage and Afro-Peruvian cultural practices, specifically music and dance, many of these traditions have become included in or appropriated by the *criollo* cultural repertoire. “While most *criollos* today recognize the impact that Afroperuvians have had in the development of coastal culture, they are less likely to consider most contemporary cultural practices as existing independently from their own” (León Quiros 2003b: 9). For this reason, these categories are more flexible and tend to be “contextually constructed”: Peruvians with African heritage may identify as *criollo* or *negro*, even *mestizo* depending on the context, especially as musicians performing within a particular repertoire (9). As with the terms *mestizo*, *cholo*, and *indio*, Peru’s complex history of cultural assimilation and appropriation has resulted in terms which are used in particular contexts to either celebrate or differentiate particular heritages.

While the terms *mestizo* and *criollo* are generally used positively due to their associations with Peruvian elites, the designations of *indio* and *cholo* both indicate particular social groups with indigenous heritage in Peru and are used by other groups to suggest undesirable behaviors or attributes. As with the other terms, social position of both the observer and the person being labeled as well as the social context continues to

be important in evaluating its intention. *Indio* generally refers to a person of primarily indigenous heritage, who resides in the Andean highlands region, and uses traditional dress, speaks Quechua or Aymara language, lives within an *ayllu*, or indigenous community, and maintains traditional cultural practices, including celebrations and festivals. Historically, “[p]eople and cultural practices identified as ‘Indian’ have been systematically separated out, marginalized, and oppressed by the state and local elites[.] Often denied access to opportunities and upwards social mobility within the larger society, indigenous Andeans in southern Peru bolstered their own social unity at the local level as a means of defense, and distanced themselves culturally and, when possible, geographically” leading to a “bilateral process of social separation [...] generated by both elites and indigenous people themselves” (Turino 1993: 21). However, in the past few decades, younger generations of indigenous Peruvians are beginning to become more engaged in *mestizo* society by moving to urban locations, increasing their levels of formal education, and becoming professionals. While their parents may still be identified as *indios*, these socioeconomic markers indicate a higher social class and often result in the childrens’ identification as *mestizo* (Turino 1993: 27). In this way, the adoption of certain cultural practices can lead to transitions from a more marginalized social status to a more privileged one.

However, the process of transitioning from an indigenous social identification to *mestizo* has become associated with another social label, *cholo*. Like the rest of the terms, *cholo* has had a history of various attributed meanings. In colonial times, the term was used to indicate members of a *mestizo* mixed race heritage, but those whose physical

characteristics appeared to be more indigenous, which prevented them from being fully integrated into the dominant class of Spanish and *mestizos* (Quijano 1980: 56). In the past few decades, the term has come to be used as a “pejorative term associated with low social and ethnic/racial status” (Mendoza 2000: 13). *Cholo* “has come to imply a more or less incomplete transition from rural to urban culture and a marginal position within the economic structure” (Mendoza 2000: 15). In this way, the term no longer indicates a racial group, but a cultural one (Quijano 1980: 58).

In fact, the massive migration of Andean peasants to Lima and other urban centers has resulted in what has been called the process of *choloficación* and an emergent social sector identified and united by the term *cholo*. In Quijano’s words, “El fenómeno contemporáneo de ‘cholificación’ es un proceso en el cual determinadas capas de la población indígena campesina, van abandonando algunos de los elementos de la cultura indígena x, adoptando algunos de los que tipifican la cultura occidental criolla, y van elaborando con ellos un estilo de vida que se diferencia al mismo tiempo de las dos culturas fundamentales de nuestra sociedad, sin perder por eso su vinculación original con ellas” (1980: 63). By adopting some characteristics of the urban *mestizo*, while choosing to maintain symbols of indigenous cultural heritage like traditional dress or language, *cholos* have established a separate social category whose numbers mark them as a significant, influential social force, even though elite sectors desiring to continue their social domination have continued to stereotype and marginalize them. However, as Quijano indicates when describing the possible effects of increased *choloficación* within Peru, “Es solamente con la emergencia y del desarrollo del grupo cholo, que aparece por



primera vez la tendencia a la integración de ambas culturas en una cultura común. [...] [L]a emergencia del grupo cholo abre las posibilidades de desarrollo de una cultura mestiza en el Perú” (1980: 112). As Quijano’s speculation suggests, while the term *cholo* has been used to refer negatively to a social group in transition, the increasing numbers and growing acceptance of this group may lead to a renewed, revisited vision of Peruvian identity which incorporates the various cultural heritages of its members. In evaluating Peruvian music, particular the latest hybridized forms, these tendencies towards signaling and defining a particular identity will be highlighted.

### **Mixing Musics: The Multiple Levels of Music, the Interplay of Global and Local Influences, and the Connections Between Music and Racial and National Identity**

As previously mentioned, music is one of the most versatile and complex forms of cultural expression, for its ability to be used for both artistic purposes and economic gain, for its expression of local, national and global identities, and for its ability to subvert and be appropriated by dominant power structures. This section will describe the dialectical relationship of music as a commodity and site of cultural memory, briefly outline the different ways music can be experienced and interpreted, and how music is related to power relations. Further, it will discuss how music has been used by musicians and the state as symbols of local and national identities, and how music is associated with race and can challenge or reinforce preconceptions about particular ethnic groups. Finally, this section will touch upon the current debates in music theory regarding the increasing

prevalence of music sometimes described as world beat, which reflects hybridizations of musical styles from all over the world.

The most important factor to recognize with regards to music is its dual existence as a “commodified product of an industry with high levels of corporate interest, and simultaneously as an arena of cultural meaning” (Connell and Gibson 2003: 6). As musical pieces and forms are developed, they generally “involve small-scale creativity,” which connects it to the everyday lives of the musicians and listeners who support these projects in their early stages. Next, “[b]eyond its importance as a cultural pursuit, music is captured, transformed and broadcast in a range of ways, involving complicated trajectories of production, distribution and consumption,” including its recording on sheet music and small-scale and commercial albums (Connell and Gibson 2003: 6). Even when music is involved in a cultural economy and linked to commercial production, it remains a cultural product closely linked to the experiences of people and societies. In fact, in order for music to be distributed successfully and be used for commercial gain, it must be connected to people who are familiar with what is currently popular among listeners, what is marketable to particular audiences, and what meanings are or can be inscribed in the music. “The economics of music cannot be divorced from the networks of people who make and promote it – music is an inherently risky and often vulnerable industry, hence the importance of cultural knowledge and contacts for generating a ‘buzz’ surrounding an artist or release” (Connell and Gibson 2003: 8). As such, it is important to recognize that “[m]usical cultures are commodified, but music never leaves the sphere of the ‘cultural’ or ‘social’ even when it is being manufactured, bought or sold” (9). In

this way, music represents the levels of cultural meaning inscribed in its lyrics and the traditions of the genre, and its successful distribution requires social connections. In order to become interested in the music, listeners must relate to the sounds, the rhythms, or the lyrics; music must be presented both in performances and as a marketable product in ways that reflect understanding of how to reach broader audiences; and its performance, both in small venues and large concert halls, makes it a social experience.

Malm and Wallis have identified several levels of music activity, which are useful for understanding, evaluating, and analyzing music as both a symbol of cultural meaning and of economic production. In general, music can be divided into performance and non-performance categories. “Performance activities include the actual playing of music in different contexts, i.e. any kind of musicmaking from the singing of a lullaby, drumming and chanting in ceremonies, to stage events and media events, live or recorded. Performance also includes music-related activities such as dancing.” On the other hand, “[n]on-performance activities include every possible way of listening to and hearing music, talking about music and expressing musical values, as well as acquiring” and playing recordings on electronic appliances (1992: 22). As these different levels of experiencing music suggest, cultural meanings of music vary based on how they are experienced, the social position of the listener, and the intents of the musicians or producers. In this way, the meanings are linked by a certain type of causality: “popular musical texts can be analyzed as institutionally produced commercial commodities that function as cultural artifacts inscribed with meanings which are then consumed and interpreted by fans and audiences” (Herman, Swiss and Sloop 1998: 4). While it may be

difficult to fully document and analyze all these different levels of music within any one study, it is important to highlight their interrelationships since these determine how the music reaches its audiences.

Further, the ability to consume and experience music is limited by geographical location, distribution networks, and media policies of particular governments. Significantly, the global reach of the recording industry often makes music from different locations more accessible. Like the sounds that are distributed, the music industry operates at several levels with varying amounts of economic capital. A “cottage industry” studio may record the music of local bands or musicians for distribution by hand to those who attend local shows or are personally connected to the groups. National record companies have a broader reach and generally are able to put records in stores across the country, though they may be governed and regulated by media policies and encouraged to produce music of national artists. Finally, transnational recording companies have the ability to produce artists from countries across the world, as well as distribute this music beyond national borders (Malm and Wallis 1992: 25-27). As these observations suggest, music is sometimes produced with specific audiences in mind, or it may be promoted by a company that has enough financial capital to invest in its wide distribution and potential acceptance. For this reason, especially with regards to music hybrids that incorporate local musics and international styles, it is important to understand how power relations influence the exchange of cultural information and can encourage or restrict their reach across national borders.

In the broadest sense, “ideas, cultures, and histories cannot seriously be understood or studied without their force, or more precisely their configurations of power, also being studied” (Said 1994: 5). As the previous description of the different levels of music production show, access to instruments, recording technology, and even the knowledge of different musical styles is often determined by the social position of the aspiring musician. For this reason, as Feld has observed, there is a prevalent, crucial “view of world music industrialization that views power relations as shaping forces in the production of musical styles and icons of cultural identity” (1994a: 261). Distribution by national and transnational record companies enables some musicians to share their music with a larger audience, which may earn them greater popularity, eventually benefiting them financially and potentially leading to greater creative flexibility in their recordings. Support by government policies, as the case of Peru illustrates, can also prioritize certain types of music and lead to their visibility as national genres, to the exclusion of others.

The significance of power relations becomes both more complicated and more interesting with regards to hybrid music styles which incorporate local musics, especially those considered folkloric, and more international forms like rock and electronic music. As Biddle and Knights indicate, “we must also inflect the notion of hybridity in order to be able to recognize the power relations at work in this mixing of styles here: in any encounter of musical types, there are never simply even-handed or playful encounters free from the operations of ideology” (2007: 13). Their concerns highlight the common debate about how the prevalence of international pop and rock styles have led to a more generic “world” sound which lacks recognizable connections with regional musics.

Because some of these styles are marketed by transnational companies, generally based in the United States and Europe, who have the influence to put them on radio airwaves across the world, they are seen to reflect a form of cultural imperialism. At the same time, most musical styles identified with a particular social group or nation have developed out of a shared history of interactions between elite and marginalized social sectors. This focus on power relationships has led to a significant debate in music theory about rightful use and appropriation, as well as what constitutes “world music” and “world beat,” which will be discussed shortly.

Even as hybrid music styles use forms which contain histories of uneven power relationships, they can change and even subvert the meanings associated with these particular genres. By incorporating styles connected to histories of protest and reclamation, or altering the way seemingly neutral musics express unexpected emotion, musicians interact with others located elsewhere in the world and communicate their ideas and their experiences through sound and lyrics. In this way, hybrid music styles “reflect not just sonic recombination but social exchanges, reciprocal transfers of behavior and ideas” (Reynolds 2007: 277). The combination of outside musical influences with local genres enables musicians to work with their cultural repertoire in new and creative ways, and use popular international genres to express themselves in ways that can be understood outside of their regional referents. Reynolds’s idea of “reciprocal transfers” is related to the idea of transculturation, of a mutual sharing which may not always be balanced in power or force of influence, but that does reflect a dialogue between groups of different backgrounds. Further, exposure to international

influences can provide marginalized groups with additional modes of expression: “openness to foreign cultural influences need not involve only an impoverishment of local and national culture. It may give people access to technological and symbolic resources for dealing with their own ideas, managing their own culture, in new ways” (Hannerz 1987: 555 cited in Connell and Gibson 2003: 272). By viewing musical repertoires from different countries as resources, it is possible to understand how hybridized music styles reflect national musicians’ attempts to work within what has been established as familiar and representative of certain groups to dialogue with the past and make statements about modernity and identity.

Hall states that previously marginalized groups have managed to adopt modern technologies, forms of expression, and languages in order to use these to speak for themselves. As a result, “the discourses of power in our society, the discourses of the dominant regimes, have been certainly threatened by this de-centered cultural empowerment of the marginal and the local” (Hall 1991: 34). Using the example of contemporary music, Hall reminds us that all modern musics have been exposed to others, whether through transcriptions or recordings. In his view, the “aesthetics of modern popular music is the aesthetics of the hybrid, the aesthetics of the crossover, the aesthetics of the diaspora, the aesthetics of creolization” because the people who have been previously marginalized have now been exposed to modern technologies and choose to use them to relate their own experiences (Hall 1991: 38-39). “They did not want to go back and defend something which was ancient, which had stood still, which had refused the opening to new things. They wanted to speak right across those boundaries, and

across those frontiers” (Hall 1991: 38). Hall’s opinion of hybrid aesthetics shows how those who have been considered Others or primitives have decided to forego that role and express themselves as they see themselves with the technologies that have become available to them. By doing so, they challenge this categorization and transcend the role assigned to them by dominant power structures which have defined themselves through terms of difference or asserted superiority (Said 1994: 332). In music, the combination of traditional forms with sounds from very modern technologies facilitates the ability of these groups to speak from both positions.

Interestingly, the increased international exposure of local musics, either as folkloric recordings designed to share traditions from regions distant from Europe or North America, or as hybridized styles incorporating international genres like rock, has led to many debates within the music industry about the rightful use of so-called “traditional” musics. This often depends on the position in the power structure of the musicians producing this music, as well as the groups distributing it. Despite the transnational nature of the music industry, and the fact that, as Hall identified, most musics have received influences from elsewhere, musical genres from around the world are labeled differently based on their perceived “authenticity” in reflecting local “traditions.” As Feld states, the “opposition or mutual differentiation scenario [...] rhetorically contrasts claims of ‘truth,’ ‘tradition,’ ‘roots,’ and ‘authenticity’—under the cover term ‘world music’ (or, in the lingo of some zealous promoters, ‘real world music’)—with practices of mixing, syncretic hybridization, blending, fusion, creolization, collaboration across gulfs, all under the cover term ‘world beat’” (1994: 265). Further,



“world beat” is a ‘more marked term than ‘world music’—critically disparaged by some as other (or just oppressed) people’s party music commercially appropriated for white folks to dance to, while championed by others as a new, populist, honest, commercially viable form of dialogue or equalization between music and musicians in different cultural spaces” (Feld 1994: 266-267).

This summary of the debates about the value of “world beat” music styles shows that it is important to consider the social position of those involved in its creation, specifically who is producing the music and what their relationship is to the traditions which are being used. As Taylor indicates, “It is worth wondering who is asked to be authentic and whose music is labeled as hybridized” (1997: 201). In particular, “[m]usicians from the margins of the global economy [...] have demands of authenticity made of them by western listeners, even if these third world musicians grew up listening to the same popular musicians as any western kid” (201). These statements raise important concerns about why musicians from the margins are expected to maintain pure, authentic, even traditional cultures, when many of these cultures have received and incorporated outside influences for centuries and have evolved through processes of hybridization, creolization, and transculturation. At the same time as some rock musicians are criticized for incorporating influences from Asia, Africa, and Latin America without proper attribution or “respect” for traditions, the producers of these same traditions are likewise criticized if they try to move outside their musical cultures and create hybridized sounds. While these criticisms do still occur, increased globalization and cultural hybridization has led to growing acceptance of these processes.

As the analysis of power structures has showed, it is important to consider the position of those who benefit financially from using traditional music, without discounting the fact that international exposure can lead to significant financial gain for musicians located outside the main production centers in Europe and North America.

Part of the concern regarding appropriation of particular traditions is that they have become closely linked to particular cultural, regional, racial, or national identities, either due to the roots of particular instruments or rhythms, the social position of the artists, or their adoption as symbols of cultural or national pride. As the following chapter shows, hybridized styles have become naturalized and recognized as part of a cultural repertoire that becomes the image of a nation, even if these traditions have been appropriated from marginalized sectors of the population. “National ‘trends’ are sought after as evidence of a continuing sense of ‘community’, and national ‘sounds’ are often constructed by accentuating, celebrating, and marketing local differences” (Connell and Gibson 2003: 124). These differences “have been appropriated and transformed into representations of the national, both within nations (by cultural elites and nationalists) and beyond the nation (as part of the trend toward exoticising culture)” (125). As with determining what is labeled as world music, the recognition and promotion of difference is also significant in characterizing national music cultures and distinguishing them from those of bordering nations or other regions. For this reason, when a tradition is recognized as a symbol of national identity or pride, it remains necessary to remember its origins in and its associations with particular class or social identities. “A number of these ‘national’ values and articulations may find resonance in everyday musical

practices and beliefs, but arguably these are unlikely to represent the diversity of beliefs and practices pertaining to music in any given society, no matter how dominant or prevalent they may appear to be. Any interpretation of music-identity power relations in a particular nation-state would also need to consider a range of insider/outsider contexts” (O’Flynn 2007: 28). In this sense, not all national genres are equally recognized or equally practiced, and their connection to national identity is highly dependent on how they have been promoted as representative of national traditions. For example, though Afro-Peruvian traditions are now generally accepted by Peruvians of all races as nostalgic national music, some have been reconstructed as emblems of an idealized past by outsiders who did not experience marginalization or racial discrimination. This will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

As previously stated, linking musical genres to cultural and national identities requires acknowledging and distinguishing difference, either for asserting cultural superiority or for demonstrating pride in a marginalized heritage. “Nation-states continue to promote the idea of music as cultural symbol and/or national product, just as global markets have an interest in perpetuating and commodifying musical difference at the level of nation. Conceptions of national identity and music can range from exclusivist notions of musical essence and origin to those that celebrate diversity and hybridity” (O’Flynn 2007: 37). In Latin America, these various conceptualizations of national identity are asserted and re-asserted by nation building discourses that are based on the processes of *mestizaje*. As Wade observes, “[h]eterogeneity is constantly discovered, and thus recreated, by a nation-building discourse that seeks to mold unity from diversity”

(2000: 7). With regards to musical genres, “the music that is modernized and nationalized has to be defined against something else that remains putatively traditional and nontraditional (i.e., local): if everything is appropriated and made national, then the danger of erasing hierarchies of class and culture rears its head. Like any meanings, national meanings are defined relationally, both with respect to other nations and to forms within the nation that are defined as inferior. So appropriation implies a parallel process of differentiation” (8). It is this need for differentiation in order to determine and maintain particular elite class positions that is challenged with the appropriation of national musical styles. With the new Peruvian hybrids, the musics of marginalized groups are combined with very modern musical forms that have the potential to cross national borders. By using them to illustrate Peruvian pride, they affirm these genres as part of the national repertoire but may ignore their previous use as markers of difference. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

In Wade’s analysis of Colombian music, he finds that “a *sense* of continuity and tradition is maintained through processes of syncretic change” (Wade 2000: 235; italics in original). However, though these continuities connect the music to the Colombian experience, “the processes of syncretism and hybridization [...] defy simple links between class, identity, and musical style and defy straightforward continuities,” particularly because complex exchanges have occurred between urban and rural centers, as well as among various regions of the world (235). Peruvian music history reflects a similar sense of continuity and tradition, though it does not function in a straightforward manner, as the following chapter will illustrate. While it is possible to identify origins

connecting the genres with particular social positions and ethnic identifications, the current forms taken by the music may not necessarily reflect these. As Wade states, “In a society where hybridity is the rule rather than the exception and where a transformist hegemony operates, it is impossible to think in terms of simple equations between music and social position. [...] Without being divorced from these, the music crossed boundaries quite fluidly and changed its associations over time” (2000: 25). This possibility of changing associations is especially relevant to contemporary hybridized styles, because they can reflect an established history as well as challenge the previous links with a divided past. By hybridizing national music genres with international styles that cross borders easily, musicians have created contemporary musical expressions in ways that are financially viable, demonstrate national pride, and construct a modern identity that reflects the past and the challenges of the present.

