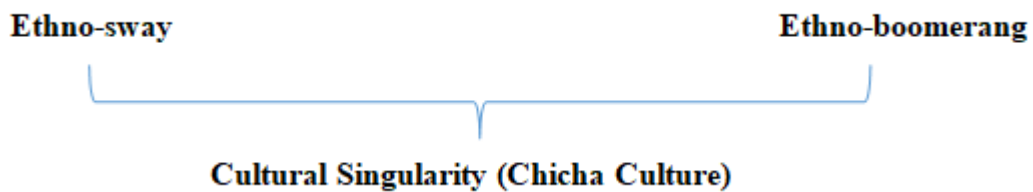


**The chicha culture:  
Between ethno-sway and ethno-boomerang:  
Peruvian subaltern's strategies of resistance  
and cultural singularity <sup>1</sup>**

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The main assertion of this essay is that Peruvian subalterns forge their cultural singularity—which they manifest through the chicha culture—while constantly swinging between ethno-sway and ethno-boomerang.



While ethno-sway is a resistance strategy, ethno-boomerang is an auto-inflicted boycott, consisting of undermining one's own ethnic group.

I use the word subaltern in a sense similar to those of Antonio Gramsci (*Prison Notebooks*) and Gayatri Spivak (*Can the Subaltern Speak?*). Nonetheless, subalternity in Peru is usually associated with the low-income Indian, mestizo, cholo, black, and

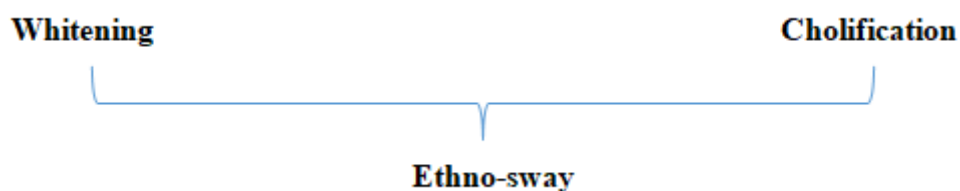
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mulatto. Another difference is that Peruvian subalterns do have a locus of enunciation, mainly because they have developed a singular culture—i.e. the chicha culture—that allows them to express themselves openly and freely. Also, because they have access to cell phones and to Internet social networks, which makes them potential reporters.

By ethno-sway I refer to the subalterns' constant oscillation between whitening and cholification, the two positions they may adopt, depending on what is more suitable for them at given circumstances.



In *The Location of Culture* (1994), Homi K. Bhabha explains that the colonized (who, for our purposes, is equivalent to the subaltern) has developed several resistance strategies that, once combined, have subversive potential against the colonizer (who, for our purposes, is equivalent to the ruling class). These strategies are mimicry, camouflage, difference, ambivalence, and hybridity (hybridization).

The subaltern becomes camouflaged (a war tactic), mimicking the ruling class. "The effect of mimicry is camouflage. [...] It is not a question of harmonizing with the background, but against a mottled background, of becoming mottled —exactly like the technique of camouflage practiced in human warfare. (Lacan, "The line and light", *Of the Gaze*"; in Bhabha 85). Erik Camayd-Freixas clarifies that "[t]he subversive nature

of mimicry arises from the sly difference of the person who resources to it” (Camayd-Freixas 31). Then he adds: “Mimicry is not so much a mask but rather a porous and motley disguise” (ibid. 31) [1].

For example, “there are discotheques where cholos and blacks are admitted only if they have money, or if they become camouflaged in a group of white people (Avilés, *No soy tu cholo* 39). In order to baffle his/her antagonist (war strategy), the subaltern blends in with the ruling class (hybridity) and reframes their discourse from his/her viewpoint and interests (codephagia / code cannibalism). Yet the colonized yearns to be like the members of the dominant class (i.e. s/he wants to become whitened) without giving up being him/herself (difference, ethno-philia, cholification, ambivalence, and ethno-sway).

Undoubtedly, a splitting is produced in the subaltern’s mind due to the tension between his/her feeling of attachment to his/her own culture (ethno-philia and cholification), and the need to acquire the new cultural forms (neo-acculturation). In these dialectics, a third space of hybridity and ambivalence, of similarities and differences opens up, and a new and original cultural singularity is created (Otero Luque, “El Inca Garcilaso” 68-9). This is the momentum when ethno-sway curdles.

Whitening relates to Homi K. Bhabha’s concepts of mimicry and camouflage, while cholification is linked to his concepts of hybridity and difference. Similarly, ethno-sway is in line mainly with ambivalence, but also with all the four previously

mentioned concepts. The following chart shows how whitening, ethno-sway and cholification intersect with the colonized's strategies of resistance Bhabha identifies:

	<b>Subaltern's Resistance Strategies</b>		
	<b>Whitening</b>	<b>Ethno-sway</b>	<b>Cholification</b>
<b>Colonized's Strategies of Resistance According to Homi K. Bhabha ↓</b>			
<b>Mimicry</b>	✓	✓	
<b>Camouflage</b>	✓	✓	
<b>Hybridity</b>		✓	✓
<b>Difference</b>		✓	✓
<b>Ambivalence</b>		✓	