### **Conceptualizing Contemporary Peruvian Music**

As mentioned in the previous section, contemporary Peruvian popular music can be analyzed in terms of a wide number of debates about international sounds and musical hybrids. Due to the vast transculturation that has occurred within Peru and Latin America, it is important to evaluate how these latest hybridizations reflect this shared history and dialogues with current trends in global culture. Though there is some valid criticism about being unnecessarily optimistic about the latest hybrids without recognizing the homogenizing possibilities of globalizing trends, these hybrids do reflect the lived experience of the present moment. As Appadurai indicates, “newly emergent

hybrid forms, and the middle-class cosmopolitan cultural world to which they belong, do not necessarily constitute a degenerate and kitschy commercial world, to be sharply contrasted with a folk world we have forever lost. In fact, it may be the idea of a folk world in need of conservation that must be rejected, so that there can be a vigorous engagement with the hybrid forms of the world we live in now” (Appadurai 1991: 474 cited in Connell and Gibson 2003: 44). For this reason, the following analysis of Peruvian popular music will describe what has changed in these hybrid forms, but will focus on how they reflect contemporary circumstances and how they are used to reflect the experiences of particular social groups. Since many music styles have become associated with nation building or identity projects, it is important to recognize whether they challenge this past or demonstrate nostalgia for an imagined history. However, it is also necessary to consider potential reasons why contemporary musical hybrids have been received favorably both within Peru and elsewhere.

As the previous sections have illustrated, today’s global market means that change occurs at an ever-increasing pace, and in order for musicians to keep their music marketable, they must be aware of current trends in popular music. The following chapter will illustrate how popular international styles and the preferences of the Peruvian recording industry have influenced the distribution of national artists. While it is difficult to fully explain why musical styles and popular preferences change, the potential for information exchange has only increased in the past century. As Connell and Gibson state, “Particular trends vary spatially and temporally, with simultaneous fusion, diffusion, decline and revival, such that developing models of change is impossible. The

rise of the Internet ensured both that the pace of change accelerated, and the potential for hybridity became overwhelming” (2003: 172). For this reason, it becomes less important to focus on why hybridity occurs, and instead analyze what styles have been selected out of a number of potential sources. Access to cultural knowledge from other regions has become particularly relevant in the most recent Peruvian hybrids.

Further, in order for Peruvian musicians to succeed financially, they must be able to compete with popular music taste for international genres. A study performed by Bolaños and his associates in the early 1990s found that composers and performers believed that “en casi todas las emisoras de television y de radio no consideran en sus programas la promoción y difusión de la música nacional” (1995: 75). They found that salsa, used generically in Peru for Latin American music with a Caribbean rhythm, received the most attention, followed by “pop rock,” including rock, “balada,” and “balada rock” in both English and Spanish, then followed by national genres (176). These preferences for international musical styles can be linked to social position, with elite classes eschewing popular Peruvian music for foreign genres. As Karla Visso, a publicist, said, “Pienso que si hablamos de la clase alta, no tiene una identificación musical con el Perú. La clase alta no escucha música peruana. [...] Pero si hablamos del Perú en la clase baja mayoritaria, podríamos decir que la chicha y la cumbia fuerte, es lo que más vende” (qtd. in Bolaños 1995: 229). These observations suggest that Peruvian musicians must be aware of popular preferences to obtain commercial success. For this reason, the use of national genres with popular international forms may be viewed as one way musicians have resolved their desire to promote Peruvian music with the ability to

maintain the interest of elite sectors. As García Canclini has suggested, “Reconversion is, in part, an updating of the market” (2005: 268). By updating Peruvian sounds by using them in ways that are currently popular in international markets, these musicians are increasing the visibility of these sounds both at home and abroad.

Slobin’s theory of visibility in music is particular important to consider in this case. He finds that there are three types of visibility: local, regional, and transregional (1993: 17). For the purposes of this research, transregional visibility is the most important: “Transregional musics have a very high energy that spills across regional boundaries, perhaps even becoming global. This category of musics is increasing rapidly due to the mediascape, which at any moment can push a music forward so that a larger number of audiences can make the choice of domesticating it” (19). The increase in transnational visibility of a particular musical style can affect its reception within national borders. Slobin terms this “validation through visibility”: “This happens when a higher profile causes a local or regional population to reconsider its own traditions; the occasion for this moment is usually outside prompting” (21). This validation can be seen in the excitement within the Peruvian media about popular “fusion” styles and their perceived ability to showcase Peruvian traditions to the world. Though some styles were very popular when they were developed, their use in a modern hybrid style can increase their acceptance among later generations. As Slobin indicates, music preferences do not always correspond to class, but can also be related to generation (1993: 45). In this way, “updating” national musical genres by combining them with popular modern forms both



increases their potential for local and international visibility, and revitalizes them in ways that may make them popular with other generations.

While these musical genres still are tied to the histories of their previous incarnations, they can selectively use lyrics, creative juxtapositions, and international influences to demonstrate nostalgia, challenge cultural preconceptions, and create financially viable sounds. As the following chapters will explain, Peruvian musicians have created new national genres by working within and revising established repertoires, incorporating popular rhythms from international trends, and attempting to find creative ways to express their experiences. Peruvian national music has often reflected the ongoing processes of transculturation and state-sponsored *mestizaje*; it has received and incorporated influences from within the Latin American region and from other locations around the world, whether brought in immigrants' cultural practices, through the mass media, or from Peruvians returning from living overseas. As this chapter has shown, the tendency to link music to identities, whether cultural, ethnic, national, or generational, means that it both reflects these identities and can be involved in constructing or celebrating them. The following chapter will present a genealogy of Peruvian music that works to trace these connections in order to provide a solid foundation from which to evaluate the popularity and success of the latest musical hybrids.

## Chapter 2

### Peruvian Popular Music in the Twentieth Century: Musical Hybrids, International Influences, and National Identity Projects

Over the course of the last century, popular music in Peru, particularly in the capital city of Lima, has evolved into various forms which reflect contemporary social and political circumstances, changing regional and national identity projects, and capture cultural confrontations between the popular and the elite classes. Composers, musicians, and producers have developed “new” musical genres which have absorbed influences from various foreign musical styles that rapidly gained popularity among the Peruvian listening public, while maintaining continuity with local, regional, and national musical heritages. While increased access to technology has facilitated the exchange of cultural information in recent years, the influence, consumption, and integration of foreign styles has characterized several musical genres which have been naturalized and canonized over decades of development, revival, and standardization.

Among the numerous Peruvian genres, *música criolla*, particularly the *vals peruano*, Afro-Peruvian styles such as the *landó*, and *chicha peruana* exhibit the assimilation of foreign influences into local musics. At the same time, the growing importance of the recording industry and shifting cultural dynamics brought by urban migration have led to the consolidation of music with strong local relevance like the *huayno* into more standardized forms, incorporating and fusing both *mestizo* and indigenous variations. While individual artists have always experimented and innovated with popular world genres for their own creative reasons (Susana Baca is frequently cited as an example), certain styles, like the *techno-cumbia* of the late 1990s and the more

recent fusions with electronic music, have received considerable national attention.

Taken as a group, these musical hybrids, mixtures, and fusions can be viewed in terms of a continuously evolving genealogy of Peruvian popular music, which have responded to the popularity of foreign styles and the saturation of national markets with outside influences. At the same time, they reveal the shifting priorities of national identity projects which have alternated between defining a *criollo* capital and Limeño identity, celebrating Peru's Incan heritage while ignoring the indigenous present, and prioritizing coastal African *criollo* heritage in the face of an Andean "invasion" and the resulting *choloficación* of Lima and other urban centers.

In order to understand contemporary musical hybrids from Peru, it is necessary to understand the roots and background of the styles being fused. The following pages detail some of the most notable genres of Peruvian music within the last century. While many Peruvians suggest that their musical roots stem from the three main branches of Peruvian culture—sierra, coast, and jungle—much music is produced in coastal Lima, with regional differences appearing throughout the highlands and Amazon regions. Further, it is important to signal that many scholars have noted that there are several holes in Peruvian musical scholarship and additional research is necessary to fill in important information. Finally, the following sections are organized roughly in order of the main period of their development and popularity, with the exception of *huayno* and other highlands genres, which have a history dating back several hundred years. In that case, the period indicative of the growing prominence of *huayno* in Lima and the effect of urban influences and the recording industry on its standardization will be discussed.

### ***Música Criolla and the Vals Criollo: Hybridization at the Turn of the Century***

Although the history, influences, and origins of the *vals criollo* continue to be debated, it is considered to be one of the most Peruvian genres of music, whose legitimacy is assured by its long history (CEPES 1986: 17-18; Lloréns 1983: 24). At the beginning of the twentieth century, many European salon dances, among them the Viennese waltz, the Polish polka, the Spanish jota, and the Polish mazurka, were introduced in Peru as well as other Latin American countries. In Lima, the first performers and musicians of *música criolla peruana* created their own forms of the *vals*, which at first tended to be basically copies of the popular foreign music styles (Yep 1993: 268-269). The composers of this early period, which occurred between the turn of the century and the 1920s, are known as the “Guardia Vieja”; they began to develop a Peruvian musical genre with its own specific characteristics. According to Lloréns, the *vals* developed out of the musical roots of these popular European styles, as well as *mestizo* musical forms such as *pregones tristes* and Afro-Peruvian styles of the central coast (1983: 29). Yep suggests that the Argentine tango, American dance styles, and Cuban genres also influenced the *vals peruano* (1993: 269). The Guardia Vieja assimilated these foreign influences into the music they produced, while also contributing creative stylistic markers which gave the Peruvian *vals* its own distinct characteristics.

These first composers of the *vals peruano* came from Lima’s popular classes, and for this reason their songs reflected the experience of the working class neighborhoods of Lima (Lloréns 1983: 32, 34; CEPES 1986: 20). Because radio and recording technology was still in the process of development in the early decades of the century, the authors of

the first *valse*s are unknown, and their songs were transmitted through oral methods, closely involving the composer, the performer, and the audience in the creation and memory of the genre (Lloréns 1983: 34-35). The songs were danced to at *jaranas* (song and dance celebrations) in the neighborhoods of the popular classes, and for this reason the early *valse*s maintained a strong identification with a local experience of people from particular parts of Lima. However, with the arrival of commercial recordings, the *valse criollo* started to lose popularity as demand for these international styles, particularly the Argentine tango and American music, grew (Lloréns 1983: 41-42). For this reason, the peak production of the Guardia Vieja ceased and the music itself began to change with the city.

At the end of the 1920s, increasing industrialization transformed Lima and technological improvements brought new groups to the city in search of new opportunities. While the earlier songs of the Guardia Vieja expressed the worldview of the popular classes, faced with the rapid changes of capitalism (CEPES 1986: 19-20), the development of the middle class and the collision of these classes with the aristocracy led to changes in the content and reception of the *valse criollo*. Musicians found it necessary to learn the foreign genres that dominated public taste to maintain their own popularity; while they still played *música criolla* with its roots in the polka and waltz, they also integrated the newer tango, fox-trot, one-step, and *paso doble* into their repertoires. As Lloréns states, popular music tastes included both the *valse criollo* and these other international genres, so musical artists responded by assimilating these influences into

compositions that still maintained ties to and images of the local experience (Lloréns 1983: 47-48).

This second generation of composers of *vals criollo* is known as the “Generación de Pinglo,” after the most well-known composer, Felipe Pinglo Alva. As recording technology became more widespread, certain artists, chief among them Pinglo, recorded their songs and became known as individual artists, as opposed to the Guardia Vieja, who were known anonymously and rarely acknowledged outside the local *jaranas* (Lloréns 1983: 53). By losing characteristics of this folkloric, local, shared music, individual composers were recognized for personal style and benefited from the popularity they gained with a constantly growing listening public. While these changes in the *vals criollo* brought by the “Generación de Pinglo” has been seen as “renovation” of the genre in a time of crisis and change, Lloréns argues that it also reflects the transition to modern musical production (1983: 59-60). In this way, the wider distribution and standardization of particular *criollo* songs led to a specific concept of what could be defined as *música criolla*, a genre that integrated several foreign sources and incorporated local and regional variations, and became associated with a particular *criollo* identity.

As the *vals criollo* transitioned from a musical style practiced at local, working class neighborhood gatherings, to a consumable product which reached a growing audience, *música criolla* became standardized in social clubs, even gaining acceptance by the middle and elite classes, especially insofar as it reflected an idealized, nostalgic image of Lima and its people at the turn of the century (Lloréns 1983: 62-63). For example, “El Plebeyo,” Pinglo’s most famous waltz, illustrated the divide between the working class

and aristocracy of Lima, and provided a lasting image of what characterizes Lima, with its contradictions and suffering (Yep 1993: 270-272). With the increasing visibility and growth of a middle class in Lima, this nostalgia shows the desires of the elite to maintain their power in the face of change. As the upper classes embraced *música criolla* and created “Centros Sociales y Musicales” to preserve the memory of particular composers, they celebrated and institutionalized an idealized vision of the past, which ignored both the reality of the working classes where this music was created and imagined a false sense of “musical purity” in songs which had incorporated foreign influences throughout the evolution of the style (Lloréns 1983: 73-77). Similarly, the ability of singers like Chabuca Granda to “smooth” the rough, working-class edges of the first *valses* and lend a sense of class and elegance to the genre facilitated its acceptance by elite social classes in Lima (Lloréns 1983: 86-87).

The use of *música criolla* as a representation of the idealized *criollo* city became even more pronounced with the arrival of large numbers of migrants from the Andean highlands. For some, *música criolla* represented Peruvian popular music’s artistic innovation, whereas *huaynos* and other songs of the Andean region represented a “folkloric” past which had no place in defining contemporary Peruvian society (Lloréns 1983: 78-80). In these attempts to define a coastal Peruvian identity, Afro-Peruvian rhythms, instruments, and musical styles gained popularity and were integrated into the *vals criollo*. Further, Lima’s *música criolla* absorbed regional variations from the northern coast of Peru and became recognized as the main style (Lloréns 1983: 91-92). Others suggest that the *vals criollo* was a bridge between the regions of the coast, jungle,

and sierra; for example, Abanto Morales connected Andean music to the *vals* (CEPES 1986: 21-22). Though the role of the *vals criollo* has been variously viewed as location and class specific, as well as unifying, depending on the stage of its development, what is certain is that there is no one style of *vals* due to its composers' assimilation of popular music tastes and outside influences into its form. However, the popularity of the *vals criollo* among the Peruvian public eventually waned as it was supplanted by other popular genres. While the *vals criollo* maintained popularity throughout the 1940s and 1950s, it was displaced in the 1960s by international music genres, particularly Anglo rock and "tropical" music from the Caribbean (Lloréns 1983: 94). In addition, the arrival of vast numbers of highland migrants to urban centers changed the cultural composition of the cities and brought other musical tastes into the commercial markets.

While Yep asserts that the *vals peruano* continues to transform under the influence of other genres such as jazz, bolero, and bossa nova, she also acknowledges that other genres, like salsa, chicha, and rock, have surpassed it in popularity. However, she suggests that the *vals* may yet transform into the "nuevo vals," which should reflect the reality of Lima: "El dilema de Lima es, al mismo tiempo el dilema de la música criolla: por un lado el recuerdo de un glorioso pasado y por otro, el reto del constante cambio cultural unido a la búsqueda de una nueva identidad" (Yep 1993: 278-279). This need for *música criolla* to find a new identity is echoed by the Centro Peruano de Estudios Sociales, who suggest that *vals* declined in popularity because it describes a country that does not exist anymore, and that for it to not disappear completely, it will be necessary to describe today's Peru in music, recording today's reality (CEPES 1986: 22).



As the following discussions of later incarnations of the *vals* will demonstrate, the history of the *vals criollo* means that its use in new musical styles brings certain associations with a particular past, whose connotations are sometimes used purposely by musical artists.

### **The Changing Role of Afro-Peruvian Musical Heritage: Integration, Appropriation, Reinvention, and Celebration**

It is difficult to speak of coastal Peruvian music without acknowledging the contribution of Afro-Peruvian musical heritage in the development of *música criolla* and the *vals* through its various transformations. It is even more difficult to describe national Peruvian music without recognizing Afro-Peruvian musicians and families as some of the most well-known national and international figures, due to their own creations as well as collaborations with composers and producers. As the following section indicates, Afro-Peruvian music has a rich heritage, but one that has at times been separated from and at others embraced by and included in *criollo* identity projects, and it has variously been appropriated and recreated by people of Afro-Peruvian, *mestizo*, and foreign backgrounds.

Although Afro-Peruvian music is considered to have a history dating to the arrival of the first African slaves to the South American continent, the music has undergone considerable changes throughout its existence, due to its hybridization with other styles, the disappearance of some forms from popular memory, and the reconstruction of these forms along with the development of new ones. Afro-Peruvian genres have generally

been practiced in coastal Peru, where the majority of the Afro-Peruvian population settled and continues to be located. Popular styles of the central coast include the following: the *ingá*, the *agüenieve*, the *contrapunto de zapateo*, the *socabón*, the *festejo*, and the *alcatraz*, as well as other more complicated styles such as the *negritos*, *el son de los diablos* and *moros y cristianos*. In the northern coast, styles such as the *triste*, the *marinera norteña* and the *tondero* are practiced (Lloréns 1983: 31). However, the most popular and well-known genre based in Afro-Peruvian musical heritage is the *marinera*. Like the *música criolla* of urban *criollos*, the *marinera* became extremely popular in Lima around the turn of the century and formed an integral part of popular celebrations of people of all racial backgrounds. However, though the *marinera* and other genres like the *amorfino* and *panalivio* were popular in Lima, they were still viewed in terms of their Afro-Peruvian heritage and therefore considered Afro-Peruvian folklore, not *música criolla* (Lloréns 1983: 29-31). However, as Feldman indicates, since the performance of the *vals criollo* and the *marinera* was essential to the *criollo jarana* culture, the contributions of Afro-Peruvians to *criollo* culture were acknowledged by Limeños, though Afro-Peruvian music was perceived to have disappeared until the 1950s (2006: 22).

As previously mentioned, the arrival of migrants from the highland region in the 1950s and 1960s dramatically changed Lima and surrounding cities. Around the same time, Afro-Peruvian migrants arrived in Lima from the coastal region. These dynamics inspired middle and upper class Limeños to reclaim and revalorize Afro-Peruvian music and dance as the root of *criollo* popular culture. As Feldman states, “The reclamation of

colonial Black dances became a way for criollos to symbolically revisit the Lima that preceded Andean migration” (2006: 23). By celebrating Afro-Peruvian heritage as a unique defining factor of Limeño culture, *criollos* could protect their identity project against the competing history of Andean heritage.

The first illustration of this “memory project of criollo nostalgia” was the formation of the Pancho Fierro company in the 1950s by José Durand, which staged performances of Afro-Peruvian dance and folkloric traditions, some of which were taught to members of the company, while others were reconstructed from the traditions remembered by communities (Feldman 2006: 26-29). In particular, Durand’s “ethnographic reconstruction” of *el son de los diablos* has lasted as a “vital repository for the memories of older consultants,” and its popularity has continued to endure (Feldman 2006: 31, 42). While there is some debate over whether *el son de los diablos* “had supposedly ‘disappeared’ but was actually still being performed in neighborhoods not typically visited by White criollos” (34), the reconstruction of its dance and music have endured and are now considered part of Afro-Peruvian heritage. As Tompkins states, the companies inspired by Pancho Fierro’s success “sparked considerable interest in a disappearing music tradition about which many Peruvians knew little and also initiated the careers of many now famous black artists” (1981: 99-100). Though Durand’s Pancho Fierro company presented a colonial past, its nostalgic vision of Afro-Peruvian history inspired curiosity in a “lost” heritage which would be further explored and revisited by other musicians and scholars in the following decades (Feldman 2006: 47).

Undoubtedly, two of the most significant figures in the reconstruction and remembrance of Afro-Peruvian musical history are Victoria and Nicomedes Santa Cruz, along with their students and collaborators. In 1959, the two siblings created Cumanana, an Afro-Peruvian dance company which performed the musical styles collected and revived through a combination of “rhythm and ancestral memory” and “book research, ethnographic collection of folklore, and literary studies. Victoria became famous for her staging and choreography, and Nicomedes was the better-known poet and musician” (Feldman 2006: 55). Victoria Santa Cruz’s reconstruction of the *landó*, a dance form which had disappeared from practice, is considered one of her most lasting contributions; using “ancestral memory,” she reached into history preceding the arrival of African slaves in Peru to an Africa before colonialism (Feldman 2006: 73). She also reconstructed the *zamacueca*, a couple dance from the nineteenth century; her “staging of the *zamacueca* altered the way an existing dance was performed” by other folklore companies (Feldman 2006: 74-75).

Victoria Santa Cruz’s creations and folkloric performances were given support by the Peruvian government under Juan Velasco Alvarado: she was appointed director of the National School of Folklore in 1969 and of the Conjunto Nacional de Folklore in 1973. “The Conjunto Nacional de Folklore enacted the Velasco government’s cultural policy [to disseminate national music over international styles] by promoting, at home and abroad, two different groups of musicians and dancers under Victoria Santa Cruz’s choreographic direction: indigenous dances of the Andes and African-influenced dances” (Feldman 2006: 76). In this way, Victoria Santa Cruz’s work with Afro-Peruvian

musical heritage was recognized by the national government; Velasco's policy encouraged the distribution of revived Afro-Peruvian styles and celebrated them as important roots of Peruvian musical history.

Nicomedes Santa Cruz's legacy to Afro-Peruvian music is just as significant as that of his sister. He researched and re-established in public consciousness the African heritage of *música criolla* and incorporated influences from other Latin American countries with strong African heritages and traditions (Feldman 2006: 83-84). He produced *Cumamana*, a musical album with an accompanying booklet of song lyrics and commentary, which contained some of the first recorded versions of Afro-folkloric genres as well as his *décimas* and poetry capturing Afro-Peruvian heritage. Significantly, Nicomedes Santa Cruz posited the genealogy of the *marinera*, linking it with the African *lundú* and the recreated Peruvian *landó* and *zamacueca*; doing so affirmed the Afro-Peruvian roots of *música criolla* (Feldman 2006: 101). This heritage required that the "re-created landó [...] sound both 'African' and similar to the criollo marinera" (Feldman 2006: 110). Through the recordings and performances of these reconstructed and recreated styles, asserted to represent the musical heritage of Afro-Peruvians, and demonstrations of these roots in *música criolla*, Nicomedes and Victoria Santa Cruz helped to standardize and institutionalize these songs and dances and make them popular, nationally and internationally known musical traditions. This legacy continues to influence musicians throughout Peru, as evidenced by the continuing performances of Perú Negro, the incorporation of Afro-Peruvian songs into *criollo* repertoires, and the

numerous hybridizations and fusions using earlier recordings and revisiting these reconstructed songs.

Perú Negro has become one of the most influential music and dance companies performing Afro-Peruvian folklore in Peru and abroad. In the 1970s, Perú Negro received financing from the Velasco government which provided members with jobs teaching folklore classes and opportunities to perform their shows. This support enabled Perú Negro to “continue the Afro-Peruvian revival’s re-creation and celebration of what they proudly called ‘folklore,’ permanently inscribing a canon of Afro-Peruvian music and dances in the nation’s cultural repertoire” (Feldman 2006: 127, 130). As Feldman suggests, this contributed to the “authentication” of a more recently created “tradition” (131); this validation has led to the acceptance of these music and dance reconstructions as Afro-Peruvian folklore belonging to Peruvian national heritage and history. Because of their popularity and visibility, Perú Negro’s members have contributed heavily to the stylization of Afro-Peruvian music and dance, so their introduction of Afro-Cuban, Afro-Brazilian, and other West African-derived musical and rhythmically elements have become accepted and expected as part of Afro-Peruvian folkloric performances (Feldman 2006: 147-150, 158). This assimilation of influences from other national music cultures has even affected song forms like the *festejo*, considered by many to be the “most representative genre of all the existing Afro-Peruvian songs and dances” (Feldman 2006: 162). As the circumstances surrounding the Afro-Peruvian revival demonstrate, financial and creative support of musical performances can influence their distribution, helping to canonize and institutionalize particular musical forms, effectively creating the perception

that a musical tradition has a longer heritage than it actually does by legitimizing its authenticity through repetition. Like with the *vals criollo*, Afro-Peruvian musical genres have drawn from a rich, if sometimes poorly remembered heritage, and created new forms enriched by their innovation. As the following section will illustrate, similar cross-fertilization has happened with the *huayno* and other highlands genres, where indigenous traditions borrow from *mestizo* ones, as well as other countries like Bolivia.

As a result of the attention and popularity of Afro-Peruvian music both nationally and abroad, musicians began to focus attention on these new styles and their roots, evolving Afro-Peruvian folklore into additional musical fusions and hybridizations with other genres. Musicians as different as Perú Negro, Chabuca Granda, Miki González, and Susana Baca developed their repertoire using sounds and songs learned from research in the province of Chincha. As suggested previously, the *vals criollo*, while often considered to have some roots in Afro-Peruvian rhythms, was revitalized in the 1960s and 1970s by more explicit mixing with Afro-Peruvian folklore. As Lloréns states, forms such as the “valsongo,” the “vals-zambo,” the “vals-marinera,” the “valsón,” and even the “vals-landó” have been developed by taking the melodies of known *valse*s and arranging them in the rhythm of these popular folkloric forms. However, these changes were not always received positively: he cites Chalena Vásquez, who writes that these musicians “incluso tienen la osadía de poner en [la etiqueta del] disco ‘vals-landó’ [...]” inventándole un nombre al híbrido en boga (Vásquez 1982 qtd. in Lloréns 1983: 90). The use of the word “osadía” demonstrates the negative reception of these fusion styles among some critics. Lloréns also indicates a potential desire of musicians to “valsear

festejos,” such as Chabuca Granda, who attempted to incorporate the *zamacueca*, the *marinera*, and other Afro-Peruvian melodies to her later songs (Lloréns 1983: 90). These efforts to hybridize popular Afro-Peruvian traditions with national styles foreshadows later fusions with internationally successful forms like rock and roll, jazz, and Cuban *son*, which will be discussed in greater detail both in the following section on the various trajectories of Peruvian music in the 1990s and the chapter on contemporary fusion styles. As the efforts to remember, reinvent, and recreate Afro-Peruvian genres illustrate, musical traditions in Peru, even those with an extensive history, are in a constant state of evolution, due to popular taste, outside influences, restrictions by or support of the government, and identity projects.

### **The *Huayno* and the Evolution of a Heritage: Contemporary Changes and New Traditions**

Highlands musical forms such as the *huayno* have an extensive heritage, one that continues to be researched and debated by scholars. It is beyond the scope of this project to describe all of the regional forms and centuries of changes in detail, so this section will be limited to recent changes in the performance of *huayno* in certain regions and its reception and popularity within the last century, particularly in Lima. In addition, the effect of urban migration from the highlands to Lima and the increased distribution and subsequent standardization of these forms will be discussed, along with the influence of other national and international musics on the musical forms practiced in both Lima and certain highlands regions.



Music from the *sierra* comes in many forms, many of which are sung and danced in order to celebrate particular occasions like marriage, birth, death, harvests, and housewarmings and religious ceremonies for mountain gods as well as Catholic rites. Besides the *huayno*, there are at least thirty significant forms, including those that come from the *pukllay*, including the *pumpkin*, the *araskaska*, the *santiago*, the *toro velay*, the *wanka*, the *harawi*, the *qashwa*, the *pirhua*, the songs for *la fiesta del agua*, the *yarqawaspiy*, the *uwaylli*, and *huaylías* (CEPES 1986: 12). The *huayno* has become the most distributed, most generic, and most universal of these forms, although it has significant variation in its indigenous or *campesino* and *mestizo* or *señorial* forms, as well as endless regional variations (CEPES 1986: 10, 12). One reason that the *huayno* has become so widely distributed is that it is so adaptable: it can be sung or danced in a variety of contexts since it is not closely linked to a particular ceremony or ritual; it can also be performed in several styles, varying from singers performing a cappella, to accompaniment by one musical instrument or a full band (Romero 2002a: 41). However, despite its wide distribution today, there is a general lack of understanding about how the *huayno* evolved, since it is not mentioned in colonial-era chronicles (Romero 2002a: 42; CEPES 1986: 10). Though it may have begun to take its modern form during the colonial era, it is now possible to point out a split from the classic *huayno*, developed mainly during the nineteenth century until 1940, and the modern *huayno*, which took its most recognizable form in the second half of the twentieth century (CEPES 1986: 10-12). Because of the modern *huayno*'s changes and its role in more recent hybrid styles like

*chicha* and fusions with jazz and electronic music, it is the style whose recent trajectory will be the focus of this section.

The music from the highlands gained popularity in Lima early in the twentieth century through operas based on indigenous themes, such as the *zarzuela* named after the well-known song, “El cóndor pasa.” The success of Robles, one of the composers of these *indigenista* operas, inspired others hoping to follow in his success to go to the *serrano* regions to collect indigenous music with the desire to popularize it in the cities for their own gain (Lloréns 1983: 104-105). The popular themes taken from the Andean highlands tradition became far removed from their original context and reflected more the idyllic perception by the elites of the lives and experiences of indigenous peasants; some musicians even considered these stylizations superior to the actual music performed in the highlands region (Lloréns 1983: 109, 113). Further, as with the *música criolla* of the same period, the distribution and stylization of Andean songs and themes during the 1920s through 1940s inspired hybridization with foreign musical genres, leading to styles such as the “fox inkaico” or “foxtrot inkaico,” the “camel-trot inkaico,” and the “swing-inkaico” (Lloréns 1983: 106). However, though these stylizations found success in Lima, Andean migrants were both afraid and ashamed to sing or perform song forms from their regions of origin (Lloréns 1983: 111-112). This admission of migrants’ shame and discomfort towards playing traditional Andean genres in Lima repeated itself through subsequent generations of migrants, due to the strong prejudice of *criollo* elites towards any cultural product of indigenous origin (Turino 1993: 35).

However, as the number of migrants from the Andean highlands increased rapidly towards the mid-twentieth century, Lima's radio stations and record companies found themselves obligated to accommodate popular regional musical tastes in order to benefit from their consumption. The demands of migrants for music representing their experiences and nostalgia for home led to the construction of at least fifteen coliseums dedicated to folkloric performances in the 1950s (Lloréns 1983: 120). Though the recording studios were reluctant at first to record and distribute songs from the Andean region, the success of these recordings and the continuously increasing consumption of highlands music both within Lima and in more rural areas led to Andean music dominating the market, even surpassing the consumption of foreign music and permitting smaller studios to dedicate themselves exclusively to these genres (Lloréns 1983: 121-125). Further, as with Afro-Peruvian music, the Velasco government's regulation of the radio required radio stations to dedicate at least 7.5 percent of their programming to folkloric music in order to lessen the influence of foreign culture on Peruvians; this support allowed new programs for Andean music to develop on stations that had not previously supported these genres (Lloréns 1983: 127). In this way, radio stations and the recording industry aided the distribution of more traditional Andean musical styles, shifting from the appropriated subjects of operas to styles with regional relevance. As Romero indicates, "The most important process to consider in the history of Andean music in Lima throughout the twentieth century is the transition through the representation of Andean music as 'Incaic' until the early 1940s, followed by the more

‘authentic’ performances of regional Andean musics from the 1940s onward” (2001: 92-93).

This desire for authentic performances of these highlands genres also led to composers and collectors seeking out songs to officially register for their own financial gain. Lloréns indicates that so-called “compositores folklóricos” registered more than 4,000 songs, including *huaynos*, *mulizas*, *yaravíes*, *pasacalles*, *huaylarsh*, *santiagos*, *chonguinadas*, and *tunantadas*. Some even composed new songs by using generic characteristics of these more traditional genres (Lloréns 1983: 135). As with some Afro-Peruvian genres, certain songs and styles of Andean highlands music were actually created more recently, using stylistic markers that suggest their “authenticity” and rootedness in a more distant past. In this way, the definition of what is “traditional” and “authentic” in highlands music is complicated by the fact that these musical traditions are now in constant flux, absorbing influences from other regions, Bolivian traditions, and urban musical artists; highlands musical genres that were once forsaken in Lima now retain characteristics influenced by specific musicians and composers who come from different classes and social backgrounds.

Despite the fact that “authenticity” is a questionable notion in Andean and Peruvian music, the perception of authenticity is important in regional festivals, and it is also a marketable attribute of Andean music for foreign tourists and outsiders. For example, “members of Cusco’s instituciones culturales consider a dance or a piece of music more authentic or authentically cusqueño (or by the same token authentically Andean) if it can be linked to the pre-Hispanic past, if it is characteristic of a province

distant from Cusco city, or if it belongs to rural life. This notion of the authentically cusqueño derives from the concept of purity, itself a product of the indigenista romantic trend” (Mendoza 2000: 54). In his study of the music of the Mantaro Valley region, Romero found that “Herranza music is considered by the people of the Mantaro Valley old and very traditional, a pre-Hispanic music from which all others have stemmed” (2001: 43). For this reason, herranza music “is conceived as part of a ‘past’ derived from colonial and pre-Hispanic traditions that are not open to manipulation. No one wants to change, innovate, or experiment with herranza music; nor does anyone want to introduce new, ‘modern’ instruments to its customary ensemble” (63). Even within different Peruvian highlands regions, the perception of an indigenous, authentic character remains essential for defining the importance and value of music styles, particularly those related to festivals and celebrations. While some styles like the *huayno* have been more susceptible to innovation and stylistic changes, others like *herranza* are considered more rooted in the past and therefore innovation is not frequent nor easily accepted. Further, as with music in Huaripampa, where the *tunantada* is said to have originated, “remaining faithful to lo antiguo is the main requirement to preserve Huaripampino identity and a fundamental stamp for distinguishing the town’s traditions from those of other neighboring districts” (Romero 2001: 87). As this example illustrates, this preservation of the past is one significant way for people from different regions to retain their unique identity, especially given the fact that several musical styles have consolidated over the years, through the influence of commercial styles and the wider distribution of regional variations.

Turino suggests that music from the highlands in Lima has passed through three phases, beginning with the “Incaic” operas and indigenista appropriations, and then followed by the popularity of the commercial *huayno* as performed by professional singers, beginning in the 1950s and continuing through the present. He also identified a third phase which “began after 1970 with the performance of indigenous styles of music among migrants—exemplified by, but certainly not restricted to, the urban panpipe movement among Puneño residents in the capital” (1993: 170). In this way, the era of the commercial *huayno* eased the way for the acceptance of highlands styles by the general public, and helped to lessen the stigmas associated with playing indigenous or regional music in Lima. The performance of the commercial *huayno* was generally marked by the importance of a solo singer who became known for particular stylizations and performance qualities. As Romero states,

Solo singers developed a new urban popular style, with roots in their own regional music traditions, a style characterized primarily by the theater-staged performance context, the leading figure of the solo vocalist, the use of audio amplification, and an orchestral accompaniment. This type of performance became the most popular but not the exclusive one, since instrumental soloists, duos, trios, and orchestras also achieved popularity in their own right. [...] This urban popular style of Andean singing did not replace any ‘traditional’ performance style; instead it added a new form. (Romero 2001: 114)

In this way, by evolving a new form of the *huayno*, individual artists were able to celebrate their regional heritage, or perform the traditions of another region without being overwhelmed by the restrictions of performing traditions “authentically.” While the “traditional *huayno* remained almost intact in its structure and form,” the central Andean orchestra commonly accompanied it in the urban style. In addition, the “appearance of

the Andean ‘star system’ [...] transcended local and regional barriers and expanded into the national context” so that “people from different regions would become consumers of a single recording” (Romero 2002b: 221). Romero cautions that this “first attempt at crossover between local styles and tastes was far from a process of homogenization”; instead, the popularity of performing stars of the commercial *huayno* among people from diverse regions helped transcend local barriers leading to a “supra-regional identification process” (2002b: 222). In this way, the wide distribution by record companies of regional music popularized by specific musicians enabled people from other regions to become more familiar with different stylizations, and facilitated the broader project of creating an urban migrant identity.

However, this cross-regional identification did not lead to an immediate consolidation into a pan-Peruvian or pan-Andean identity. As Romero rightfully indicates, this desire or “longing for a ‘new’ Andean urban identity was more indebted to the anxieties of elite intellectuals than to a project of the migrants themselves”; the assumption that migrants from several locations will unite and form a “new” identity “presupposes the inability of the Andean migrant to experience, appreciate, and savor a multiplicity of artistic and aesthetic manifestations without having to undergo a cultural metamorphosis and abandon his own identity” (2001: 96). In this way, while the appreciation of distinct regional musics did lead to a greater sense of highlands identity or unity, it did not erase the distinguishing characteristics or force migrants to adopt a new identity in order to be more easily understood or assimilated into urban Lima society. Andean migrants may have been perceived as belonging to an indistinct *cholo* category

by Limeño elites, but the actual process of evolving this urban Andean identity was more complex and nuanced. As Mendoza and Turino indicate, the exposure to and sharing of distinct regional musical styles has flowed back to the originating towns and cities, illustrating the process of transculturation, but this has occurred over several decades of increased migration and change.

As several scholars have noted, regional music has become important in maintaining a regional identity and local ties while in urban Lima, and has helped to define the presence of Andean migrants. For example, the music from the Mantaro Valley has become a “powerful presence in the recording industry, from which it reroutes itself back to the Mantaro Valley and other regions” (2001: 5). At the same time, since this music represents the Wanka identity, and as such is distinct from the Incan heritage of other highlands regions, the focus on music from the Mantaro Valley through “live performances, broadcasting hours, and records” is considered “excessive, even detrimental to other regional musics” (106). Because each migrant community tends to support musical groups and attend performances representative of their regional traditions (108), the dominating presence or popularity of certain musical styles over others can take performance or recording opportunities away from musicians of a different form.

Since Andean migrants have continually faced prejudice by *criollo* elites despite decades of migration and settlement in Lima, regional identification and communication through music performed at festivals, *coliseos*, and on radio stations is essential to maintaining a sense of community (Turino 1993: 3). In Turino’s study of migrants from Conima, he found that many of the earlier migrants to Lima did not practice their



instruments or perform together since the acceptance of Andean music in Lima occurred gradually; it was only as the migrants gained power and better political and economic positioning that they began to unite behind their traditions (1993: 35). In this way, for migrant groups to Lima, performing Andean music was directly related to the need to maintaining community while facing the major changes brought by migration.

Turino suggests that the support of Andean folklore by the Peruvian government was a response to these attempts to maintain Andean traditions rather than assimilating immediately. “[The Leguía and Velasco states’] strategies to incorporate rural Andeans into the state involved the attempted transformation of emblems of “Andeanness,” such as sikuri music, into symbols of ‘nation.’ This, like the folklorization of Andean arts, potentially reduces the efficacy of such emblems to signify *difference* in movements to resist state hegemony” (Turino 1993: 164). By coopting and supporting the distribution of highlands traditions as Peruvian traditions, the government could avoid their use as a symbol of a regional identity project different from that being promoted by the state. The state’s projects did not lead to agreement on what music represents Peruvian heritage, though they did aid the promotion of regional styles and allowed communities to use the radio to communicate their local identities. As Romero indicates, “Rather than giving birth to a ‘new’ global Andean identity, each community persisted in maintaining its own. Thus, it is no surprise that today the music of each region is produced for, distributed among, and ultimately valued by its own constituency” (2001: 122). However, despite this continuing regional identification among older migrants and residents of highlands towns and communities, knowledge of these different stylizations

has influenced subsequent generations of migrants and the youth in the highlands regions to identify more broadly with a pan-Andean identity, crossing regional and even national divides. This urban youth culture became even more pronounced with the development of *chicha* music, which will be discussed in greater detail in the next section.