The two dedications that Inca Garcilaso includes in his *General History of Peru* (1617) exemplify some of the aforementioned intersections. His first dedication is to Virgin Mary: "To the Most Glorious Virgin Mary, daughter, mother, and virginal wife of her Creator, supreme princess of all creatures; by the Inca, Garcilaso de la Vega, thy unworthy servant, in adoration of thy worship" (in Brown 20) [2]. His words demonstrate that Inca Garcilaso has adopted the Catholic religion, one of the ruling class' core values (mimicry, hybridity, and whitening). His second dedication is: "To the Indians, mestizos and Creoles of the kingdoms and provinces of the wealthy empire of Peru, from Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, their brother, compatriot and countryman, health and happiness" [3]. With these words, Inca Garcilaso makes the Indian, the mestizos and the Creoles equal, probably in an attempt of breaking the stereotype that presents them as inferior if compared with the peninsular Spanish. At the same time, the Inca re-

assigns to these social categories a different meaning (code cannibalism) than that of the ruling class intended to rationalize social injustice (coloniality). Likewise, Inca Garcilaso writes in Spanish—i.e. in the colonizer's code (code cannibalism)—to deliver a message of universal brotherhood among ethnic groups belonging to, at least, two antagonistic groups, from the stand point of a well-known writer (mimicry, camouflage, whitening), of "Western intellectual" (Spivak). By means of the ethno-sway strategy (*avant la lettre*), the Inca raises an ambiguous situation (ambivalence) that allows him to covertly (camouflage) defy and subvert the official discourse (Otero Luque, "El Inca Garcilaso" 69).

### **Coloniality**

Coloniality is a concept that Aníbal Quijano and Immanuel Wallerstein made popular in the early 1990s. It refers to a pattern of power that arose in colonies where social classification was built around the idea of race—i.e. in *pigmentocracies* (Lipschütz, 1967; Mörner, 1969)—and that still manifests in the post-colonial present. This pattern has served as a pretext to maintain the status quo and to "justify" the exploitation of the subaltern. Given that coloniality of power implies "epistemic violence", it is also coloniality of knowledge (Quijano, "Colonialidad" 438). Jorge Rendón Vásquez accurately points out that, "[d]uring the three centuries of colonial domination in America, racial stratification in society shaped the conscience of the population [...] as strongly as the imposition of feudalism, the Castilian language, the Catholic religion,

and of Hispanic mores and customs (“Racism in Peru”) [4]. So much forceful and transcendental was the impact of racial stratification in Hispanic America.

Given that *coloniality of power* implies *epistemic violence*, it is also *coloniality of knowledge* (Quijano, "Colonialidad" 438), of definitions, of shaping people's perception. For example, it is not surprising that some Peruvians glorify the greatness of the Inca Empire (that time has barnished with an aura of exoticism), while feeling uncomfortable by the mere presence of contemporary indigenous fellow citizens, who have been stereotyped as abject beings. Cecilia Méndez' phrase “*incas sí, indios no*” (yes to Incas, no to Indians) illustrates this type of selective orientalism coloniality has been capable of installing in the minds of former colonies dwellers.

### **Literary Imprint**

I have selected the following literary pieces to draw examples that illustrate some of the concepts that I explain in this paper: *Comentarios reales / Royal Commentaries* (1609) and *Historia General del Perú / General History of Peru* (1617) by Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Aves sin nido / Birds without a Nest* (1889) by Clorinda Matto de Turner, *Matalaché* (1928) by Enrique López Albújar, “Alienación” (1958) by Julio Ramón Ribeyro, *La ciudad y los perros / The Time of the Hero* (1963) by Mario Vargas Llosa, *Montacerdos* (1981) and *Patíbulo para un caballo* (1989) by Cronwell Jara, *La violencia del tiempo* (1991) by Miguel Gutiérrez, *Crónica de músicos y diablos* (1991) by Gregorio Martínez Navarro, “Amor se escribe con G” (1987) by Rosa María Britton,

and *Hienas en la niebla* (2010) by Juan Morillo Ganoza. All these authors are Peruvian, but Britton who is from Panama.

## WHITENING

Social whitening refers to the subaltern's desire to be like the members of the dominant group, who usually are white or whitened, although hegemonic cholo elite has recently emerged. Whitening also refers to the subaltern's efforts to assimilate western culture in order to be accepted by the group of prestige, and to achieve upward social mobility in that way. For example, in *Hienas en la niebla* the character of Lucila turns into a bourgeois as soon as Diego, her husband, achieves economic success. She suggests him to make ostentation of their new wealth with the objective of whitening themselves: "[Y]ou will see how important people begin to respect us and to open their doors to us" (322) [5]. *Collective Bovarysme*, a term coined by Jean Price-Mars (1876-1969), is akin to the concept of social whitening. Alluding to opportunist Emma, the protagonist of Gustave Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* (1857), by *Collective Bovarysme* Price-Mars (1876-1969) referred to the tendency of Caribbean countries' non-white elites to embrace the European culture with the intention to become socially whitened (McPherson 282, García Jordán 318).

Whitening is also related to the concept of *pigmentocracy*, which applies to societies where people's social position goes hand in hand with a *color gradient* standard. "In Peru, we read each other's skin all the time" [6], Marco Avilés asserts in

an interview with Juan Carlos Fangacio of *El Comercio*. However, it is not a matter of being classified either as white or non-white (Indian, half-cast, black, or mulatto), but according to a scale of shades in which the whites or whitened and the wealthiest occupy the apex of the social pyramid, while the non-whites (i.e. the subalterns) are generally poor and occupy the base (Vargas Llosa, “Raza, botas y nacionalismo”). Most probably this is the reason why famous writer Ricardo Palma—who was the son of a cholo and a mulatta—became more and more whitened in successive portraits he had made during his lifetime, to a point that it is impossible to identify his real phenotype in the more recent images (Portocarrero, *La urgencia* 87).