In Mendoza's recent research of San Jerónimo in Cusco, the performances by *comparsa* groups during traditional festivals has been influenced by music and dance styles from other regions in the Andes. Mendoza claims that they have used "the wider national and international repertoire at hand, leaving behind regionalist, male-centered models of cusqueño folklore by adding cosmopolitan and transnational elements to the negotiation of local identity and to their definition of 'folklore'" (2000: 210). By adapting the repertoires of other locations, the youth, especially the women, of the community still identify with their Andean identity but expand it to be more inclusive. She highlights several factors that have led to the growing use of highlands dances from other locations:

These include migration within Cusco departamento and between Cusco and Puno, smuggling across the Peru-Bolivia border, urban growth in the Cusco region, expansion of the national educational and communication systems, and the role of the international media in promoting certain musical styles as representative of 'Andeans' and others as representative of a 'Latin' identity. The 'Andean musical styles have mainly come from the Bolivian urban tradition of 'folkloric' music internationally popularized by groups such as Inti Illimani, Savia Andia, Kjarkas, and Proyección Kjarkas. The 'Latin' styles are the very popular Afro-Caribbean styles of cumbia and salsa. (2000: 210)

This example shows that musical performance is constantly changing due to the contact with people from other regions and significant impact of the international media on popular tastes. However, in this case, the "Cusco traditionalists particularly resent the

fact that this ‘pan-Andean’ style, with its profuse use of bamboo panpipes and *bombos* (large bass drums), resembles the music of Puno much more than that of Cusco” (Mendoza 2000: 212). As previously mentioned, exposure to different regional styles in Lima and through the recording industry and radio has resulted in some of these influences transferring back to the music performed in different regions. In Cusco, these preferences and performances by younger generations are frowned upon by older community members because they are not representative of cusqueño styles. This disapproval of changes to regional traditions became even stronger with the advent of *chicha* music, and is also found in the responses to new performances of the *vals criollo*.

As this section has illustrated, musical genres from the highlands regions of Peru have an extensive history, but styles like the *huayno* have undergone periods of renewal and development in the past century, including stylization through commercialization and distribution through recordings and the radio. While residents of these regions as well as migrants to Lima still tend to prefer music which ties them to their local community, the wide distribution of music from various regions (as well as Bolivia) has led to some consolidation of *mestizo* and indigenous styles, as well as the incorporation of different stylistic markers, musical arrangements, and performance styles, which is not always tolerated by purists. Moreover, in Lima, the attempts to appropriate highlands music for commercial success or in the effort to promote a national identity project have resulted in the increased, if ambivalent, acceptance of the music by Limeño elites, but have not completely displaced the strong regional affiliations maintained by migrants. Though Andean music has undergone some changes in recent decades, including the evolution of

the commercial *huayno*, it has been more subject to appropriation in hybrid styles which take from the recognizable Andean tradition for many reasons, including marketability among elites and foreign tourists and identity projects. From the Incaic operas of the early part of the century, to the *chicha* music of the highlands migrants, the extensive Andean repertoire continues to serve as inspiration for new musical styles.

### ***Chicha Peruana: Migration, Global Influences, and the New Urban Migrant Class***

As previously mentioned, migrants to Lima formed a massive new social group in the capital during the second half of the twentieth century. As Andean migrants adapted to the challenges of living in Lima, some maintained community ties by attending performances of regional musics, while others, particularly the younger generations, were exposed to the global influences available in cosmopolitan Lima and began to forge their own identity out of the highlands and urban cultures, responding to the demands of and prejudice within the capital. In particular, the younger generations of migrants created *música chicha peruana*, a hybridized style of music that combined Colombian *cumbia* rhythms with Andean *huayno* lyrics and melodies, among other influences from Latin America and Anglo rock. This new musical fusion style became extremely popular among migrants in Lima, and it spread throughout the coastal, Amazon, and highlands regions, where it acquired regional variations.

In the 1950s and early 1960s, when *chicha* first appeared, a variety of international music styles were broadcast from and listened to in Lima, including Mexican *rancheras*, Spanish romantic *boleros*, Cuban *cha cha chá*, *guaracha*, and

*mambo*, Argentine *tango*, Brazilian *bossa nova*, Dominican *merengue*, boogaloo, which preceded salsa music in New York City, and the Colombian *cumbia* and *porro* (Hurtado Suárez 1995: 10-11; Romero 2002b: 224). Similarly to the *huayno*, the *cumbia* evolved out of Colombian rural communities and became a popular urban musical style; when it was distributed outside national borders, it was particularly well-received in Peru, both in Lima and, more surprisingly, within the more rural regions (Romero 2002b: 224). Due to its mass appeal, musical groups such as Los Destellos began to perform a Peruvian version of *cumbia*, also known as *cumbia costeña*. The Peruvian *cumbia* preceded *chicha* since it did not incorporate Andean influences at the very beginning of its development (Romero 2002b: 226). While *cumbia* is the genre that most influenced the development of *chicha*, the popularity of all these foreign styles played a role in defining the rhythms and instrumentation of later groups.

The evolution of *chicha* began with a rhythmic change that made the *huayno* danceable. The first versions of *chicha* were instrumental in order to more easily adapt the songs to a faster rhythm (Montoya 1996: 486). This transition to a danceable *huayno* started with the popularity of the Cuban *guaracha*, continued with the introduction of the saxophone to performances of the *huayno*, and then was followed by the success of the *cumbia*, which brought several new percussion instruments to Peruvian musical groups. Further, Peruvian musicians introduced electric guitars, percussion, and keyboards, popular in rock music, which provided the *chicha* with the distinctive electronic sound that the *huayno* did not have (Montoya 1996: 487). By combining the musical scale of the Andean tradition, the danceable rhythms of the *cumbia* and the *guaracha*, and the

instruments from Anglo rock groups, *chicha* gradually evolved into its own distinctive style. The average *chicha* group consisted of musicians who played first and second electric guitars, electric bass, electronic keyboard or a synthesizer, and Latin American percussion instruments like timbales, congas, bongos, and cencerro, as well as a vocalist whose nasal singing style was similar to those of highland *mestizo* traditions (Romero 2002a: 55; Hurtado Suárez 1995: 43-44; Turino 1990: 178-179). Many scholars attribute the beginning of the *chicha* style to the musical group Los Pacharacos, who added the electric guitar, the *güiro*, a percussion instrument used in *cumbia*, and the saxophone to their interpretations of *huaynos* in 1963 (Hurtado Suárez 1995: 10-11). In this way, *chicha* is one of the most obviously hybridized musical styles in Peru, a characteristic which often impeded its acceptance by elites despite the fusions evident in other genres.

*Chicha* is said to derive its name from the song “La chinchera,” as well as the popular Peruvian fermented beverage. It is has also been called many other names, including *cumbia peruana*, *wayno moderno*, *cumbia andina*, *cumbia selvática*, *tropical andina*, *cumbia folk*, *chicha folk*, and *cumbia ahuynada* (Hurtado Suárez 1995: 1; Montoya 1996: 486). These various names reflect the popularity of the *cumbia* throughout the country, the different regional influences on its integration into Peruvian musical tradition, and and the different stages of its gradual combination with the *huayno*. Hurtado Suárez identifies and defines three distinct styles of *chicha*: the *cumbia andina*, which is the form associated with the *huayno* and produced in Lima and the central highlands region, and the form most generally considered to represent *chicha*; *cumbia peruana* or *cumbia costeña*, which is most like the Colombia *cumbia* and was developed

mainly in Lima; and the *cumbia selvática*, which similar to the coastal *cumbia* but was also influenced by traditional music in the Amazon region (1995: 19). For Hurtado Suárez, all of these different versions of the *cumbia* can be considered *chicha*, while other scholars like Romero indicate that the Peruvian *cumbia* had its own period of popularity before evolving into *chicha*. As Romero states, “Though in the 1970s this market [for *chicha* music] was still incipient and dominated by coast groups performing Peruvian *cumbia*, the 1980s witnessed the ascendancy of groups incorporating Andean musical elements into the *cumbia*” (2002a: 228). In sum, the 1980s was when *chicha* consolidated as a recognizable style and achieved its greatest success and widest audience. *Chicha*’s peak period of circulation and success occurred in 1983, and was characterized by a plethora of musical groups, many performance opportunities, and record-breaking sales of *chicha* recordings, particularly those from the Andean *cumbia* tradition (Hurtado Suárez 1995: 23). The wide distribution of *chicha* throughout Lima and Peruvian provinces has resulted in much attention on its social origins and its relation to an evolving urban identity.

As previously suggested, it is impossible to discuss *chicha* without confronting the cultural conflicts apparent in the music and the prejudices of elite classes towards the lower social sectors where *chicha* formed. Andean migrants who began to develop this music were labeled *cholos* because they were highlands-born and retained the characteristics associated with the provinces on their arrival. As Mendoza has stated, “While the material indicators of ‘choloness’ have varied throughout time, and vary also according to the context in which the term is used, these indicators tend to cluster around

preferences in language, clothing, economic activity, and music and dance style”

(Mendoza 2000: 15). The arrival of massive numbers of highlands migrants to Lima towards the middle of the twentieth century heightened racial tensions, while at the same time the continuing migrant waves reinforced the Andean migrant group as a considerable cultural and economic presence.

Due to the prejudice towards this new social sector in Lima, *chicha* was generally perceived negatively by Limeño elites, and thus devalued and discounted as a cultural form (Hurtado Suárez 1995: 6). For this reason, some musical artists who have not wanted to be associated with the lower social status of the Andean *chicha* musicians and listeners have labeled their music without referencing *chicha* at all, using names including *música costandiamazónica*, *tropicalandina*, *cumbia peruana*, and *tropical-peruana*. Performers from other regions assert that highlands musicians are the only ones that perform *chicha* music, and instead choose to refer to their music as *cumbia peruana*, *cumbia tecno*, or *cumbia rap* to avoid the negative associations (Hurtado Suárez 1996: 6-7). While the *techno-cumbia* designation may actually have become a separate style of music, as discussed in the following section, what is clear from these different labels is that performing *chicha* music has been viewed negatively by some sectors of Peruvian society, while others have used it as one method to form an identity that represents both the provincial heritage and the urban lifestyle. As Romero states, “though *chicha* music was the most expressive of the manifestations of this new social sector, it was certainly not the only one” (2000b: 229).



*Chicha* has received attention from almost all sectors of Peruvian society, though much is negative. Traditionalists, purists, and elder members of Andean communities look down on the music for its “improper” conversion of respected traditional melodies to the new style (Romero 2001: 140). In fact, this “falta de respeto de la originalidad de la belleza musical y poética ha sido uno de los argumentos esenciales para que muchos se opusieran totalmente a la *chicha* y la consideren como un género menor e insignificante,” which is one of the reasons groups began to compose original songs while maintaining similar stylizations (Montoya 1996: 488). Further, the media focused a surprising amount of attention on certain *chicha* groups, particularly Los Shapis, who were the first group to “break previous record sales and to have an impact on the media, appearing in newspapers and television interviews” (Romero 2002b: 229). However, rather than writing about their success and participation in a new musical style, the media focused “on the social and ethnic roots of the group. The general opinion was their artistic merit was debatable, their technology poor, and their craft merely instinctive. *Chicha* music was seen from above, and it was still considered an underground and marginal (if boisterous) phenomenon. But its success was obvious” (Romero 2002b: 230). As the experience of Los Shapis illustrates, *chicha* music was marked by the perception of its belonging to members of a lower social strata, and this was the principal reason why it was not accepted by Peruvian elites.

However, this acceptance was not required for the youth of Peru, particularly the recent generations of migrants and residents of the highlands regions, to embrace the music enthusiastically. Beyond its popularity, *chicha* symbolized modernity, and brought

the marginalized youth of these excluded classes closer to a cosmopolitan identity that they could share with other Latin Americans of their generation. As Montoya states, *chicha* performers want to seem modern like the dominant Anglo rock groups (1996: 487). This desire to be modern stems from migrants' experiences in the capital city, and the spread of this urban identity back to their original communities. In this way, the wide consumption of *chicha* music within Lima and throughout other regions is directly related to the urbanization of Peru, which has facilitated the contact and communication among groups that previously could not share their experiences with each other (CEPES 1986: 28). The preferences of the youth in the capital have spread to their counterparts in Cusco and elsewhere, who generally listen to Afro-Caribbean rhythms like *cumbia* and *salsa*, as well as *chicha*. By doing so, they connect with "an urban, cosmopolitan, transnational culture but also with the culture of the coastal metropolis, Lima" (Mendoza 2000: 104, 212-213). This ability to connect with other youth helps to explain *chicha*'s massive popularity, as well as the reasons why musicians would choose to perform it.

For example, Romero found that members of a *chicha* group in the Mantaro Valley called Los Sauces "acknowledge their emotional attachment to traditional festivals and rituals but at the same time confessed that *chicha* music allowed them to mingle with their own generational group, obtain additional income, travel abroad, and have hopes of entering the commercial recording industry." Playing this genre of music "allows them to be part, in a particular time and space, of the consequences of globalization processes without breaking with their local heritage" (2001: 143). As this example illustrates, *chicha* musical groups have not forsaken their roots, but have chosen to perform a style

that is more popular with their generation and provides them with opportunities to earn money and connect to a global music industry which favors the sounds of *cumbia*. As Hurtado Suárez states, *chicha* has always adapted to the desires expressed through the market, adding new sounds such as the synthesizer and Brazilian bells as they have become popular in international music. Further, since the success of *chicha* has resulted in jobs in the music industry for composers and performers, their desire to continue earning an income can partially explain their reliance on clichéd topics instead of controversial lyrics and messages (1995: 39). In this way, *chicha* represents this intersection of provincial home communities and the expanding urban capital, connections to international popular tastes, as well as the difficulty of adapting to the urban economy.

Instead of simply assimilating and assuming the *criollo* identity of Lima, *chicha* musicians and their listeners created a more pan-Andean identity through their music that represents their new urban lifestyle, their class background, and these multiple connections to other regions and nations. The song lyrics and themes tended to focus on love, like the *huayno* and other popular genres, while some addressed the problems migrants faced in Lima, including joblessness, class consciousness, nostalgia for home, and poverty (Turino 1990: 178-179; Hurtado Suárez 1995: 49-51). However, it is important to note that resistance to the dominant classes did not usually appear in the lyrical content; instead the lyrics described confrontations with power and adaptation to cultural domination. This differentiated Peruvian *chicha* from the *nueva canción* movement elsewhere in Latin America (Hurtado Suárez 1995: 70-71). Interestingly, the

Centro Peruano de Estudios Sociales suggests that the relatively harmless content of *chicha*, whose lyrics are usually of love and loss, actually make it “parte de una contraofensiva cultural conservadora, fruto inflado de una sistemática campaña publicitaria, ardid y maniobra de intereses no nacionales” (1986: 30). Where the *huayno* maintains the possibility of challenging the system of repression (see Ritter 2002), *música chicha* lacks power because it is so commercial and generally devoid of social content. While *chicha* does contain the expressions of a social group that cannot be ignored, it also remains a musical form that is devalued by the dominant class.

For these reasons, *chicha peruana* is one of most explicit examples of hybridized styles in Peru, representing the influence of popular international styles, drawing from the vast musical heritage of the highlands and other regions, and capturing the images and concerns of a particular group in a particular moment in time. However, it has also been subject to intense criticism by elite sectors of society, both for its perceived lack of musical and lyrical content and its association with lower social classes. In this way, *chicha* illustrates the continuing concerns with changing and hybridizing traditional rhythms, and also the inevitability of assimilating cosmopolitan influences from Lima and other nations. Since Peruvian music tastes have generally faced the sometimes troubled coexistence of tradition and global influences, these issues have only grown more important. In the last twenty years, Peruvian music has gained a global audience, which has resulted in popular fusion styles which have been accepted among all social sectors, as well as music produced for international listeners that is virtually ignored within Peru. These newest musical forms illustrate Peruvian music’s entrance into the

global marketplace and highlight the potential for cooptation of sounds and symbols associated with particular identities to produce commercially viable sounds.

**Hybrids and Fusions in the 1980s and 1990s: Cosmopolitanism, Internationalization, and the Marketability of Peruvian Music as a Global Product**

As the previous sections illustrate, it has been possible to characterize most Peruvian musical styles by a particular genre, with a few particularly popular artists being cited for their major influence on the form. In the 1980s but especially in the 1990s, individual artists and groups began to be known for their unique contributions to Peruvian music, whether it be their use of national forms in innovative ways or their national or international popularity. In this way, their musical experiments became their own “brand” of music which was marketable either at home or abroad, or sometimes both. At the same time, certain genres like *vals criollo* were given new life by younger generations of performers, while new genres like *techno-cumbia* were created and accepted across class lines. While *música chicha* dominated the Peruvian market during the 1980s, other Peruvian musicians were experimenting with national forms and intentionally hybridizing them with the international styles like pop, rock, new wave, and jazz that occupied the largest part of the market. These trends towards hybridized styles, often called “fusion” by Peruvian musicians and listeners, grew in the 1990s and became more common as Peruvian forms came back in style towards the beginning of the twenty-first century. This section will sketch out the contributions of musicians and composers

to these hybrids in rough chronological order of when they achieved greatest popularity either in Peru or abroad.

In the 1980s, after many of the restrictions imposed on music broadcasting by Juan Velasco Alvarado's military regime had been removed, Limeño music audiences stopped listening to *música criolla* and folklore to the degree they had previously during the regime's sponsorship of national styles. Commercial interest in promoting foreign music styles on radio and television increased, as did the consumption by urban youth (León Quiros 2003a: 163-164). This may be explained by Limeño youth seeking out popular foreign genres as "markers for a freedom of musical choice that had been restricted during twelve years (1968-1980) of military rule" (Martínez 1996 ctd. in León Quiros 2003a: 164). As a result, the increased promotion and distribution of commercially viable international music styles began to overpower national musical styles and discourage Peruvian musicians from producing, performing, and attempting to market their own styles. As Bolaños indicated in the 1990s, "El artista peruano que interpreta o crea folklore, música criolla, salsa, chicha y rock, etc., por lo general no encuentra espacios en las más poderosas emisoras de radio y televisión para promocionar su arte creativo y interpretativo. Los motivos de su exclusión, que son diversos, van desde el prejuicio respecto de la música y el músico nacional, en especial de la música andina, criolla y afroperuana, hasta los que exigen que una obra, cualquiera sea, debe contar con el estilo «comercial» requerido por ellos" (1995: 51). In this way, for Peruvian radio stations to play the music of national artists, these musicians had to conform to a particular sound that music executives were convinced would sell.

In such a particularly defined market, it became difficult for national artists to succeed. As Miki González stated in an interview,

Yo creo que las radios se han segmentado mucho y se han vuelto corporaciones que incluyen, por lo general, una radio de noticias, una de música romántica, una de música latina y otra de pop/rock. Como consecuencia, la programación es también segmentada y limitada: el segmento de música electrónica a las doce de la noche, el segmento del recuerdo por las mañanas y así sucesivamente. Y entonces pasa que tú llegas con tu música y te dicen que no hay segmento donde colocarte. En ese sentido, las radios han cambiado mucho. Y lo que necesita son personas que sepan manejarse en ese nuevo contexto. (qtd. in Cornejo Guinassi 2002: 203)

González's comments indicate that it is difficult for Peruvian musicians to experiment with music and still be commercially successful. Unless Peruvian musicians fit within a specifically defined idea of what the music industry is seeking, they are unlikely to find support for their projects or a listening public. As the previous success of certain hybrid styles has shown, the most successful music has been that which can find an intersection between popular foreign musical genres and national forms, connecting the tastes of the elite classes with the music that generally surges from the popular classes. Some of the styles which developed at the end of the twentieth century did cross this gap, while others became popular with certain audiences or with consumers of world music. This is due partly to the fact that many of these Peruvian musicians have lived or traveled overseas and gained experience with different styles of music.

One example of a Peruvian musician who gained significant musical experience overseas is Alex Acuña, who has played with internationally renowned musical artists. Though Alex Acuña left Peru in 1964, he returned in the 1980s to try and produce music that reflected his Peruvian identity. His "first foray into Peruvian rhythms was in the

mid-1980s with a group called Wayruro that reinterpreted Peruvian huaynos and coastal music with a New Age fusion sound” (Feldman 2006: 254). Soon after, Acuña collaborated with producer Ricardo Ghibellini to create the band Los Hijos del Sol, which was his “gift back to the country, his effort to popularize Peruvian music in the international arena.” The band “placed traditional Peruvian rhythms in a Latin smooth jazz context” and included both Peruvian and non-Peruvian band members, including Eva Ayllón (Feldman 2006: 254-255). Los Hijos del Sol was received extremely well in Peru, but their music was not distributed or performed in the United States until 2002, when their album was finally released and subsequently received a Latin Grammy nomination (Feldman 2006: 255). As Feldman indicates, the “most enduring legacy of Los Hijos del Sol in Peru was the rise to celebrity status of the band’s lead singer, Eva Ayllón” who “became Peru’s most popular living singer of both *música criolla* and Afro Peruvian styles [...] with several gold records and an adoring mass of Peruvian fans around the world” (2006: 255). The success of Los Hijos del Sol shows the receptivity of Peruvian audiences to hybrid music styles that highlight national genres while making them even more marketable internationally.