In societies where there is social mobility—as is the case of the Peruvian society—the subaltern is capable to escalate the social stratification scale through a secondary structural assimilation process (through education, for instance), and to become a sort of *honorary white*, as in the case of the apartheid in South Africa (Bonilla-Silva 179, 187-8, 194-6). Under favorable circumstances, the former subaltern would then be able to hold a similar social status and to have most of the privileges of the hegemonic class.

Undoubtedly, being white has to do with skin color, but also with the *attitude* towards other people, with the place the person wants to have in the “social chess game”, and with the place other people assign him/her in that game (Avilés, *No soy tu cholo* 73). Thus, whitening implies mimicry and camouflage. For example, in *La ciudad y los perros* (*The Time of the Hero*) the character of Cava tries to become whitened by



using grease to flatten his sparky hair (258), a feature that is typical of the Andean phenotype. Similar to mimicry—which “is at once resemblance and menace” (Bhabha 86)—, whitening is both a strategy of assimilation and— as an element of ethno-sway— a strategy of resistance.

### ***La huachafita* (The tacky lady)**

The terms kitsch and kitschness (*huachafo* and *huachafería*, respectively) not only refer to someone or something ordinary or tacky, but also to those subalterns marked by the affectation and exaggeration of certain manners, such as cheap showiness, in their struggle to assert that they belong to a higher social status. The tacky lady—*la huachafita* (a colloquial pejorative term)—is therefore, the ambitious and opportunist kitschy woman who rejects her origins and her own people (ethno-phobia, ethno-boomerang), and who makes every possible effort to become whitened. In verse comedy *Ña Catita* (1845), Manuel Ascencio Segura includes characters depicting kitschy people in Lima's society. "This social class [*de medio pelo*, kitsch] fell between high class people and ordinary folks. They could be distinguished by their yearning to imitate high-class people while distancing themselves from low-class people (Watson 43) [7]. The kitschy lady stereotype is also valid in other countries, although with different names: For example, in “Amor se escribe con G” —with a G as in gringo—María Caridad (who calls herself Kary) is a Panamanian, low social class mulatta who manages to conquer the love of an American soldier—whose last name is, not by mere

coincidence, White—by frequently visiting the Canal Zone and by mimicking a whitened personality.

José Carlos Mariátegui gives Ricardo Palma credit for having interpreted kitschy people in his *Peruvian Traditions (7 ensayos 179)*. However, Mariátegui condemns tacky ladies who yearn for becoming whitened by marrying a white men (“Punto de vista anti-imperialista”; in Baeza 188). José Guillermo Nugent considers that the Amauta went too far at calling "huachafitas" women married to Anglo-Saxon husbands, especially when he himself married an Italian lady (64). In fact, not all Peruvian ladies married to white foreigners are, necessarily, *huachafitas*, nor all *huachafitas* are married to foreigners of a lighter skin color. For example, Peruvian writer Clorinda Matto de Turner married an Englishman, and she would presume of this fact. However, I have the impression that very few people—such as deplorable journalist Juan de Arona’s (Pedro Paz Soldán y Unanue’s *nom de plume*), who would mock and scoff at Matto’s Andean origin and at her legitimate literary and social aspirations (Denegri 218-20)—would have dared to call her a *huachafita*. I should point out that in Peru, a sexist country, people talk about *huachafitas* (tacky ladies) but not about *huachafitos* (tacky gentlemen). For example, I believe that nobody would regard Sebastián Pancorbo—a character in *Aves sin nido*, who, “after passing three years in a primary school in a neighboring city [virtually an illiterate], returned to his native town, married Dona Petronila Hinojosa, daughter of one of the notables of the place, and was immediately made Governor” (*Birds without a nest 24*)—as a *huachafito*.

### **Euro-philía, ethno-phobia and whitening**

By *Euro-philía (eurofilía)*, Quince Duncan refers the attraction and identification an individual feels towards the Europeran culture, because s/he deems it as being superior, whereas he defines *ethno-phobia (etnofobia)* as the rejection of cultural diversity, i.e. of non-dominant ethnic groups (*Contra el silencio* 131) [8]. In “Amor se escribe con G”, Kary shows both Euro-philic and ethno-phobic attitudes when she makes the following comment:

Bad luck has followed me since the day I was born [...] [I] would have never chosen the parents that I have if destiny had given me the opportunity to choose [ethno-phobia]. I would have chosen them rich, white [Euro-philía], and most of all, far away from this place. My family has always been my worst problem in life [ethno-phobia]. Most of them have dark skin [ethno-phobia]. They are all poor without exception and worst of all they are birdbrained [ethno-phobia]. (115-6) [9]

Then she adds: "Since I can remember, I have always been in love with the gringos" [Euro-philía]" (118) [10].

Kary's rejection to her own phenotype is also a manifestation of the strong ethno-phobic feelings she has: "Jerry invited me to go to the beach [...] However, I was not enthusiastic at all. The Sun has the bad habit of making our race evident [ethno-phobia]. And I did not want my smoothed hair to get wet in the sea, because everybody would realize that I had had it straightened [Euro-philía and whitening]. He insisted,

though. So I had no choice but going to the beach with him, and I had to buy a Jantzen bathing suit that cost me a lot of money [kitschness, in the sense of showing off]" (125) [11]. It should be clarified that, even though the process of whitening through mimicry and hybridization has a dose of self-denial, it does not necessarily imply ethno-phobia or ethno-boomerang.

### **CHOLIFICATION**

*Cholification* is a term that Aníbal Quijano made popular with the publication of "La emergencia del grupo cholo en el Perú y sus implicaciones en la sociedad peruana", and of *Memorias del VII Congreso Latinoamericano de Sociología*, Bogotá, 1965) [12]. Quijano pointed out that the "cholo group", comprising Indians and mestizos, not only integrated elements of both the native and the newly acquired cultures, but they also developed their own cultural product resulting from the fusion of the other two (*Dominación y cultura* 73).

Up until recently very few people in Peru, like César Vallejo and José María Arguedas, would identify themselves as cholos. Nowadays, journalist and writer Marco Avilés is the visible leader and the spontaneous spokesman of many people who have proudly started doing it. In 2017, he published *No soy tu cholo*. In his book, Avilés urges cholos to proudly assume their choloness (16). In an interview with Juan Carlos Fangacio, Avilés declares: "I believe Peru could be a much better country if people regarded choloness as an asset". Mostly *Chollywood* (mocking Hollywood)

comedians—such as Tulio Loza (el Cholo de acero inoxidable: The Stainless Steel Cholo), Jorge Benavides (La paisana Jacinta: Jacinta, the Peasant), and Ernesto Pimentel (La chola Chabuca: Chabuca, the Chola) —are the ones who have traditionally identified themselves as being cholos, albeit parodying Indians [13]. La chola Chabuca is a snob, cosmopolitan chola, and she is hilarious because despite of the fact of having become westernized—whitened—in so many aspects, she still speaks Spanish with a strong Quechua accent. Nonetheless, out of the three aforementioned comedians, Tulio Loza has played a major role in favor of cholification in Peru, because in the 1960s he created the audacious character of Nemesio Chupaca who broke the stereotype of the humble cholo.

An example of La paisana Jacinta's funny bone is the name of her imaginary home town: Chongamarca. In Peru, "chongo" alludes to brothel, to scandal, to fuss; "chonguear" (slang) means to amuse oneself by joking and teasing others. Meanwhile, *marka* is the word for town or village in Quechua. Consequently, La paisana Jacinta was born in a town where people amuse themselves by joking and teasing; they "chonguean" (Otero Luque, "La ciudad y los pelos" 17). Nonetheless, it is problematic that this character portrays the Andean woman immigrant as untidy and dirty. Wilfredo Ardito Vega explains that, in Peru, the word "serrano" (highlander), more than referring to a geographical origin, has a cultural connotation; as "it alludes to a primitive, *dirty* [my emphasis], and ignorant being" (56) [14]. For example, in *The Time of the Hero* Officer Pitaluga is an *encastado*, prejudiced, racist character who perceives Andean people in

line with Arditto Vega's explanation: "The soldiers we get *are filthy, they're crawling with lice* [my emphasis], and they're all thieves. But you can beat some civilization in them. After a year in the Army, the only thing Indian about an Indian is his looks" (185).

Peruvian subalterns reaffirm their roots by cholifying themselves, and manifest their choloness through the chicha culture [15]. Using Bhabha's terminology, one may say that the chicha culture is a *third space* where hybridity, difference and ambivalence take place. There, cultural fusion and cultural clash produce distinct cultural expressions and, finally, a completely new ontological entity. According to Bhabha, "[t]hese *in-between* spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of *selfhood* —singular or communal— that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself" (1-2). Thus, *la choledad* (choloness) would be the result of a semiotic process similar to that of Bolívar Echeverría's *codigofagia* (codephagia / code cannibalism) (*La modernidad de lo barroco* 83; *Vuelta de siglo* 214). In this sense, choloness emerged, first of all, as "an alternative of decolonization of the imaginary", and as "an offer of reconstitution of identity for the vast majority of Peruvians" (Quijano, "Colonialidad del poder, cultura y conocimiento" 146) [16].

On the other hand, demagogic cholification also takes place in Peru, for example when politicians who do not have Andean origin, like Alberto Fujimori or Pedro Pablo Kuczynski, wear *chullos* (Andean hoods) and *ponchos* in political rallies probably to

give the impression that they are very Peruvian. Actually, the fact of being Asian or Europeans direct descendants, or the descendants of foreigners from any other place, does not make them an inch less Peruvian.

### **Atavistic Resentment**

According to historian Noble David Cook's estimates, which take into account agricultural capacity, archaeological remains, projection based on censuses, population structure analysis, and models of epidemic mortality (23)—, the native Peruvian population was approximately 9 million in the year 1520 (23, 26), but one century later it had fallen to 672,000 (44-5).

Theoretically, the Conquest aimed to spread Christianity in the New World. In practice, however, religion became a means to ensure the success of the Conquest. The end and the means switched places (Todorov 116) [17]. As part of the evangelizing pretext, extirpation of idolatry campaigns were carried out in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. During those campaigns, Indian temples were plundered and destroyed (Ramos 62-70).. For example, the Convent of Santo Domingo was built on top of the ruins of the Coricancha, an Inca temple. However, Spaniards not only looted temples, but they also desecrated *huacas* (sacred places) and snatched *malquis* from the natives [18]. In 1559, viceroy Andrés Hurtado of Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, ordered to remove the *malquis* and to transfer them to Lima (Ramos 21, 265) [19]. Consequently, the *ayllus* were left

without the protection of their ancestors [20]. Thus, the harm inflicted to the Indians was of material, moral and, especially, of spiritual nature.