Several artists have experimented with these types of hybrids, particularly in Lima. As Bolaños states, some of these “nuevos criollos y afrolimeños jóvenes, cuyos antecesores compusieron valeses, polkas y ritmos afroperuanos, al parecer intentan hoy [in the 1990s] crear un estilo de salsa y balada con sabor limeño. Allí, en ese combate, están Oscar «Pitín» Sánchez, Antonio Cartagena, Willy Rivera, entre otros. Mientras, otro sector de músicos hace lo imposible para crear, en base a la música afroperuana, un rock



y un jazz que nos identifiquen nacionalmente.” He identifies Miki González, Los no sé quién y los no sé cuantos, and Tierra Sur as musicians making rock based on Afro-Peruvian rhythms, and Manongo Mujica and José Luis Madueño as creators of Afro-Peruvian tinged jazz (Bolaños 1995: 51). Bolaños’s description of these fusion styles as able to “identify” Peru suggests that internationally viable styles such as rock and jazz can be combined with national styles to put Peruvian music on the map, while still retaining their local stylistic markers and flavor. Some of these fusion styles are more explicit than others; some take Peruvian musical heritage as a point of departure, where others work to incorporate or alter songs in the national musical canon for their own creative or ideological purposes.

Miki González is one of Peru’s most well-known musicians, whose music has taken on various styles throughout his career. González first focused on jazz and blues, and then learned Afro-Peruvian music in Chincha, before becoming popular as a rock star. As a student at the Berklee School of Music in Boston, Massachusetts, he combined jazz with Afro-Peruvian styles. When he returned to Peru, he focused on Spanish rock popular in Latin America. Finally, in 1992, he “collaborated with members of the Ballumbrosio family to release an album called *Akundún* that made Chincha and the Ballumbrosios famous (and Miki González more famous than he already was) in Peru and Latin America. Distributed initially in Peru and later in the United States (by Polygram), *Akundún* recontextualized traditional Afro-Peruvian music, including songs of Black Christmas and the yunza, in a modern sound collage that blends elements of various music styles of the African diaspora” (Feldman 2006: 202-204). As Cornejo

Guinassi states, “Akundún (1992) fue, como ningún otro, el disco que puso a un artista peruano más cerca de la internacionalización” (2002: 195). In the album, González “recontextualizes Afro-Peruvian festejo and panalivio patterns for cajón in an expanded Spanish rock band setting (including drum set, synthesizer, guitar, bass, congas, and cowbell) with hybrid musical arrangements inspired by Jamaican reggae and dance hall and other popular styles of African diasporic music. Some tracks are new arrangements of traditional or previously composed songs” (Feldman 2006: 205-206). This description of the musical elements of González’s collaboration with the Ballumbrosio family shows his combination of traditional Afro-Peruvian songs and rhythms with rock instruments, as well as the influence of popular African-derived genres from elsewhere in the Americas on the presentation and marketability of Afro-Peruvian styles.

Feldman’s analysis of the title song, “Akundún” clearly illustrates the complex issues surrounding the integration and, some would argue, appropriation of Afro-Peruvian heritage for musical production. The use of “El condor pasa” at the beginning of the song “reinscribes the presence of Black Peruvians and their African ancestors into Peru’s official history of national origins.” Further, the “borrowed Jamaican style suggests a pan-African identification,” while the lyrics using an altered version of a poem by Nicomedes Santa Cruz “claims Black cultural heritage for Peruvians of all races” (Feldman 2006: 206). As this analysis suggests, Peruvian popular music can revisit national identity projects in order to challenge what is considered Peruvian. By introducing lyrics remembering and celebrating Afro-Peruvian history, with a few refrains of easily recognizable Andean music, stylized with brass instruments and

synthesizers, González reminds listeners that both traditions are legitimately Peruvian. However, when asked if this album introduce a new concept of “fusion” into the music industry, González agrees, but then suggests that he only wanted to work with Afro-Peruvian music: “En primer lugar, no tenía música andina, por lo tanto, no era un concepto panperuano, ni un proyecto que intentaba combinar la música de la costa, de la sierra y de la selva. Era simplemente la música que yo venía tocando hace quince años en El Carmen y que al fin me atreví a presentarla al público” (qtd. in Cornejo Guinassi 2002: 202). His previous attempts at fusion styles had been less explicit in their inclusion of Afro-Peruvian rhythms, such as his earlier song, “Dímelo, dímelo,” released in 1985. He suggests that he was perceived as a rock musician, not a fusion artist, and this is why his project succeeded: “El público era muy racista y no aceptaba que el rock tuviera un cajón. Entonces no es que yo hiciera fusión y eso haya funcionado. Lo que pasa es que la gente no percibía lo que yo hacía como fusión. El cajón había que disfrazarlo. En esa época, la música negra peruana no era apreciada como ahora” (Cornejo Guinassi 2002: 199). As González’s comments about the success of his fusion styles indicate, the receptivity of the public to certain types of music came gradually, and though as an artist he had been working with Afro-Peruvian genres for at least a decade, the time had to be right to be successful. Further, as an established musician, González had access to networks that others may not have had, so he earned the trust of his collaborators and of the recording industry.

As Susana Baca’s story illustrates, these connections have proved important in launching both national and international careers. While Baca had experimented with

combining poetry and Afro-Peruvian music throughout her musical career, she found it difficult to obtain a recording contract. In the 1980s, Chabuca Granda, who employed Baca as a personal assistant, “demanded that the [IEMPSA record] company release a record of Susana Baca’s songs,” but after Granda’s death, “executives informed Susana Baca that they no longer were obligated to record her music” (Feldman 2006: 225-226). When she tried to sell her music to other recording studios, they told her that her form of poetry combined with music could not be marketed to the masses (Feldman 2006: 226). Though she performs Afro-Peruvian music, it is a music stylized based on her own creative desires, rather than relying on “authentic” representations of tradition. As Cornejo Guinassi states, “I am sure that the people who like Nicomedes Santa Cruz and Lucila Campos don’t listen to Susana Baca. Because Susana Baca’s music is super-sophisticated for them” (Cornejo Guinassi 2000 qtd. in Feldman 2006: 224). Since Peruvian audiences are familiar with the Afro-Peruvian revival tradition, Susana Baca’s take on the music has not been accepted by most. Further, because her music is too individual and not commercial enough for segmented Peruvian radio, she has not achieved wide distribution within Peru.

Nevertheless, Susana Baca has achieved great success outside Peru, due in great part to the exposure she received from David Byrne’s 1995 compilation titled *The Black Soul of Peru*. The album “became the center of several controversies about cultural and economic rights,” including concerns about exploitation of local artists, the selection of songs by a cultural outsider, the reliance on music from the 1970s and 1980s, the inclusion of music from non-Afro-Peruvian *criollos*, and Byrne’s decision to include his

own performance of “María Landó” (Feldman 2006: 232-235). Interestingly, “Byrne’s patronage began to lend credibility to Susana Baca’s artistry in the eyes of certain Peruvians” (Feldman 2006: 235). The controversy around the popularity of the song and the performance by Byrne

illustrates how facile assumptions about the cultural origins of world music may lead to judgment errors regarding questions of authenticity and appropriation. Contrary to what many non-Peruvian listeners may think, “‘María Landó’ is not a traditional Afro-Peruvian standard but a very atypical landó, composed by White criollos and performed almost exclusively by Susana Baca, a cosmopolitan world music artist on the margins of popular Afro-Peruvian performance practice. In fact, it is rarely performed in Peru or by any artist other than Susana Baca. (Feldman 2006: 242-243)

As Baca’s experience demonstrates, it is possible for an artist to become internationally popular while remaining nationally marginal; at the same time, non-Peruvians may view musicians as representative of the Afro-Peruvian tradition, while Peruvians view them as anomalies. Susana Baca’s reception in Peru shows how talented Peruvian musicians may not receive exposure and success if they do not conform to what is popular or commercial. It also illustrates how variations on an understood canon of music can be controversial, instead of being viewed as innovative or creative.

The recent revival of *criollo* popular music by younger generations of Limeño musicians is another example of tradition confronting innovation. Some groups organized to “re-create the performance context of criollo popular music during the first decades of” the twentieth century, and took a traditionalist approach interested in reviving *criollo* forms besides the *vals* which were not performed in the mainstream (León Quiros 2003a: 164). On the other hand, younger musicians have become engaged

in *criollo* music through other means. León Quiros provides the example of Julie Freundt, who learned the music “by listening to commercial recordings and from those professional musicians who are often criticized for their attempts to hybridize *criollo* popular music with genres such as jazz, rock, and bossa nova. Like a number of other young musicians, Freundt feels that the traditionalist stance is so rigidly defined that there is little room left for musical innovation” (2003: 165). In her opinion, for *música criolla* to succeed in the Peruvian marketplace today and “win broad acceptance with limeño audiences, it must attain the same level of sophistication as the music of any international artist that visits Peru” and the artists must use the mass media for their benefit, rather than be exploited (León Quiros 2003a: 166). However, as León Quiros argues, these younger musicians’ “choice of repertoire continues to reproduce the *criollo* culture of nostalgia,” while potentially obscuring the fact that “the *criollo* popular music canon has served as a repository for a collective memory built upon the idea that Afro-Peruvians, mestizos, and indigenous people are subordinate to *criollos*” (2003: 167-168). While traditionalists are concerned that new artists are not including the stylistic markers of *criollo* music, the performance of this music brings with it associations about the complex social dynamics in Lima and the rest of Peru. As such, even the younger musicians who are experimenting with the style and attempting to keep it marketable in the present are reinforcing an image of the past that does not accurately reflect the reality lived by many Peruvians. These concerns about associations with a history of discrimination and subordination continue to be important in evaluating contemporary hybrid music styles which again look to the *criollo* past for inspiration.

Finally, one of the most popular styles of Peruvian popular music in the late 1990s was the *techno-cumbia*, a genre of music which emerged rapidly and unexpectedly in Peru due to the success of Rosy War (Romero 2002b: 232). Unlike *chicha*, which had also assimilated *cumbia*, “Rosy War’s music was being accepted by all social sectors, not only by migrant or working-class groups. Even when the media reported on her music, they did it with admiration and respect, in contrast to the prejudiced and high-brow attitude to which *chicha* had been subjected” (Romero 2002b: 232). Rosy War’s version of *techno-cumbia* did not appropriate from the Andean tradition, but focused on her Amazonian home. “Her singing style was influenced by pop music, especially by the Mexican singer Ana Gabriel [and] she accentuated other non-Andean elements, such as the incorporation of salsa *montunos* and intensive use of synthesizers, which detracted from the prominent role that the lead guitar had played in previous *cumbia* styles” (Romero 2002b: 234). Rosy War emphasized the sensuality of her music through clothing and dance, often wearing Amazon-inspired clothing or Tex-Mex dress like that of Selena. Rosy War’s style and close connection with the Amazon enabled her music to cross borders, and it gained popularity in neighboring countries. “Radio, television, and the recording industry focused on the *techno-cumbia* as the most profitable music business in recent times” (Romero 2002b: 234-235). Though *techno-cumbia* distinguished itself from previously developed Peruvian styles, it became popular across different social classes and regions of the country.

Other artists successfully followed Rosy War’s example, including Armonía 10 and Ruth Karina. However, Armonía 10’s “vocal style remains interestingly close to that

of *chicha* musicians (Romero 2002b: 236), which has earned them the *chicha* label by some observers (Bolaños 1995: 50). Ruth Karina, on the other hand, became another famous *techno-cumbia* singer who embraced her Amazonian background. She used “the Amazonian jungle imagery even more intensively than War herself [and] dressed her four dancers in feathers and very short bikinis ornamented with “jungle paraphernalia. In her choreography, she further cultivated the use of unabashedly sensual motions, especially pelvic ones. But rather than scandalizing the audience, these dance movements became very popular among all age and gender groups” (Romero 2002b: 236). Like other performers before her, Karina borrowed from other traditions, using influences from Brazilian *toadas* to differentiate her style from Rosy War’s (Romero 2002b: 237). Her success illustrates how a public can be receptive to a change in musical styles, as well as how the use of strong imagery can sell a musical product.

Interestingly, though Peruvian music is generally thought of in terms of its three main regions of the highlands, coast, and jungle, music from the Amazon has not factored heavily into previously popular styles. The majority of music from the Amazon region has been regional variations of national styles like *vals*, *marinera*, and *huayno*, though regional forms such as *sitaracuy*, *chimaychi*, *machascha-baile*, *velada*, and *changanacuy* have been composed (Salazar Orsi 1990: 17). While some previous incarnations of *cumbia* and *chicha* were performed by musicians from the Amazon region, *techno-cumbia* was the Peruvian style that made these connections most explicit. The reliance on Amazon imagery and celebration of local identity in performances of *techno-cumbia* illustrates how the traditions can also be used both as a more exotic element of national



heritage, and to link Peruvians transnationally, easily crossing the borders of the jungle region. While both Rossy War and Ruth Karina were based in Lima when they released their music, their constant references to their Amazonian heritage both incorporates this region into national music and separates them from less accepted genres from the highlands.

### **Moving Towards Contemporary Musical Hybrids**

As this chapter has illustrated, popular Peruvian music styles have taken many forms over the past century, many of them assimilating and incorporating influences from music popular internationally. Today, some of these genres are being re-appropriated by Peruvian musicians and producers to create new “fusions” and hybrids. Styles which were not accepted are also being “rediscovered” and reintroduced internationally, such as *chicha*. As Feldman states, “Afro-Peruvian music is finally in vogue in Lima in the early twenty-first century. Black (and non-Black) musicians are forging new hybrids from Afro-Peruvian and other ingredients. Their creations have yet to be categorized, and many of these artists perform both ‘folklore’ and what they call ‘fusion’” (Feldman 2006: 259). She goes on to provide examples:

Coco Linares produced a CD released in the 1990s, *Salsa, son, ritmo y cajón*, that fuses Afro-Peruvian and Afro-Cuban music. In 2000, the hottest Black artist in Peru, with a following of adoring young fans, was Guajaja (José de la Cruz). Pioneering a kind of techno-Afro-Peruvian music with audience participation dance steps, Guajaja brings Afro-Peruvian music to mainstream young audiences. Los Hermanos Santa Cruz—a band fronted by Nicomedes and Victoria Santa Cruz’s nephews Rafael and Octavio—presents creative arrangements of Afro-Peruvian folklore using electric guitar, jazz-influenced electric bass, and stylistic elements of rock and Afropop. Their 1999 album is called *Ya no soy*

*negro, ya no soy blanco* (Now I am not Black, now I am not White). Jazz artists José Luis Madueño and Richie Zellon are experimenting with what they call Afrojazz, meaning Latin jazz arrangements based on Afro-Peruvian rhythms (the use of the prefix “Afro” revealing that jazz is not already a predominantly Afro-identified music in Peru). (Feldman 2006; 259-260)

As these Afro-Peruvian fusions illustrate, national music genres still inspire musicians and producers to create new products which continue to question and define Peruvian identity, while at the same time can be commercially viable due to their cultural knowledge of international styles popular both within Peru and abroad. As the analysis of the music produced by Miki González, Novalima, Jaime Cuadra, Ángel Lobatón, and Jean Pierre Magnet will illustrate, these new fusions receive critical acclaim as well as raise their own issues.

### Chapter 3

#### *Fusión peruana:*

### Bringing Peruvian Musical Heritage into the Present

In the past decade, Peruvian musical heritage has undergone another period of renewal, with musicians and producers working with Peruvian traditions to form new musical hybrids. Combining Andean, Afro-Peruvian, and *criollo* sounds and rhythms with international genres like electronic music and the Cuban *son*, these artists have crafted a Peruvian version of what they term *fusión*. These musical fusions have become highly successful in Peru despite the prevalence of pirated albums in the informal market, and have been covered and acclaimed in the national and international media. As the following analysis will show, these new hybridizations are considered to bring a modern edge to Peruvian traditions, are seen as capable of educating the youth of Peru on its musical heritages, and are viewed as ways to make Peruvian music internationally known and respected.

The music selected for inclusion in these new projects generally spans a wide period of Peruvian musical history, serving as an updated primer of the nation's styles. In some cases, producers have used source recordings from the canon of Peruvian music, selecting respected songs and artists considered emblematic of the traditions. In others, they have created new recordings by working directly with respected musicians to update Peruvian musical heritage for new audiences, by partnering with other artists and producers who have previously attempted and performed their own hybrid styles, and by inviting the participation of younger generations of popular musicians. As such, these projects are highly collaborative, often crossing race and gender lines, but they require

DJs, producers, and musicians with significant cultural capital. Many of those involved in these projects have traveled internationally, worked with genres of music beyond Peruvian forms, have connections in the music industry and access to well-known musicians and source material, and are familiar with the technology required for producing electronic music. For these reasons, as well as their intentional integration of international influences, these new fusions are sometimes perceived as belonging to the elite sectors and have been challenged by traditionalists. At the same time, this exchange of information across borders reflects the contemporary Peruvian experience of migration, tourism, and the modernizing influence of globalization. Moreover, through their song choices and the desire to showcase Peruvian traditions, this music revisits Peruvian identity for newer generations and shows how Peru's various musical styles are representative of the nation's diversity and can serve as symbols of pride.

This chapter will identify some of the musicians, producers, and groups who have released "fusion" albums in recent years. It will discuss the albums, the types of music juxtaposed and hybridized, the content and songs selected, and the explanatory information included on the album covers and within liner notes. It will describe the reasons given by these musicians for producing Peruvian fusion and the forms of exchange that have led to the completion of these projects. Further, this chapter will analyze the media's coverage of these albums, how the music has been seen as "modernizing" tradition and updating the canon, and how these latest hybrids are connected to world music trends.

### **The Artists and Albums of Peruvian Musical Fusion**

While musical hybrids have been created and popularized among Peruvians for over a century, the latest versions have become recognized and identified as “fusion” by musical artists and the media. In this way, these albums intentionally invoke both Peruvian tradition and popular international forms. Some of the most popular musical artists include Miki González, the Peruvian musician whose has hybridized several genres over decades of experimentation; Jaime Cuadra, a producer and musician who has risen to prominence with his latest projects; Novalima, a group consisting of producers and supporting musicians who have collaborated from their locations across the world; Ángel Lobatón, a fisherman who together with his brother decided to convert Afro-Peruvian *criollo* songs to the rhythm of the Cuban *son*; and Jean Pierre Magnet, who has performed Andean traditions in jazz style. Other notable musicians include Manongo Mujica, who has combined Andean and Afro-Peruvian percussion with jazz and New Age, Cimarrones, who have mixed Afro-Peruvian music with rock, and Uchpa, who sing in Quechua and mix blues and rock with Andean sounds, among many other musicians, some of whom were mentioned in the previous chapter. For the purposes of this analysis, the focus will be on Miki González, Jaime Cuadra, and Novalima since they have all worked with electronic music and have been invited to perform together on several occasions. Ángel Lobatón’s Afro-Peruvian *son criollo* and Jean Pierre Magnet’s Andean jazz will also be mentioned since they utilize other internationally successful genres and provide interesting comparisons with the groups who are experimenting with electronic music and Afro-Peruvian and Andean standards.