In 1988, Miguel Gutiérrez Correa wrote: “To be born in Peru is an extreme situation. It mean enduring the suffering of an old wound—inflicted by a primordial violent fact—that never heals” (*La generación* 186) [21]. The trauma the Spaniards' invasion produced is still alive in the mind and in the heart of the subaltern, and it constantly emerges to the surface. In an attempt to explain the hatred may Indians feel against the white man nowadays, Gonzalo Portocarrero posits that the colonial power created “a fingerprint in the [collective] memory that makes whites appear aggressive and potentially dangerous” (in Callirgos 14) [22]. The hatred towards the white man—of which the subaltern is not always conscious—finds avenues of expression (ibid. 14). Nonetheless, while hating the white man, many subalterns show a Euro-philic attitude and make efforts to become whitened. This is mainly because “European culture became a seduction; it provided access to power. After all, seduction is beyond repression, it is the main instrument of any power. Cultural Europeanization became an aspiration. It was a means to participate in colonial power” (Quijano, “Colonialidad y modernidad-racionalidad” 439) [23]. Undoubtedly, because of sequels of conquest and colonization, the Peruvian subaltern has developed love-hatred feelings towards the white man. Perhaps the term love is exaggerated. In this context it would be better to speak of attraction or of seduction, as Quijano refers to that feeling. In this conflictive



relationship—a tug of war in which whitening pulls from one side, and some sort of Euro-phobia pulls from the opposite end—a great schizophrenic tension is generated.

### ***Yawar Fiesta***

The *Yawar Fiesta* (The Blood Feast) is a tradition that takes place annually on the 28<sup>th</sup> of July to commemorate the proclamation of independence of Peru. As its name suggests, it is a bloody spectacle. A condor is tied by the legs to the back of a bull. The bull desperately grumbles, trying to get rid of the pain produced by the condor's enormous claws, and by the intense pecking. The symbolism is obvious in this macabre ritual: the condor represents the Andean world, and the bull represents the Hispanic world against which revenge is sought. Unfortunately, in other occasions hatred is not canalized through a ritual feast, and it manifests in the form of violence of men against men. That was the case of the Internal Conflict (1980-2000), the goriest and longest war in Peru's republican history. Admittedly, Peru suffers from tares and trauma that originated during the invasion and colonization. However, those historical episodes should not be blamed for every contemporary ill. Countless insane and destructive actions—being the Internal Conflict the worst of all—have been "justified" with such a deceitful argument. The Internal Conflict resulted in the assassination of approximately 70 000 persons, most of them Quechua-speaking, ordinary civilians. "Our real war should be against dependence, underdevelopment, poverty, exploitation, disease,

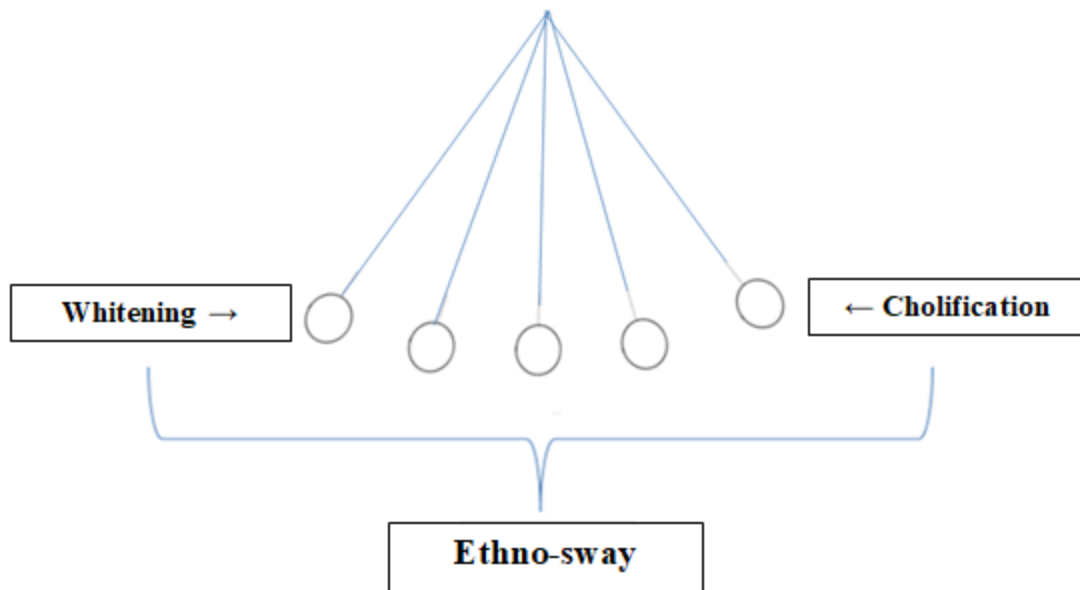
unemployment, unjust distribution of wealth, against all forms of immorality and national division" (Fernandez Salvattecí 7) [24].

The conquerors' descendants should not be blamed for the sins of their ancestors, either. The erroneous belief of many subalterns that descendants inherit their ancestors' faults—as *La violencia del tiempo* suggests—must be eradicated. Far from allowing subaltern believers in that idea to move forward, it keeps them anchored in the past [25]. "Accumulated hatred may sustain a revolt; not necessarily the construction of a different society", Flores Galindo asserts (375) [26]. Gonzalo Portocarrero makes a distinction between resentment and thirst for justice. He holds that "resentment is voracious and insatiable, nothing can calm it. On the other hand, thirst for justice has limits and can be satisfied" (*Profetas del odio* 10) [27]. *Yawar Fiesta* is a popular expression of rancor and thirst for revenge, not for justice. "A man that studieth revenge keeps his own wounds green", Sir Francis Bacon once wrote. This bloody spectacle has the same spirit of revenge as the Inkari Myth. According to this myth, the head of a beheaded Inca (probably Túpac Amaru I) and its corresponding body, which is in a distant place, will eventually get reunited, and the Inca will come back to settle scores with the Spaniard invaders and predators.

### **ETHNO-SWAY: BETWEEN WHITENING AND CHOLIFICATION**

As I have explained, in the ethno-sway dynamics the subaltern either whitens or cholifies him/herself, in several degrees and nuances, at his/her convenience. I call this

strategy ethno-sway [28]. The alternation between these two positions depicts a pendular-like displacement that the following drawing illustrates:



A clear example of ethno-sway took place on April 9<sup>th</sup> 2000, at the Lima Sheraton Hotel, when Alejandro Toledo, presidential candidate of the Perú Posible political party in the general elections slated for that year, addressed the audience in English. As it is well known, Toledo studied and worked in several universities in the United States and he received a Ph.D. degree from Stanford University. Even though Toledo's message was intended for international reporters, to whom he denounced irregularities he had noticed in the electoral process, most likely the message in English also subliminally reminded the broad audience of the candidate's academic achievements in white man's world. Nonetheless, on that occasion Toledo was wearing

a headband decorated with Inca motifs. He probably wanted to highlight his Andean origins, in order to give the impression that he was more Peruvian than his political contenders. This essentialist notion was reinforced by Toledo's wife, Eliane Karp, during a political meeting held in the city of Huaraz on March 22, 2001, when she made the following controversial statement: "The *apus* have announced that a cholo will govern Peru. Alejandro Toledo is a cholo, not a stuck-up from Lima [...] My cholo is wholesome and sacred [29].

An ambivalent behavior like Toledo's has the potential of bewildering, destabilizing and, thus, of weakening an opponent. Ambivalence used as strategy may be noticed in Inca Garcilaso's following words: "The children of Spaniards by Indians are called *mestizos*, meaning that we are a mixture of the two races. The word [mestizo] was applied by the Spaniards who had children by Indian women, and because it was used by our fathers, as well as on account of its meaning, I call myself by it in public and am proud of it" (Translation by H.V. Livermore, *Royal Commentaries* 607) [30]. Marco Avilés cleverly advises: "Words will not harm you if you learn how to make them work for you. Use words before others do. I am an Indian, a Quechua, a highlander [...] Saying this has given me power. I have now raised my fists" (16) [31]. Inca Garcilaso de la Vega—"an Indian in Spain, a Spaniard in the Indies" (Raúl Porras Barrenechea)—was probably the first worldwide-known Peruvian who realized the advantages and the subversive power of ethno-sway (*avant la lettre*) as a resistance strategy.

## PERUVIAN SUBALTERN'S OTHER FORMS OF RESISTANCE

### **The Ayni**

According to José Carlos Mariátegui, the Inca religion's fundamental features are theocratic collectivism and materialism (*7 ensayos* 120). In fact, for Jose María Arguedas the Indian's concepts of property and work correspond to his/her primitive, religious conception of the world, and the distinctive elements of the Indian culture are deeply rooted in collectivism (121) [32]. The *ayni* is the help that the members of an *ayllu* provide to each other through voluntary work. It synthesizes the spirit of popular saying "You scratch my back, and I will scratch yours". The *ayni* takes different forms: tilling the land, giving a hand in the construction of somebody else's house (Bourricaud 29), organizing common pots, or implementing day care facilities (de Soto 22). In *Patíbulo para un caballo* both the common pot and the Club of Poor Mothers are mentioned several times. There are many other similar self-managed citizen organizations, such as soup kitchens, chicken parties (*polladas*) [33], and even housing cooperatives. All these are contemporary versions of the ancient *ayni*, Peruvian Indian's greatest expression of solidarity towards their ethnic group [34]. In addition to the *ayni*'s instrumental function, it has a symbolic one too, because it is through the *ayni* that the subaltern demonstrates his/her adherence and commitment to the community

s/he belongs to. This ancient practice has enabled Peruvian subalterns to overcome adversity and injustice over centuries.

### ***Amarrar el macho (To tie or to hold the macho)***

When the subaltern perceives s/he is being exploited by an abusive employer, his/her resistance strategy consists of "amarrar el macho" (literally, to tie or to hold the macho), a popular expression meaning to avoid effort. Perhaps this is the reason why may Indians lollygag, linger over the work, and cheat when they work for a salary instead of being paid for piecework (Arguedas 121). In *Crónica de músicos y diablos* the character "Don Metreque Candela, the drummer, was an expert in *amarrar el macho*, in lingering, in prolonging endlessly those tasks that were not paid by the piece" (151) [35].

### **Rocking**

*Rocking* consists of keeping someone in suspense due to lack of definition, so that s/he may get tired and, finally, give up pursuing his/her claim or objective (Vargas Llosa, "El arte de mecer"). It is important to clarify that *rocking* is a resistance strategy, similar to *amarrar el macho*, but only when its purpose is to avoid being abused. In all other cases, it is a trick to steal or to cheat: For example, a contractor *rocks* his/her client by failing to provide the service or the good s/he has been paid for. Corrupt civil servants resource to *rocking* to deliberately delay tiresome procedures, so that the exhausted requesters may bribe them to speed up the process.

## **Magic**

Witchcraft and folkloric medicine (*curanderismo*) are popular in Peru. Shamanism is an expression of the latter. Magic allows the subaltern to blur and, in some occasions, even to completely erase the line that divides the past, the present, and the future; the world of the living from the world of the dead. In general, magic gives the subaltern the possibility of bypassing physical laws. For example, in *La violencia del tiempo* the Villars have access to another space-temporal dimension through an altered state of consciousness induced by the ingestion of a potion made of *sampedro*, the sacred cactus. It is in this dimension where they, via catharsis, settle accounts with their enemies (658). Likewise, subalterns resorts to magic and to fantastic elements as a means to tackle the enormous distance that exists between the nightmare reality and the idealized nation they long for. For example, in *Patíbulo para un caballo* Yococo and Gringo Pérez build an "impossible" flying machine ("impossible" because of the precarious materials used in its construction), and they manage to make fly, and thus to momentarily free themselves from the slum's infernal world (165). (Otero Luque, "Montacerdos" 30).