As described in detail in the previous chapter, Miki González is a Peruvian musician who has experimented with a wide range of international music genres throughout his career. After achieving success and popularity as a rock musician in the 1980s, he focused national attention on Afro-Peruvian music with the album *Akundún*, released in 1992. Inspired by the hybrid styles of rock made possible by new wave music as well as other national rock groups including common Peruvian instruments and rhythms in their music, González began experimenting even more explicitly with hybridized music (Cornejo Guinassi 2002: 199). Most recently, he has been the leader in combining Andean, Amazonian, and Afro-Peruvian traditions with electronic music, which he previously suggested would be the most interesting and innovative path for Peruvian music. In an interview in the early 2000s, González stated, “[P]ara mí en este momento lo que sí da un poco de frescura ahora –como la dio en su tiempo The Cure or Devo- es la música electrónica. No propiamente el trance y esta música de discoteca sino que hay un movimiento que se puede encasillar dentro de lo que es el rock porque tiene esa fuerza. Te hablo de los Chemical Brothers, Crystal Method, Prodigy, Massive Attack. Eso me parece interesante y al no haber algo de esa línea en Perú no puedo decir que haya un movimiento aquí que me interese mucho” (qtd. in Cornejo Guinassi 2002: 203-204). Although the electronic music he found interesting incorporates more elements of rock than the electronic sounds he currently produces, in this interview González foreshadowed the style of music he would later make. The electronic fusions he has created have been considered fresh takes on national genres that revisit standards for generations who generally listen to more foreign music than Peruvian music.

In July 2004, Miki González released *Café Inkaterra*, an album of Andean rhythms fused with electronic chillout beats, through APU Records and partnered with Inkaterra, a Peruvian travel business which focuses on environmental and cultural conservation (N.a. 2006d). This album went platinum between 2004 and 2005, selling over 10,000 copies (N.a. 2007h). The later edition of this album is called *Inka Beats* and contains the same tracks as the original. The cover of *Inka Beats* shows the eyes of a man wearing a *chullo*, or traditional highlands hat, while the inside flap shows the entire body, clothed in a poncho, holding a panpipe, and wearing the traditional sandals of Andean highlands residents. The back of the album has the track list, which shows the composer of the songs and whether it is traditional music originating from a particular region. The inside flaps of the album contain a more detailed track list in both Spanish and English, which acknowledges the musicians performing on each track, and provides additional details on most of the songs that clarify their region of origin, their role in highlands celebrations, and the use of special, potentially unfamiliar instruments. For example, the track “Fiesta de la abundancia – Qanchi” has the following description: “Danza cusqueña de origen agrícola, ejecutada con kinray pito, bombo y tarola. El kinray pito es un tipo de quena que se toca de lado, como flauta travesa. Esta melodía se toca en carnavales en el departamento de Cusco” (González 2004).

González’s decision to include these details about the songs performed on the album reflects both a tendency in world music to provide educational information about traditions as well his own desire to attribute the “borrowing” of traditional songs to the people who use them. As González has previously stated with regards to his music,

“With the songs that belong to traditional folklore, I have said which belongs to whom. When I steal, I say who I am stealing from!” (González 2000 qtd. in Feldman 2006: 205). While some may criticize the use of music from traditions not practiced by the artist, González’s album notes also educate Peruvians and foreigners unfamiliar with their origins on their roles in Andean life. Further, the music on *Inka Beats* is completely instrumental, without words or human voices, and is generally traditional instruments accompanied by synthesized sounds and drum beats, which add additional rhythmic elements to these tracks. On this release, González chose to respect the complete melody of the traditional songs he combined with electronic rhythms, though he would depart from this in later albums (N.a. 2005b). Though *Café Inkaterra* went platinum in sales and was recognized outside Peru, it was not sold outside the country (N.a. 2006d).

González’s next album, *Etno Tronics*, was released in 2005 by APU records, after being one of the most anticipated releases of the year, and became the best-selling album in Phantom Music by the end of 2005. Interestingly, *Etno Tronics* outsold Madonna’s *Confessions on a Dance Floor*, which surprised González because he did not know that people bought actual cds in Peru (N.a. 2005b). Like the previous cd, *Etno Tronics* features cover art representing people in traditional dress. From compositions including melodies from the Amazon region, to Afro-Peruvian *zapateo*, to remixes of González’s popular hits from *Akundún* as well as tracks from *Inka Beats*, *Etno Tronics* spans several Peruvian musical styles. All of the tracks on the album were composed in their entirety by González, though some do contain parts of traditional songs (N.a. 2005b). While *Inka Beats* was entirely musical and used more downtempo, chillout beats, *Etno Tronics* is a



more danceable disc, especially on the remixes of “Akundún (Deep Tribal Mix)” and “A min lof (House Mix).” As these titles suggest, the style of the electronic music mixes on this album is the “tribal” feel of jungle and house beats, which is enhanced by the choice to include excerpts of songs from the Amazon region and the Afro-Peruvian repertoire. In this way, instead of showcasing music from a particular region, *Etno Tronics* emphasizes the tribal, “ethnic” nature of Peruvian music, and as such is more a concept album, with the songs chosen to suit a particular mood.

González released his third album of traditional Peruvian music mixed with electronic music in 2006, titled *Iskay: Inka Beats*. This album may be seen as the second part of *Café Inkaterra/Inka Beats*, since the word “iskay” means two in Quechua, and its tracks again originate in Andean tradition (Valdizán 2006). Similarly to the first *Inka Beats*, the album cover depicts graphic figures in customary dress, and the back has a stripped-down tracklist. The two inside flaps contain more details, including the supporting musicians and educational information on the regions of origin and the traditional instruments used. According to Valdizán, it is this use of traditional instruments, such as the *yarapurutú*, a flute without holes, and a replica of an *antara*, or a form of pan flute, that give particular character to González’s electronic fusion projects (2006). *Iskay: Inka Beats* is almost completely instrumental, but uses more keyboards and synthesizers than the first album, and appears to have tracks based on traditional melodies, rather than complete songs. For example, the description for “Ritta Pampa” states that this “tema está basado en el género Q’ena Q’ena del altiplano, asociado a la cacería” (González 2006). In this way, though many of these tracks have been composed

and arranged by González, they are inspired by specific traditions, which lends them a sense of authenticity.

González explains his decision to stop working with Afro-Peruvian music in favor of Andean traditions in the following way: “El Perú no es solo afro, hay una parte nativa que todavía está vigente” (qtd. in Valdizán 2006). This statement suggests that with the popularity of Afro-Peruvian music, it remains important to share the festival songs still performed in the Andean region, because they represent a lived heritage. By “modernizing” this music and setting it to electronic beats and rhythms, González takes those folkloric traditions whose sounds are generally known from field recordings and makes them just as contemporary as rock music. This makes it more palatable to those who may not appreciate the discordant melodies of Andean songs or like the sounds of unfamiliar instruments. As González says, “A lot of people tell me ‘I don’t like Andean music, but I like it this way’” (qtd. in Brosnan 2006). For this reason, putting these traditions in electronic form makes them more likely to be listened to by people who do not attend highlands festivals or purchase albums of Andean music and can expose new listeners to Peruvian folklore, albeit in altered, moderated form.

In his latest cd, *Hi-Fi Stereo*, released in October 2007, González converts the greatest hits from his rock repertoire into electronic house music, which “le permitirá que jóvenes conozcan sus éxitos en una renovada version” (N.a. 2007c). In an interview, he expressed excitement about this new album and hoped that it would become another top selling cd: “Para mí Hi-Fi Stereo tiene mucho significado, porque ya vengo con tres discos que han sido número uno, así que espero éste no sea la excepción. Además que ha

sido todo un reto para mí darle otra versión a temas que el público se los conoce de memoria” (qtd. in N.a. 2007c). In this new cd, González continues to update Peruvian music for younger generations, except in this case he has selected from his own creative repertoire and re-released his own songs. In this way, González’s albums illustrate García Canclini’s observation that “[r]econversion is, in part, an updating of the market” (2005: 268). Further, the inclusion of his own songs in the currently popular electronic form reaffirms their place in Peruvian musical history.

As the newspaper *El Comercio* indicates, Miki González “abrió una senda que no tardaría en ser recorrida por otros músicos locales con ánimos de proyectar nuestra música a horizontes antes inexplorados” (N.a. 2006j). While González is generally considered to be the first Peruvian artist to work with electronic fusions, others have followed him, yet taken their music in different directions, particularly Novalima and Jaime Cuadra. Novalima is a musical collective consisting of four producers, Ramón Pérez Prieto, Rafael Morales, Carlos Li Carrillo, and Grimaldo del Solar, and several musicians, primary among them Milagros Guerrero, Mangué Vásquez, Marcos Moquera, Juan Medrano “Cotito,” and Constantino Álvarez (N.a. 2006a; N.a. 2006b). The group was formed in 2001 by the four producers, who were living in various global cities throughout the world: Pérez Prieto in Lima, Morales in London, Li Carrillo in Hong Kong, and del Solar in Barcelona (Rodríguez Lastra 2006; Novalima 2008). The producers crafted their first album in 2002 through a process of international exchange; each recorded and produced tracks in the cities of their residence, and worked with musicians from these locations as well as Rio de Janeiro and New York (Novalima

2008). According to an interview with Li Carrillo, this self-titled first album, released in 2003, covered several styles, from Hindu, to bossa nova, to *son cubano*, and finally introduced Afro-Peruvian music at the end as another global style (Rodríguez Lastra 2006). The Lima newspaper *Perú 21* indicates that with *Novalima* “ya insinuaban los rasgos que definirían el perfil del colectivo con mezclas de sonidos de origen latino locales, cubanos y brasileños (samba y bossa) con el inconfundible aporte de la electrónica vía el ‘dub’” (N.a. 2006a). In this way, the group’s first album demonstrated their knowledge of and interest in international genres and electronic music, particularly the sounds that were popular and prevalent in the cities where they crafted their first recording.

However, it was their second album, *Afro*, which garnered them national and international attention and acclaim for its hybridization of Afro-Peruvian traditional songs with electronic and dub beats. According to the band, this album is more a “fusion” between the musicians and producers (Rodríguez Lastra 2006). Recorded in 2004, Novalima released *Afro* independently in Peru in 2005, before being signed by the British label Mr. Bongo, which re-released the album in Europe and Asia on both compact disc and vinyl (Novalima 2008; N.a. 2006b). The success of the album in Europe led to its release in France through the label Because Music in July 2006, and subsequent release in the United States, Canada, and Mexico through the record company Quango in August 2006 (N.a. 2006b). The album reached number one on the New World Music chart in the United States and the International Music chart in Canada (N.a. 2006b). In Peru, *Afro* went gold between 2005 and 2006 (Castillo 2007). Further, at the

end of 2006, the album was awarded the Independent Music Award for best World Fusion album of 2006 (N.a. 2006i). As these facts indicate, Novalima has achieved significant recognition both within Peru and internationally for their hybridizations of Afro-Peruvian music with electronic beats.

The re-release of *Afro* shows the figure of a dancing Afro-Peruvian woman next to the title and name of the band. While the back of the album only lists the tracks, the liner notes are extremely detailed, providing the names of the producers, the musicians who round out the group and the instruments they play, and other collaborators and their specific contributions. Significantly, the liner notes of the 2006 Peruvian release provide a detailed explanation of the history and heritage of Afro-Peruvian music, citing the contributions of the Pancho Fierro company, Perú Negro, Susana Baca, and Nicomedes Santa Cruz to the popularization of this tradition (Novalima 2006). In the words of the DJ Martín Morales, who wrote the explanation within the liner notes, Novalima situates their album in the lineage of people preserving this heritage: “Esta grabación es un tributo a esos pioneros artísticos y culturales que han comunicado estas historias originales de años atrás, con respeto a sus autores para que nosotros la disfrutemos y digiramos. Novalima está continuando esta tradición.” In his view, “Esta es una obra moderna con arreglos actuales pero con espíritu del pasado” (Novalima 2006). According to this description, the producers and musicians of Novalima are modernizing the tradition by hybridizing it with electronic beats, but still show respect to the roots of the musical tradition, which makes them the most recent group to preserve and renew Afro-Peruvian musical heritage.

Unlike the mostly instrumental fusions created by Miki González's fusion cds, *Afro* uses both the lyrics and the sounds of the Afro-Peruvian tradition as its inspiration. Some of the songs included on the album are over a century old (N.a. 2006a), while others, like "Zamba Landó," take from the more recently reconstructed traditions of the Afro-Peruvian revival. The album contains new versions and remixes of songs by Nicomedes Santa Cruz, Chabuca Granda, Arturo "Zambo" Cavero, Lucha Reyes, Lucila Campos, and Augusto Polo Campos (N.a. 2006b). Like Miki González and Jaime Cuadra, Novalima's musicians and producers created new versions of the songs they wanted to include, retaining some characteristic sounds by using traditional instruments, while adding repetitive effects and new beats and rhythms common to electronic music. "Novalima's album 'Afro' uses samplers and sequencers as well as ancient percussion instruments like donkey jawbones and wooden boxes once used for church alms collections" (Brosnan 2006). According to del Solar, "The electronic part is just another instrument" (qtd. in Brosnan 2006). In this way, the traditional instruments work in partnership with the more modern technology to create a cohesive, distinctive sound.

Though the musicians recruited for the group have experience singing and playing in traditional ways, the music created by Novalima does not adhere to the standard styles of performance. As Mosquera, a percussionist, states: "It's not traditional Afro-Peruvian music, although it uses the traditional instruments" (Roberts 2008). Further, though Novalima does acknowledge that these songs are from the Afro-Peruvian repertoire, the album does not provide additional details on their sources. In order to recognize their originating genre and customary performance style, listeners must already have or be

willing to obtain significant cultural knowledge of Peruvian music. For example, “Zamba Landó” and “Toromata” are versions of *landós* and “Mayoral” and “Chinchivi” are based on *festejos* widely performed by the Afro-Peruvian revival musicians, while “Cardó” is a shorted title of the song “Cardó o Ceniza,” famously performed by Chabuca Granda, “Alcajazz” is refers to the historical *alcatraz* genre, and “Mandinga” repeats the famous saying by Ricardo Palma, “Quien no tiene de inga tiene de mandinga.” While Novalima does cross many Afro-Peruvian genres, the tracks are presented in such a way that dissolves many of the distinctions between them. While the wide success of this album does provide exposure for Afro-Peruvian heritage, it does not educate or inform to the extent of previous musicians like Nicomedes Santa Cruz or Susana Baca, who have released detailed booklets with their albums. It will be interesting to see the direction Novalima chooses for their next project, which will be released in July 2008.

The most recent musician to emerge with his own style of Peruvian electronic fusion is Jaime Cuadra, a Lima-based producer. Like Miki González, Cuadra spent a significant period of time in the music industry performing and producing music of other styles, particularly rock, before choosing to experiment with electronic music hybrids. Inspired by the fusion style of Los Hijos del Sol, he decided to revisit the *vals criollo* in a way that would appeal to younger generations. In his words, Cuadra “started listening to electronic down tempo lounge music and started to experiment, fuse, and convert the music from 3/4 time to 4/4 time for the Peruvian valz and found a formula that both younger and older generation[s] can enjoy” (qtd. in Orellana 2007). Though his hybrids of electronic chillout music and the *vals criollo* began as an experimental, personal

project, interest in his music convinced him to release it commercially in 2006 (Orellana 2007). Within two weeks of its release, *Cholo Soy: Peruvian Waltz Chillout* sold over two thousand copies (N.a. 2006g), and by September, Cuadra received the Disco de Oro for selling more than five thousand copies. The album has since gone platinum and sold more than fifteen thousand copies (Orellana 2007; Carrillo 2007). In his view, “El obtener un Disco de Oro en nuestro país es todo un logro, la piratería es el gran enemigo del artista peruano pero gracias al apoyo del público esto es posible” (qtd. in N.a. 2006e). Cuadra’s comments reiterate how difficult it is for Peruvian musicians to earn money for their music in the form of official albums. He believes that only about ten thousand Peruvians actually buy original albums instead of pirated copies (Castillo 2007b). For this reason, the high sales of the fusion styles is worth noting: as a result of the successful releases in 2006 by Miki González and Novalima, Phantom Music, the most important music distributor in Peru, observed an increase in sales of 14% in 2006 (Castillo 2007b). Since independent releases like *Cholo Soy* require significant financial investment, the fact that Cuadra recovered his expenses within three months of sales is particularly impressive (Castillo 2007b).

Like the projects of Miki González and Novalima, *Cholo Soy* is a collaborative album, which contains samples of well-known recordings from the canon of the *vals criollo*, new versions by famous artists including Eva Ayllón and Luis Abanto Morales, and songs performed by Cuadra himself. The objective of the project is the following: “internacionalizar el vals y de paso mostrárselo a una juventud carente de tradición” (Castillo 2007a). In order to create new versions of songs, particularly the title track,



“Cholo Soy,” Cuadra shared his work with Luis Abanto Morales and Eva Ayllón, who reacted positively to the modern remixes of *criollo* repertoire. Abanto Morales reentered a recording studio for the first time in over 30 years to record an updated version of “Cholo Soy” apt for electronic remixing (Sifuentes 2006; Castillo 2007a). He participated because he felt that this music is “un progreso, un avance y un apoyo no solo para Jaime sino para la música criolla en general” (Castillo 2007a). On the other hand, as Ayllón now lives in the United States, she recorded “Mal Paso” a cappella, and sent this file to Cuadra via email (Castillo 2007a; Sifuentes 2006).

For his version of “Nube Gris,” Cuadra went to Sonia, a traditional *cevichería* in Chorrillos, to record both the sound of *música criolla* on piano and the ambient sound of the restaurant (Sifuentes 2006; Castillo 2007a). Cuadra hoped to provide sounds of home to Peruvians living overseas: “Para la gente, por ejemplo, que está fuera del país, que sienta en este momento cuando está comiendo un cebichito, cuando está en un restaurant o un local, es decir, sentir esa, esa esencia de la música peruana” (Sifuentes 2006). Cuadra’s comments demonstrate how capturing the setting and feeling of Peruvian music is important for remaining connected to Peruvian culture. Though the format may change, including references to the original sound evokes the feeling of a particular time and place (Connell and Gibson 2003: 14); this sense of familiarity is required for emotional connection to the music, which facilitates its acceptance, or, perhaps, its sales. Similarly, Cuadra used recordings of important Peruvian musicians in order to capture the sound and history of *criollo* music. He performed “Regresa” alongside sections of a recording by Lucha Reyes, and ended the album with a hybrid track juxtaposing “Todos

Vuelven,” recorded by Ruben Flores, and “América Latina,” recited by Nicomedes Santa Cruz. Interestingly, he could not find a recording of this poem in the Radio Nacional archives and had to download it from the internet (Castillo 2007a). The selective use of sections of the tracks allows space for new versions, while evoking familiarity and nostalgia in listeners who already know the traditions.

Though Cuadra was originally concerned about offending traditionalists with his new versions of the *vals criollo*, his success inspired him to continue making the musical canon relevant for younger generations. In December 2006, he released *Cholo Soy for Babies*, working with a few well-known children’s performers, María Pía Copello, Gloria María Solari, and Miss Rossi. He decided to make this album based on “su afán por crear un interés real en nuestros niños y jóvenes para con nuestra música y sembrar desde los primeros años de vida una relación e identificación con nuestra cultura” (N.a. 2006f). In this way, Cuadra used his success to continue to promote and disseminate Peruvian traditions among those who may not yet be familiar with it. In early 2007, Cuadra released a remixed, up-tempo, danceable version of *Cholo Soy* titled *Cholo Soy Remixed* on both cd and vinyl. In the new version, he collaborated with some of Peru’s best DJs: “Maysa Lozano, Christian Berger, Kike Mayor, Aldo Oliva, Rafomagia y Jaime Cuadra han sido los encargados de transformar emblemáticos temas como Regresa, Nube Gris, Odíame y El Plebeyo, entre otras, en singulares versiones remixed que empezarán a sonar en las noches discotequeras del país y muy seguramente no tardarán en cruzar fronteras” (N.a. 2007g). As this article suggests, the updated versions of the *vals criollo* are seen to have the ability to cross international borders and make the songs, if not the original

rhythm, popular beyond Peru. By taking the *vals criollo* out of the traditional *peñas* and putting it into nightclubs, Cuadra challenges the traditional ways of experiencing Peruvian music and makes it relevant and accessible to youth who generally prefer popular foreign music.