I have the impression that there is a trend in fictional Peruvian literature to revert to magical elements and miracles whenever a subaltern protagonist is losing in the story. This is done with the purpose of equating the subaltern's forces with those of the antagonist, who in many occasions symbolizes the hegemonic power. As opposed to the literary representation of magic, a sphere where the dominator—the subaltern

assumes—is powerless, in contemporary Peru's real life many people who belong to the hegemonic class also consult shamans and witches for a solution when they are concerned about love and money issues, as well as of malefices. In any case, the subaltern's strategy consists of using fantasy as a resource to embellish and to improve reality in order to make it more bearable. Unfortunately, sorcery is also used with the intention of causing harm. Peru is a country where magical thought competes on equal footing, sometimes even with an advantage, with scientific thought.

### **ETHNO-BOOMERANG**

The ethno-boomerang is a self-inflicted boycott, consisting of undermining one's own ethnic group. While ethno-phobia is the rejection of ethnic diversity in general (i.e. an *attitude*), ethno-boomerang is the rejection of one's own race and culture, and it implies carrying out *actions* that eventually revert in detriment of the person or of the group that despises and discriminates against its own people. Even though it is valid to make a distinction between the two, ethno-phobia is a component of ethno-boomerang. For example, Martin Villar, the protagonist of *La violencia del tiempo* has a feeling of rejection towards his own race (ethno-phobia), which he considers to be spurious (racism), so he rejects his mixed (*mestizo*) racial and cultural condition, because he finds it unviable (ethno-phobia), to the point of refusing to have descent (ethno-boomerang) (176, 338).



Another example of ethno-boomerang is when the character of Queca, in Ribeyro's short story "Alienación", says to Roberto—a poor boy of the neighborhood and the son of a laundress, who feels attracted to her: "I do not play with *zambos*" [36]. Queca despises dark-skinned boys (ethno-phobia), and she makes her dream come true by marrying a North American man (Euro-philia, ethno-boomerang), i.e. someone whose skin color is lighter than hers, as a means to become whitened in order to be able to climb up the social ladder. However, a short time after the wedding "the coveted Yankee's Irish ancestors hiding behind his puritanical education" began ill-treating and despising the wife because of her Peruvian origin, and he ended up calling her 'shitty chola'" [37]. Roberto is the other side of the same coin, because he is akin to Queca in some core aspects: "Despite of being a light-skinned mulatto and of the fact that his last name was López, he wanted to look less and less like a defender of Alianza Lima [ethno-phobia], and more and more like a gringo from Philadelphia" [Euro-philia] [38]. The narrator proceeds as follows:

His main concern in all the years that I knew him was to transform himself from a *zambo* [ethno-phobia, ethno-boomerang] into a [white] North American as promptly as possible [Euro-philia, whitening] before it was too late, and he was condemned forever to work, let's say, as a bank doorman, or as a taxi driver [deterministic prejudice]. He had to start by killing the Peruvian who was in him [voluntary de-culturation,

ethno-phobia, ethno-boomerang], and by grabbing something from every gringo he met [Euro-philial, neo-acculturation, whitening] [39].

In this way Roberto (now Bob or Bobby) eventually became a Frankenstein, as Erik Camayd-Freixas would describe the product of strained cultural hybridity (20) [40]: “[He] made a new person of himself, a being made of remnants, who was neither a zambo nor a gringo [ambivalence, hybridity], but the result of a mixed breeding against nature [racial prejudice].” [41]

Similarly, Kary, in “Amor se escribe con G”, shows an ethno-phobic *attitude* and has an ethno-boomerang-like *behavior* when she denies her nephews—whom she does not envision in an important position in the future [determinism]—because they embarrass her: “When we bump into each other, I feel ashamed of them when they greet me and call me ‘aunt, aunt’ in front of my colleagues from work. I noticed Laura Requena’s amazement when I explained to her that those were the children of one of my mother’s dearest maids, and that was the reason why they affectionately called me aunt (115-6) [42]. For people like Kary, “[r]ace does ‘improve’ only by having children with someone whose skin is lighter, but also by amassing wealth, by graduating from an expensive university, by moving into another neighborhood, *by trimming the branches of your family tree by cutting its roots, by forgetting where you come from* [my emphasis] (*No soy tu cholo* 73-4) [43]. As it may be appreciated, the major difference between ethno-phobia and ethno-boomerang is that the former is an *attitude* while the latter is a *behavior*.

The *Dictionary of the Spanish Language* by the Royal Spanish Academy defines the Peruvian idiom *cholear* as “[t]o treat someone with disdain.” *Choleo* is the most common form of ethno-boomerang in Peru [44]. In the end, the person who *cholea* a national fellow projects his/her own abjectness in people who allegedly have more Indian blood than that s/he believes—or wishes to believe—s/he indeed has (Otero Luque, *La ciudad y los pelos* 8). “A cholo calls *cholo* other cholos not because s/he does not consider him/herself a cholo, but because s/he wants to play the game as if s/he were a white person (Avilés, *No soy tu cholo* 73) [45]. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission recommends to positively acknowledging the fact that Peru is a multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual country (*Hatun Willakuy* 465, Conclusion 171). Only then some type of a truly national identity may be constructed. Unfortunately, beyond the folklore, many people still find it difficult to value cultural diversity as the asset it, indeed, is (Degregori 214).