*Cholo Soy 2: La Valse Créole Chillout* was released in July 2007 and, in Cuadra's view, represents a more polished version of his original project. "‘Cholo Soy’ was experimental and I released it without really thinking much, ‘Cholo Soy 2’ on the other hand took me a year to finish because of already knowing what happened with the first one. [...] In this one I fixed some mistakes, polished the style, invited more artists to take part in it, and added songs from famous composers that I couldn't in the first one like Chabuca Granda. For me Cholo Soy 2 is a more well put together and finer piece of work, even though the first one has a lot of personality" (qtd. in Orellana 2007). Like the first album, it was immediately successful, selling 1,200 copies within four days of its release. This success led Cuadra to have three albums in the Top 20 of Peruvian cd sales (N.a. 2007f). Beyond its fusion of electronic music and the *vals criollo*, it represents a hybrid between the past and the present, using sampled recordings of late musicians like Chabuca Granda and Nicomedes Santa Cruz, together with new versions performed by Cuadra and singers such as Eva Ayllón, Pamela Rodríguez, Pilar de la Hoz, and musicians like Jean Pierre Magnet, Ángel Lobatón, and Chino Figueroa from Los Hijos del Sol. The French subtitle of the album is a reference to the song composed by Chabuca Granda in response to a challenge on a radio program (Carrillo 2007).

The album cover of *Cholo Soy 2* features a photograph of a famous Lima building, as well as raised decorations inspired by the Nazca lines (N.a. 2007e), while the inside flap has photographs of Cuadra with both a guitar and DJ equipment. The liner notes attribute the tracks to their original composers, cite the sampled tracks, and indicate the vocalists and participating musicians, as well as those who have arranged the songs. In the acknowledgments section, Cuadra thanks Los Hijos del Sol for being “pioneers in the fusion with our creole music, who were an inspiration to me.” The inclusion of a track famously performed by Los Hijos del Sol, “El Tamalito,” suggests that even more recent musical experiments can be updated and remembered as part of Peruvian musical heritage. Further, the collaboration of so many important Peruvian musicians demonstrates their support for projects revisiting and revitalizing traditions. In return, Cuadra’s project acknowledges the history that created this heritage; for example, he leads the album’s first track, “Cardó o Ceniza,” with the voice of Chabuca Granda explaining how this song came to be. While these new versions do change the tempo and arrangements of the originals, they also maintain consistent references to what has come before, from the samples of Lucha Reyes on “Propiedad privada” to the poetry of Nicomedes Santa Cruz on “Negra.”

The success of Cuadra’s albums has led to their distribution beyond Peru. Cuadra negotiated with an Argentine label, Ultra Pop, to release *Cholo Soy* and *Cholo Soy 2* in Europe and South America. Further, Cuadra has indicated that he will soon release a third album to complete his trilogy hybridizing *criollo* music with electronic sounds. He plans to next experiment with other sounds, while working within the electronic chillout

style (N.a. 2007d). Like Novalima the year before, Jaime Cuadra's *Cholo Soy: Peruvian Waltz Chillout* was named best World Fusion album by the Independent Music Awards in 2007. He thanked Peru for making this possible: "Agradezco a mi país por darme su música y permitirme experimentar con nuevos géneros para vestirla diferente y mostrarla al mundo" (N.a. 2007i). His comments illustrate how these electronic versions of Peruvian musical traditions have increased their visibility outside Peru, though it requires altering them from their original rhythms and presenting them so that they can be experienced outside conventional settings.

Two additional musicians who have created hybrid styles based on Peruvian traditions are Ángel Lobatón and Jean Pierre Magnet. Unlike many of the other musicians who have performed Peruvian fusion, Lobatón did not spend his life involved with the music industry, but rather as a fisherman living in Pucusana. However, his and his brother Alejandro's interest in Cuban music led them to experiment with the *vals criollo*, converting its rhythm to that of the *son*. After seeing their performance in a bar, Floriano Regis, the cultural attaché of the Brazilian embassy, convinced them to record their first and only album, which was released in 2006 (Páez 2006). Ángel Lobatón performed lead vocals, Alejandro arranged the songs, directed the band, and played the *tres* and guitar, and other family members and colleagues participated to round out the sound with congas, bongos, and *claves* (Páez 2006; N.a. 2007j). Interestingly, while Novalima, González, and Cuadra's projects use traditional Peruvian instruments, these percussion instruments are commonly used in Afro-Cuban styles but not in Afro-Peruvian music.

The songs converted to the rhythm of Cuban *son* span the *vals criollo* tradition, including Pinglo's "El Plebeyo," Chabuca Granda's "La flor de la canela," and "Odiame," by Rafael Otero Lopez. They have also covered music from the Afro-Peruvian canon, including "No me cumbén" and "Callejón de un solo caño" popularized by Victoria and Nicomedes Santa Cruz. By putting these songs in the rhythm of *son* and using Cuban and Brazilian instruments, these songs have become more upbeat and danceable than the slower *vals*. In fact, the songs sound like they are from Cuba: Lobatón sounds like Cuban musicians from the 1940s, which is why Miguel Rivas, of the world music label Putumayo, decided to film them in concert, indicating that "Si lo cuento, no me creen" (qtd. in Páez 2006). The album is simple, with a picture of Ángel Lobatón on the cover alongside the title "afro peruano son" and subtitle "vales peruanos en ritmo de son." The same profile shot of Lobatón is inside the album, overlaying a photograph of fishing boats, which is clearly a reference to his background. The back of the album lists the tracks with their original composers, as well as the participating musicians and their instrumental or vocal contributions. Unlike other hybrid albums, this cd does not provide background information or experiment with several different styles and samples. It is simply new versions of the *vals criollo* with the rhythm and instruments characteristic of Cuban traditions. As Ángel Lobatón has since passed away, this may be the only album of Afro-Peruvian *son*.

Jean Pierre Magnet has extensive experience with Peruvian music and has previously experimented with other international genres. Magnet worked with Alex Acuña and José Luis Madueño on the projects of the group Wayruro, who released their

self-titled album in 1996 (Páez 2006). He has also participated in the Perujazz project for over twenty years with Manongo Mujica, David Pinto, and, currently, Luis Solar; the group has created a Peruvian form of jazz which incorporates Andean, Afro-Peruvian and *criollo* traditions along with other international styles (N.a. 2007b). In 2006, Magnet released the album *Serenata Inkaterra* through the Inkaterra organization as part of his personal desire to experiment with ways to play the saxophone in Andean style (Páez 2006). Inkaterra hoped that the new disc would achieve similar success to that of González's *Café Inkaterra*, as well as sell outside of Peru, particularly in Europe, Latin America, and the United States (N.a. 2006d). Several notable Peruvian musicians collaborated with Magnet's vision, including Alex Acuña, William Salazar, Rubén Suica, and Miguel Molina (Páez 2006). According to the liner notes of the album, it is intended as a journey through different regions of Peru, using "natural" instruments instead of electric guitars or synthesizers. The packaging of the album is noteworthy: the compact disc is encased in a rustic-looking paper case, with a detailed liner booklet containing photos of Andean people and scenery in muted colors. The liner notes contain a detailed explanation of the project and descriptions of the inspiration for each of the tracks, including those created from traditional highlands festival music. The album is closed by a cord cinched by a bead made from seeds native to Peru. The album packaging was nominated for a Latin Grammy in 2007. Though most of the songs included on the album are new compositions arranged by Magnet, they do maintain connections to the highlands traditions, especially in the use of the harp, violin, charango, and zampoñas.

As this section has shown, the latest wave of hybridization with Peruvian traditions has tended to use electronic music as its base, while Cuban rhythms and jazz continue to be viable paths for musical experimentation. The success of these albums within Peru has led to both national and international attention, and has led many to celebrate the visibility of Peru's musical heritage. The next section will identify some of these perceptions and evaluate how these musical hybridizations can be seen to represent modern Peru.

***Viva Perú!*: Increasing the Visibility of Peruvian Traditions, Educating New Generations on Musical Heritage, and Recognizing and Reclaiming Standards for Peruvian Identity**

On December 15, 2006, Miki González, Novalima, and Jaime Cuadra participated together in a concert titled “Viva Perú 2006.” The description of the concert by the newspaper *El Comercio* reveals its perceived importance: “Estos tres alquimistas del estudio de grabación se reunirán por primera vez en un escenario esta noche, en el Vértice de la Cultura del Museo de la Nación, en el concierto Viva Perú 2006, una de las iniciativas escénicas más interesantes de los últimos tiempos. La idea—según sus organizadores—es lograr que la música de estos artistas, que ha alcanzado una notable aceptación en el medio local, consiga traspasar nuestras fronteras y conquistar otros mercados” (N.a. 2006c). After a year of important album releases by these musicians and producers, this concert provided an opportunity to showcase what has been seen as the future of Peruvian music. As the article illustrates, these modern versions of Peruvian



traditions heard through the filter of electronic music may have the potential to put Peruvian music on the world music map. The Peruvian fusions can be linked with similar projects that combine electronic beats with other national musics, such as Bajofondo Tango Club and Gotan Project, which both work with Argentine tango, Nortec Collective, which mixes Mexican *norteño* music, and Bossacucanova, which fuses Brazilian *bossa nova* (N.a. 2006c; Brosnan 2006). The international success of these other musical experiments, combined with Novalima's popularity in Europe, suggests that modernized Peruvian traditions can similarly earn worldwide attention and acclaim. For this reason, the concert Viva Perú 2006 was considered "una oportunidad única de conocer algo más del futuro de la música peruana" (N.a. 2006j).

Though these fusion styles may be seen as the future of Peruvian music, their success has largely depended on support and participation from other musicians and collaborators who believe in the positive value of the project. Augusto Polo Campos, who composed "Regresa" among other important *valses*, supports Jaime Cuadra's project because he believes that it is the best way for this music to travel the world, and that "no hay otra forma de llegar a públicos más jóvenes" (Castillo 2007a). Since Peruvian youth have historically listened to foreign genres, modernized versions of Peruvian styles may be a possible way that youth will become interested in Peruvian traditions and stay interested in their own culture. By working with musicians from different genres and those who have already achieved success with their own music, the producers of fusion styles receive necessary validation of their experiments, which is echoed by the wide support in the newspaper, radio, and television media. As indicated in the previous

chapter, the support of the public is not always enough to demonstrate the worth of music; *chicha* music was received with disdain and contempt by both media and scholars, while government support of the *vals criollo* and the Afro-Peruvian revival, and the similarly favorable reception of *techno-cumbia*, led to their recognition as legitimate Peruvian styles.

In this way, the success of the latest Peruvian musical hybrids has led to acceptance among Peruvian elite sectors. Efrain Rozas, a Peruvian anthropologist and musician who recently published *Fusión: Banda sonora del Perú*, has indicated that this perception of success is why certain genres are considered acceptable alterations of the canon: “Volvemos al tema de que todo es fusión, en el vals hay un deseo de una afirmación criolla local, y esta identidad se dio también para diferenciarse de la cultura andina que llegaba y, aunque no lo creas, sí están abiertos al cambio, lo que pasa es que no todos los cambios son exitosos. Pinglo en su momento innovó y fue aceptado. Chabuca Granda innovó y fue aceptada. Yo he conversado con criollos que dicen que ‘Cholo soy’ como producto está bien hecho. Hay una apertura al cambio, más de lo que se cree” (León 2007). Rozas’s comments about the changing composition of the *vals criollo* reiterate that music is closely tied to local identities, therefore changes must continue to project a desirable image of this identity. As Chabuca Granda brought elegance to the genres she added to the *vals criollo* canon, her innovations were accepted. On the other hand, *chicha* was viewed negatively because the genre seemed to disrespectfully appropriate *huayno* lyrics and was associated with “undesirable” class characteristics. This may be one reason why projects like Cuadra’s *Cholo Soy* have been

accepted: while they are done with considerable skill with recording technology and extensive cultural knowledge, their fusions with the electronic music now popular in exclusive clubs across the world suggests connections with more cosmopolitan trends.

For this reason, it is important to note that contemporary Peruvian fusions have been viewed as belonging to elite classes. As the journalist Mayra Castillo has noted, the tendency towards exclusivity can be seen in music, “en especial esa que mezcla sonidos del mundo con música electrónica, que no se transmite por radio, que se oye solo en bares, restaurantes y discotecas selectas y que, obviamente, no la venden los piratas que se asoman por la ventana del auto” (2007b). This same sentiment may also be found in the review of *Cholo Soy: Peruvian Waltz Chillout* in the Peruvian *Rolling Stone*, which remarks on the irony of how “en las discotecas y *lounges* más estirados se acompañarán vodkas con Red Bull” with the lyrics of the song “Cholo Soy,” which speaks to the difficulties and exploitation of the poor and the peasants in the Andes (Mairata 2006: 70). Interestingly, these experiments with the music of marginalized groups are not necessarily accessible to those whose cultures are celebrated. While electronic music is popular in the bars of the exclusive Limeño neighborhood of Miraflores and other regional urban centers, it is still not commonly heard in most other locations. However, though these albums are sold in expensive music stores and airport gift shops, pirated copies may also be easily found in stands in markets outside tourist centers, among the Latin American genres and American and British rock groups popular with youth of all classes.

Miki González has also experienced the response that fusion music is elitist: “Me iban a contratar para la fiesta de fin de año, pero los ejecutivos (de un banco) se opusieron diciendo que ‘la electrónica de Miki no era para empleados’. Me pareció estúpido porque al final yo trabajo con melodías que fueron marginadas por años” (qtd. in N.a. 2007h). While the electronic component of these musical styles lead some observers to question its relevance to the public’s experience, the musicians continue to reiterate that their music is rescuing, resuscitating, or otherwise revisiting other marginalized or forgotten genres. González’s comments demonstrate this tendency of looking towards the past in order to find traditions that have been neglected and to reinscribe them as vital, relevant elements of Peruvian heritage. Similar sentiments are found in the media’s repetition that Cuadra’s *Cholo Soy* albums bring *criollo* music to youth lacking understanding of the *criollo* heritage (N.a. 2006g), and Novalima’s declaration to the BBC News that a “sound that had been shielded for the listening pleasure of just a few communities has now reached a wider audience more than four centuries after its inception. The secret is now out there” (N.a. 2006h). As Feldman has previously indicated with regards to David Byrne’s compilation of *The Soul of Black Peru*, “the secret is an effective marketing tool for commercial world music. Secret music sells by playing into the consumer desire to be part of that special group that is ‘in the know’” (2006: 216). For this reason, the rescuing of traditions from being forgotten or marginalized serves to renew their viability in the market. Even if some songs or sounds are familiar, hearing them in new formulations or interpreted by different artists can lead to the sense of discovery vital to encouraging new sales.

Further, as Slobin has suggested, the popularity of regional music styles within other nations can lead to more interest in the home countries. The “higher profile” of these new, interesting musical fusions has led some to reconsider and revisit the sources of these traditions, even if, or perhaps because, the fusions are considered elitist. This “validation through visibility” (Slobin 1993: 21) has encouraged the media and listeners to accept the fusion styles of Novalima and their peers, and has led to increased sales of albums focusing on Peruvian traditions or those by artists who have participated in these projects. As Castillo reports, “la fusión ha propiciado la búsqueda de discos que inspiraron estas nuevas producciones musicales. En la lista de Phantom destaca en el puesto 17 el disco ‘Lo mejor de la música criolla 2’ y en el 21 está Pilar de la Hoz con su disco ‘Jazz con Sabor Peruano’. [...] [L]a música es poniendo la misma cuota de orgullo. Aunque sean sectores A-B, la difusión paulatina hará que sean más los que se animen a nuevos ritmos” (2007b). Understanding the roots of the musical hybrids requires a certain level of cultural knowledge and familiarity, so it is logical and desirable that their popularity has led to increased exploration of these sources. In this way, Peruvian musical fusions have both increased the profile of their traditions as well as signaled their pertinence to modern trends.

This is particularly evident in the arrival of Creamfields, one of the world’s largest electronic music festivals, to Lima in November 2007. In 2005, Miki González participated with top Peruvian DJs Rodrigo Lozano and Jumi Lee in Limafest, which was then considered the largest electronic music event in Peru, capable of making the local scene visible internationally (N.a. 2005a). However, Creamfields is by far a larger, more

important event, which generally occurs in major cities around the world and attracts top DJs and performers. The participation of Jaime Cuadra, Miki González, and Christian Berger, a DJ who has collaborated with both, demonstrates the increasing importance of electronic music in Peru as well as the legitimization of Peruvian DJs in the international electronic music scene. For this reason, González believed that it was “necesario que la juventud asist[iera] a este evento para que cono[ciera] lo que se oye en otras partes del mundo. Me temo que en nuestro medio la onda retro ha cortado la difusión de las nuevas tendencias musicales. Muchos siguen viviendo en los 80 y otros incluso años antes” (qtd. in N.a. 2007a). As he stated in another interview, electronic music is “cultura urbana, es un gran ambiente, con mucho compañerismo, un lugar de intercambio” (qtd. in Valenzuela 2007). His comments reiterate the idea that it is important for Peruvians to become familiar with popular international music styles, especially electronic music, because they allow for the exchange of ideas and styles. Further, the format of electronic music allows for more creative exploration, since artists are not limited to radio format and a duration of three minutes (Valenzuela 2007). Instead, musicians and producers can focus on a concept or a particular “feel” to express themselves.

Finally, the format of these musical hybrids allows musicians to consider questions of identity that are challenged and recreated in a global context. As the first chapter indicated, Peruvian identity is constantly being reconfigured based on changing contexts brought by migration and identity projects, among other factors. As Rozas has indicated, “esto de la fusión responde a un contexto de globalización. Digamos que la gente se pierde en esta marejada de símbolos y uno, dentro de esta cantidad de referentes

de identidad, también quiere conservar su identidad. Y la fusión en la comida o en la música te permite ser internacional, pero a la vez tener tu propia identidad. Tocas un huaino, pero estás tocando también jazz y música electrónica. Y puedes estar bailándolo aquí o en Nueva York, pero le pones el rótulo ‘Perú’” (León 2007). In his view, combining international styles with national genres allows Peruvians to navigate multiple identities which are created in contexts of mass migration and tourism and the exchange of ideas and products through the international media and global market. By asserting Peruvian identity through national music traditions, musicians and their listeners can participate in these cross-border exchanges but still remain connected to their roots. For this reason, it is useful to evaluate which songs are selected from this heritage, and potentially used to represent Peru to music consumers in other nations.

As this analysis of the role of these musical styles in Peruvian identity is written from the perspective of the United States, it is useful to begin with the American media’s portrayal of these styles. In an article published in the *Los Angeles Times*, the revitalization of Peruvian music has been linked to Lima’s “civic and cultural resurgence” that represents a “valiant effort to restore its dignity, recover its vitality and preserve its traditions” (Gurza 2007). Further, *The Christian Science Monitor* has attempted to connect the fusion styles of Novalima to increased racial dialogue and acceptance. Lorry Salcedo, a well-known Peruvian photographer who has documented Afro-Peruvian culture, indicated that the “value of Novalima is that young people see hands of all colors playing Afro-Peruvian rhythms” and that “Novalima is making this incredibly creative music accessible to young people” (qtd. in Roberts 2008). Though the

members of the groups “all appear reluctant to cite Novalima as any kind of example for bridging racial and economic divides,” Grimaldo del Solar did agree that the “racial mix on stage is not that unusual anymore” (qtd. in Roberts 2008). While the hybrid styles of music may not intentionally work to bridge cultural divides, the inclusion of music originally from traditions across various social sectors does consolidate the multiple styles as Peruvian traditions, shared by and available to all.

Although the projects of Miki González and Jean Pierre Magnet are mostly instrumental, the inclusion of sounds originating from several Peruvian departments and regions helps to make their music pan-Peruvian. Since these projects are released in album form, instead of songs conforming to radio format, the projects are able to take the listener through different genres and styles, while maintaining a sense of flow. While maintaining this flow might make the music seem homogenized and standardized, the information provided about each track does clarify the distinctions made within each region. As Magnet clarifies in the liner notes to *Serenata Inkaterra*, this album is “una experiencia sensorial que va pintando armónicamente en un viaje por el Perú.” As previously discussed, the projects of *mestizaje* and national identity require the recognition of difference in order to reinscribe it as sameness, and these pan-Andean sounds serve to combine distinctive regional characteristics into something representative of national music. González’s *Etno Tronics*, though perhaps more illustrative of his experiments with electronic house music (Valenzuela 2007), crosses Andean, Amazon, Afro-Peruvian, and even Peruvian rock styles, connected by the beats and rhythms of electronic music. In this way, the project can be viewed as a cosmopolitan, urban view of



Peruvian cultures. Though this may make exploring these roots more palatable to elite Peruvians or foreigners, it also represents a more inclusive trend in Peruvian popular culture: instead of marketing and maintaining the folkloric images of highlands peasants in traditional dress, or those of Afro-Peruvians performing preserved customs, these styles of music present a modern style of Peruvian identity that includes this past but looks outside the nation to international trends.

The albums released by Jaime Cuadra, Novalima, and Ángel Lobatón also illustrate the overlap of traditions, though the *vals criollo* and Afro-Peruvian genres have been mutually influential throughout the past century. As the previous chapter described, Afro-Peruvian styles have been incorporated into *música criolla*, with or without attribution, since the beginning of the genre. However, in the past few decades, Afro-Peruvian styles have become increasingly more integrated into the *criollo* repertoire, due in large part to particular performers like Chabuca Granda, Eva Ayllón, Lucha Reyes, and others who sing both styles, often within the same concerts. The Peruvian fusion albums continue to mix these styles without separation, which represents both a more inclusive conception of *criollo* identity, as well as an understanding that Afro-Peruvian styles have also identified Peru internationally due to their greater distribution. Though Novalima's *Afro* does focus on Afro-Peruvian standards, its inclusion of "Cardó" among the songs does recognize Chabuca Granda's contributions to Afro-Peruvian traditions. Further, the song "Mandinga," which repeats the line "El que no tiene de inga tiene de mandinga" over and over, illustrates the Peruvian understanding that shared Andean and Afro-Peruvian heritages are inevitable due to the centuries of *mestizaje*. This belief in a shared

culture and background is one reason why Novalima and others have worked with Afro-Peruvian traditions even if they are not Afro-Peruvian.

Interestingly, Lobatón's *afro peruano son* crosses several decades to include the most recognizable early *vals*, "El Plebeyo" along with Granda's more recently famous "La Flor de La Canela," and ends firmly within the Afro-Peruvian tradition with reconstructions by Victoria and Nicomedes Santa Cruz, "No me cumbén" and "Callejón de un solo cano." By including well-known *valse*s alongside Afro-Peruvian revival traditions, Lobatón's album emphasizes the shared *criollo* tradition, from the working-class roots of the early *valse*s, to later songs popular among Lima elite, to the Afro-Peruvian *festejos*. Converting these songs to *son* and performing them with Cuban instruments eliminates distinguishing characteristics of tempo or percussion, which both unifies them as Peruvian traditions, and releases them from obvious identification with Peru. In some ways, performing the *vals peruano* as a Cuban *son* contributes to some concerns that wide use of Afro-Cuban instruments and rhythms is "cubanizing" the Afro-Peruvian tradition (Feldman 2006: 148-162). At the same time, it demonstrates how experimenting with familiar standards can be enjoyable and entertaining for musicians.

While all of these albums do include pan-Peruvian elements, it is most explicit in the projects of Jaime Cuadra. From the title *Cholo Soy*, to the inclusion of songs from various branches of *criollo* tradition, to the often expressed desire to educate younger generations on this heritage, Cuadra's music most explicitly reflects the desire to celebrate an urban Peruvian identity. By working with Luis Abanton Morales, whose versions of the *vals criollo* infused highlands influences and experiences in previous

decades, to create a remixed version of “Cholo soy y no me compadezcas,” Cuadra’s track demonstrates a growing tendency to reclaim the term *cholo* from its negative connotations. By titling his albums “Cholo Soy,” Cuadra affirms this urban background from Andean heritage and reiterates the song’s call for respect and justice. Though the version of “Cholo Soy” is abbreviated, it does repeat the lyrics “cholo soy y no me compadezcas” and “nosotros los cholos” several times, emphasizing the decision to identify with this term. Further, it includes the recited portion of the original version almost in its entirety, where Abanto Morales challenges the stereotypes of *cholos*, criticizing the fact that highlands residents have historically been exploited for work which earns money for the elite classes who look down upon them. By including this *vals* alongside the romantic ones, Cuadra shows the diversity of styles within the *vals criollo* genre. Further, by using this song as the inspiration for the title of his musical projects, Cuadra’s music appears to revisit Quijano’s observation of the possible integration of urban and rural cultures into a common, shared culture (1980: 112).

In this way, Cuadra’s albums reflect the urban culture of Lima, with its confluence of multiple traditions from the many regions of Peru. Like Lobatón’s album, Cuadra has included the familiar “El Plebeyo,” which references the class conflicts of Lima’s past, though this particular version is completely instrumental. He has also included “El Provinciano,” which describes the experience of leaving home to move to the city. The hybrid track of “Todos vuelven” and “América Latina” is also of note due to the poetry of Nicomedes Santa Cruz, which describes the multiple, combined races of Latin America: “Indoblanquinegros / Blanquinegrindios / Y negrindoblanco / Rubias

bembonas / Indios barbudos / Y negros lacios.” The use of this poem illustrates the overlapping identities within Peru, which are nearly impossible to distinguish after so much mixing. *Cholo Soy 2* also hybridizes these multiple aspects of *criollo* culture, while spanning several decades, mixing traditional recordings with rap and electronic music, and finally ending with a jazz version of Peru’s national anthem. The decision to end with the national anthem serves as a reminder that these traditions are part of Peru, and deserving of pride. By including *criollo* traditions from Afro-Peruvian and Andean backgrounds, the albums work to inspire pride in all these different branches, uniting them and recognizing them as part of one cohesive culture formed from the overlapping, superimposed identities that can be found within Lima as well as Peru.

As this chapter has shown, the contemporary fusion music styles in Peru span several traditions and work with flexible international styles that lend themselves well to hybridization. By including key songs from Peru’s various national genres, the musicians and producers of these latest hybrids update the musical canon and modernize it in ways that make the music marketable both at home and abroad as a shared heritage of which Peruvians should be proud. While some of these new versions may be viewed as elitist and correspond to tastes of particular classes, the collaboration of knowledgeable, respected musicians provides credibility and respectability for these projects. Further, detailed liner notes usually provide information on the sources to educate listeners and avoid accusations of appropriation. Though the original songs have sometimes been trimmed, and original rhythms and tempos have been modified to fit the requirements of

electronic music styles or the Cuban *son*, the song choices pull from a wide range of Peruvian traditions, mixing them together in ways that reflect the lived experience of contemporary Peru, particularly cities like Lima. The intersection of popular international styles and lived traditions, which span the many branches of Peruvian culture, serves as an expression of a national identity in constant renewal and revitalization. Through the urban sounds of the elite classes and the recovered songs of the marginalized groups, contemporary Peruvian musical hybrids explore and interrogate what it means to be Peruvian today.

## Conclusion

As this thesis has shown, Peruvian musical traditions have generally evolved through processes of hybridization, transculturation, and creolization that produce musical fusions which reflect local innovation and international trends. These national genres have often been closely linked to questions of identity: what it means to be Peruvian and what it means to be *criollo*, *mestizo*, *indio*, *cholo*, or *negro* in Peru. The varying levels of acceptance and integration of these musical styles has often relied on the need to define one identity by differentiating it from another, whether by asserting cultural superiority or celebrating pride in a marginalized history. The latest Peruvian musical fusions take these already hybridized genres and combine them once again with outside influences, creating new styles that recognize the history of Peruvian traditions while unifying them into a cohesive whole. In Rozas's view, reaching into the musical past, "[m]ás que un sentimiento de acorralamiento o de escape, es un deseo de encontrar una unidad en la diferencia" (qtd. in León 2007). By bringing Peruvian traditions together, musicians and producers are contributing to the evolution of a modern Peruvian identity that reflects the multiple roots of the contemporary experience.

The contemporary musical fusions studied in this thesis work with what has already been created, experimenting with new arrangements, additional sounds and rhythms, and new versions, rather than writing new lyrics and creating new standards. While these fusions are commendable for their innovative, interesting use of musical traditions and their potential to make Peruvian genres popular among youth both at home and abroad, their lyrics do not reflect the contemporary experience of youth living in a

post-dictatorship, post-war Peru. For this reason, it is important to consider trends in Peruvian rock, punk, metal, among other genres, which often incorporate Andean and Afro-Peruvian imagery and instruments into their music and performances. Pedro Cornejo Guinassi, noted music critic, has published several books on *rock peruano* which may serve as points of departure for further study. Similarly, Efrain Rozas has recently published *Fusión: Banda Sonora del Perú*, which includes interviews and commentary about additional fusion musicians, groups, and styles, including the music of El Polen, La Sarita, and Kranium, and many others. Though the music of Miki González, Novalima, Jaime Cuadra, Ángel Lobatón, and Jean Pierre Magnet illustrates unifying tendencies in Peruvian culture, it remains to be seen whether these will continue to reverberate across different classes and regions of the nation. What is certain is that musicians, performers, and producers with creative ideas and demonstrated skill with Peruvian traditions continue to produce fascinating new music and sounds, and it remains important for Peruvians to support national musics so that international listeners may likewise experience and recognize Peruvian musical diversity.

## References

- Aparicio, Frances R. and Cándida F. Jáquez. 2003. "Introduction" in Frances R. Aparicio and Cándida F. Jáquez, eds., *Musical Migrations: Transnationalism and Cultural Hybridity in Latin/o America, Volume 1*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Biddle, Ian and Vanessa Knights. 2007. "Introduction: National Popular Musics: Betwixt and Beyond the Local and Global." Pp. 1-15 in Ian Biddle and Vanessa Knights, eds., *Music, National Identity and the Politics of Location: Between the Global and the Local*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Bolaños, César. 1995. *La música nacional en los medios de comunicación electrónicos de Lima metropolitana*. Lima: CICOSUL, Universidad de Lima.
- Brosnan, Greg. 2006. "Donkey jawbones, laptops mix up Peru's new music." *Washington Post*. December 20.
- Carrillo, Jimmy. 2007. *La Ventana Indiscreta* [television broadcast episode]. July 7. Lima: Frecuencia Latina.
- Castillo Vásquez, Mayra. 2007a. "Cholos criollos en chillout." *El comercio*. March 26.
- . 2007b. "Fusión de música peruana dinamizó la industria disquera local en el 2006." *El Comercio*. February 4.
- CEPES (Centro Peruano de Estudios Sociales). 1986. *Huayno, Vals, Chicha, Rock: ¿música popular peruana?* Lima: CEPES.
- Connell, John and Chris Gibson. 2003. *Sound Tracks: Popular Music, Identity, and Place*. New York: Routledge.
- Cornejo Guinassi, Pedro. 2002. *Alta tensión: los cortocircuitos del rock peruano*. Lima: Emedece Ediciones.
- Cuadra, Jaime. 2006. *Cholo Soy: Peruvian Waltz Chillout*. Quadrasonic Ideas. Compact disc.
- . 2007. *Cholo Soy 2: La Valse Créole Chillout*. Quadrasonic Ideas. Compact disc.
- Feld, Steven. 1994a. "From Schizophonia to Schismogenesis: On the Discourses and Commodification Practices of 'World Music' and 'World Beat.'" Pp. 257-289 in Charles Keil and Steven Feld, eds., *Music Grooves: Essays and Dialogues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.



- Feldman, Heidi Carolyn. 2006. *Black Rhythms of Peru: Reviving African Musical Heritage in the Black Pacific*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.
- García Canclini, Nestor. 2005 (1995). *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- González, Miki. 2005. *Etno Tronics: Apu Sessions*. Apu Records. Compact disc.
- . 2004. *Inka Beats: Apu Sessions*. Apu Records. Compact disc.
- . 2006. *Inka Beats: Iskay*. Apu Records. Compact disc.
- Gurza, Agustin. 2007. "Peru: Music helps Lima to mend." *Los Angeles Times*. March 25. p. L11.
- Hall, Stuart. 1991. "The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity." Pp. 19-39 in Anthony D. King, ed., *Culture, Globalization and the World-System*. Binghamton, NY: State University of New York at Binghamton.
- Hannerz, Ulf. 1991. "Scenarios for Peripheral Cultures." Pp. 107-128 in Anthony D. King, ed., *Culture, Globalization and the World-System*. Binghamton, NY: State University of New York at Binghamton.
- Hurtado Suárez, Wilfredo. 1995. *Chicha peruana: música de los nuevos migrantes*. Peru: Grupo de Investigaciones Económicas ECO.
- León, Ramón. 1998. *El País de los Extraños: Una encuesta sobre actitudes raciales en universitarios de Lima Metropolitana*. Lima: Universidad Ricardo Palma Fondo Editorial.
- León, Ricardo. 2007. "País de todas las músicas." *El Comercio*. September 11.
- León Quirós, Javier Francisco. 2003a. "Roots, Tradition, and the Mass Media: The Future of Criollo Popular Music." Pp. 163-171 in Steven Loza, ed., *Musical Cultures of Latin America: Global Effects, Past and Present*. Los Angeles: Department of Ethnomusicology and Systematic Musicology, UCLA.
- . 2003b. *The Aestheticization of Tradition: Professional Afroperuvian Musicians, Cultural Reclamation, and Artistic Interpretation*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin.
- Lloréns Amico, José Antonio. 1983. *Música popular en Lima: Criollos y andinos*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

- Lobaton, Ángel. 2006. *Afro Peruano Son: Valses Peruanos en Ritmo de Son*. Play Music & Video.
- Mairata, Sandro. 2006. Review of Jaime Cuadra, *Cholo Soy: Peruvian Waltz Chillout*. *Rolling Stone* (Peru). August 2006.
- Magnet, Jean Pierre. 2007. *Serenata Inkaterra*. Inkaterra. Compact disc.
- Malm, Krister and Roger Wallis. 1992. *Media Policy and Music Activity*. London: Routledge.
- Mendoza, Zoila S. 2000. *Shaping Society Through Dance: Mestizo Ritual Performance in the Peruvian Andes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Montoya, Rodrigo. 1996. "Música *chicha*: cambios de la canción andina quechua en el Perú." Pp. 483-496 in Max Peter Baumann, ed., *Cosmología y música en los Andes*. Vervuert: Iberoamericana.
- N.a. 2005a. "Limafest pondrá a bailar a todo Lima." RPP Noticias. November 5.
- N.a. 2005b. "Miki González supera a Madonna en venta de discos." RPP Noticias. November 29.
- N.a. 2006a. "Agrupación peruana Novalima pone a bailar al mundo." *Perú 21*. September 13.
- N.a. 2006b. "Con un concierto Novalima celebra éxitos de su álbum 'AFRO.'" RPP Noticias. December 28.
- N.a. 2006c. "Electro Perú." *El Comercio*. December 15.
- N.a. 2006d. "Jaime Bayly me apoya." *La República*. December 14.
- N.a. 2006e. "Jaime Cuadra recibió Disco de Oro por su Cholo Soy." RPP Noticias. September 11.
- N.a. 2006f. "Lo nuevo de Jaime Cuadra: Cholo soy for babies." RPP Noticias. December 22.
- N.a. 2006g. "Los valsecitos de siempre a otro paso." *El Comercio*. July 5.
- N.a. 2006h. "Novalima: Afro-Peruvian Blues." BBC News. April 4.
- N.a. 2006i. "Novalima es premiado por el IMA Awards." RPP Noticias. December 6.

- N.a. 2006j. "Pasado y futuro." *El Comercio*. December 15.
- N.a. 2007a. "Creamfields el festival de música electrónica más grande del mundo llega a Lima." RPP Noticias. October 18.
- N.a. 2007b. "Cuarteto Perujazz celebra 20 años." RPP Noticias. October 9.
- N.a. 2007c. "Hi-Fi Stereo el nuevo disco de Miki Gonzalez." Agencia de Noticias Orbita. October 26. Available at [http://agenciaorbita.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=744&Itemid=28](http://agenciaorbita.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=744&Itemid=28).
- N.a. 2007d. "Le editarán sus discos en el extranjero." *La República*. October 5.
- N.a. 2007e. "Jaime Cuadra lanza Cholo Soy 2 La Valse Créole Chillout." RPP Noticias. July 5.
- N.a. 2007f. "Jaime Cuadra presenta Cholo Soy 2 y ya es número uno en ventas." RPP Noticias. July 10.
- N.a. 2007g. "Jaime Cuadra presenta Cholo Soy Remixed." RPP Noticias. February 2.
- N.a. 2007h. "Miki: un peruano con derecho musical." *El Comercio*. February 4.
- N.a. 2007i. "Triunfó en los IMA Awards de Nueva York." *El Comercio*. December 21.
- N.a. 2007j. "Un sonero en el puerto." *El Peruano*. April 4.
- Novalima. 2006. *Afro*. Producciones Iempsa S.A.C. Compact disc.
- Novalima. 2008. *Novalima: El proyecto*. Retrieved May 23, 2008 from Novalima's Official Website at <http://www.novalima.net/afro/Cast/>.
- O'Flynn, John. 2007. "National Identity and Music in Transition: Issues of Authenticity in a Global Setting." Pp. 19-38 in Ian Biddle and Vanessa Knights, eds., *Music, National Identity and the Politics of Location: Between the Global and the Local*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Orellana, Javier L. 2007. "Download Peru's Chillout Music." Weblog. *New York Post: Tempo Espresso*. October 9. Retrieved May 20, 2008 from [http://blogs.nypost.com/tempo/archives/2007/10/perus\\_chillout.html](http://blogs.nypost.com/tempo/archives/2007/10/perus_chillout.html).

- Ortiz, Fernando. 1978. *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco el azúcar*. Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho.
- Páez, Ángel. 2006. "Tocadisco. Con sabor nacional." *La República*. December 31.
- Portocarrero, Gonzalo. 1993. *Racismo y mestizaje*. Lima: SUR Casa de Estudios del Socialismo.
- Quijano, Aníbal. 1980. *Dominación y cultura: lo cholo y el conflicto cultural en el Perú*. Lima: Mosca Azul Editores.
- Reynolds, Simon. 2007. *Bring the Noise: 20 Years of Writing about Hip Rock and Hip Hop*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Ritter, Jonathan. 2002. "Siren Songs: Ritual and Revolution in the Peruvian Andes." *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 11.1.
- Roberts, Nina. 2008. "In Peru, Novalima Bangs the Drums of Change." *Christian Science Monitor*. January 11.
- Rodríguez Lastra, Manuel. 2006. *Ellos son Novalima* [video]. Lima. March 4.
- Romero, Raúl R. 2001. *Debating the Past: Music, Memory, and Identity in the Andes*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 2002a. "Panorama de los Estudios sobre la Música Andina en el Perú." Pp. 11-69 in Raúl R. Romero, ed., *Sonidos andinos: una antología de la música campesina del Perú*. Lima: Instituto Riva-Aguero de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- . 2002b. "Popular Music and the Global City: *Huayno*, *Chicha*, and *Techno-cumbia* in Lima." In Walter Aaron Clark, ed., *From Tejano to Tango: Latin American Popular Music*. New York: Routledge.
- Rowe, William and Vivian Schelling. 1991. *Memory and Modernity: Popular Culture in Latin America*. New York: Verso.
- Said, Edward W. 1994 (1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Salazar Orsi, Luis. 1990. *Música popular en la selva del Perú*. Iquitos, Peru: Centro de Estudios Teológicos de la Amazonía.
- Sifuentes, Marcos. 2006. *La Ventana Indiscreta* [television broadcast episode]. June 23. Lima: Frecuencia Latina.

- Slobin, Mark. 1993. *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.
- Taylor, Timothy D. 1997. *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets*. New York: Routledge.
- Tompkins, William David. 1981. *The Musical Traditions of the Blacks of Coastal Peru*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Turino, Thomas. 1993. *Moving Away from Silence: Music of the Peruvian Altiplano and the Experience of Urban Migration*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Valdizán, Rafo. 2006. "Máquina andina." *El Comercio*. December 21.
- Valenzuela, Ana. 2007. "La música electrónica es cultura urbana." *El Comercio*. November 10.
- Wade, Peter. 2000. *Music, Race, and Nation: Música Tropical in Colombia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Yep, Virginia. 1993. "El Vals Peruano." *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 14.2.