### ***El encastado* (The half-caste)**

During colonial times, the *curaca*—i.e. the political and administrative chief of the *ayllu*, whom the conquerors used to call *cacique* [46]—, served as the intermediary between the *encomendero* and the Indians who worked for him. However, the *curaca*'s main responsibility was to make sure that Indians did their job and produced for their master, the *encomendero*.

With the term *encastado* (half-caste), many authors refer to Indian, cholo, black or mulatto subalterns who, as soon as they become empowered, they become the tyrants of their own people, whom they exploit much more and with greater cruelty than many white men:

[W]hen an individual rises above the level of his social class, he usually becomes its worst enemy [...] [T]here are probably no harsher oppressors of the Indians than other Indians who have become Hispanicized and have been invested with some authority. The *encastado* is the real tyrant of the masses, who utilizes Indians to exploit and to oppress other Indians. (González Prada, "Our Indians") [47]

For example, in *Matalaché* Chabaco, the black foreman of La Tina, helps to exploit the black and mulatto slaves under his authority. "In the chain of command, below the master [owner] I am the one who gives the orders here. And if I order you to something, you must do it even if the world comes to an end" (85) [48].

The figure of the *encastado* is as valid today as it was in 1904, the year when Gonzalez Prada's text was made public. Security guards in discotheques that reserve the right to refuse admission are examples of *encastados*. Marco Avilés gives a personal testimony as victim of this type of discrimination, as he was denied admission to a discotheque in Lima because he was not white (*No soy tu cholo* 17-9; *De dónde venimos los cholos* 23; *Perú* 21). Jorge Rendón Vásquez holds that the type of attitude and *behavior* (actions) of the aforementioned security guard are forms of inverse racism:

Another aspect of racism is the submissive behavior of mestizos and Indians towards whites, and the discriminatory attitude they show against their own people [...] Manifestations of submission, or of inverse racism that goes bottom up is the general trend in many Indians and mestizos who consider whites as being superior, who believe them more than they would believe nonwhites, and who obey them without reflection when they have power [over other subalterns], as well as when they prefer white people in many social relations. (“El racismo en el Perú”) [49]

Marco Avilés relates the anecdote that, upon arriving to a radio station where he had been invited to, the security guard, who was a cholo, approached him with disbelief, assuming that it was impossible that the most important program aired on the radio could interview a cholo (Interview with Mijaíl Palacios of *Perú 21*). Akin to the aforementioned security guard, *encastados* are also the non-white executives who are in charge of the hiring process in companies that prefer to recruit personnel having a "neat appearance". *Encastados* are non-white abusive executives and foremen that exploit their subordinates for the benefit of the company owners. The subaltern's servility vis-à-vis the hegemonic power is, decidedly, a type of ethno-boomerang.

## **THE SUBALTERN'S CULTURAL SINGULARITY**

I maintain that—similarly to the Hegelian dialectic dynamics, whereby two conflicting ideas (thesis and antithesis) are reconciled by a synthesis to form a new proposition (*The*

*Phenomenology of Spirit*, 1808)—, Peruvian subaltern's cultural singularity crystallizes by the synthesis of ethno-sway (thesis) and ethno-boomerang (antithesis). By all means, this is a dynamic process in which the synthesis that has been reached is always a new thesis, which, in certain cases, is quite ephemeral due to the insoluble contradictions of the opposite poles.

Albeit the pendulum metaphor is useful to suggest the idea of an oscillatory displacement between both ends (ethno-sway↔ethno-boomerang), it is important to clarify that the subaltern's cultural singularity does not necessarily crystallize in a middle point or in the same place. In addition, cultural expressions may curdle and last for a while, as it has been the case of the chicha culture, only if the experience that made the synthesis catalyze is constantly repeated, reframed and refined. Gilles Deleuze's following words, which conflict with the Hegelian bipolar approach, describe something similar to the process through which the subaltern's singularity is forged: "I make, remake and unmake my concepts along a moving horizon, from an always decentered centre, from an always displaced periphery which repeats and differentiates them" (*Difference and Repetition* xxi). In other words, a synthesis by changing forces that pull and push in different directions is attempted.

I prefer to use the term *cultural singularity* rather than *cultural identity* in order to emphasize the *cultural product* (i.e. chicha culture) over the feelings of attachment (ethno-philia) the subaltern may have towards his/her ethnic group (ethno-philia). In contrast with Hegelian *identity*, which is defined in terms of difference (opposition,

analogy and resemblance) and of contradiction (its denial), for Deleuze *singularity* stems from the difference *per se* (not conceived as a secondary characteristic), as well as from self-repetition in a unique series, i.e. in a series that does not necessarily depend on fixed, predictable patterns.

The following chart shows the similarities and differences between Hegel's and Deleuze's positions with regard to identity and singularity:

<b>HEGEL'S IDENTITY CONCEPT VERSUS DELEUZE'S SINGULARITY CONCEPT</b>			
<b>Hegel</b>		<b>Deleuze</b>	
<i>(The Phenomenology of the Spirit, 1808)</i>		<i>(Difference and Repetition, 1968)</i>	
<b>IDENTITY</b>		<b>SINGULARITY</b>	
<b>Opposition</b>	<b>Difference</b>	<b>Difference</b>	<b>Repetition</b>
Its denial	By opposition, analogy and resemblance	<i>Per se</i> In/by itself	In a unique series

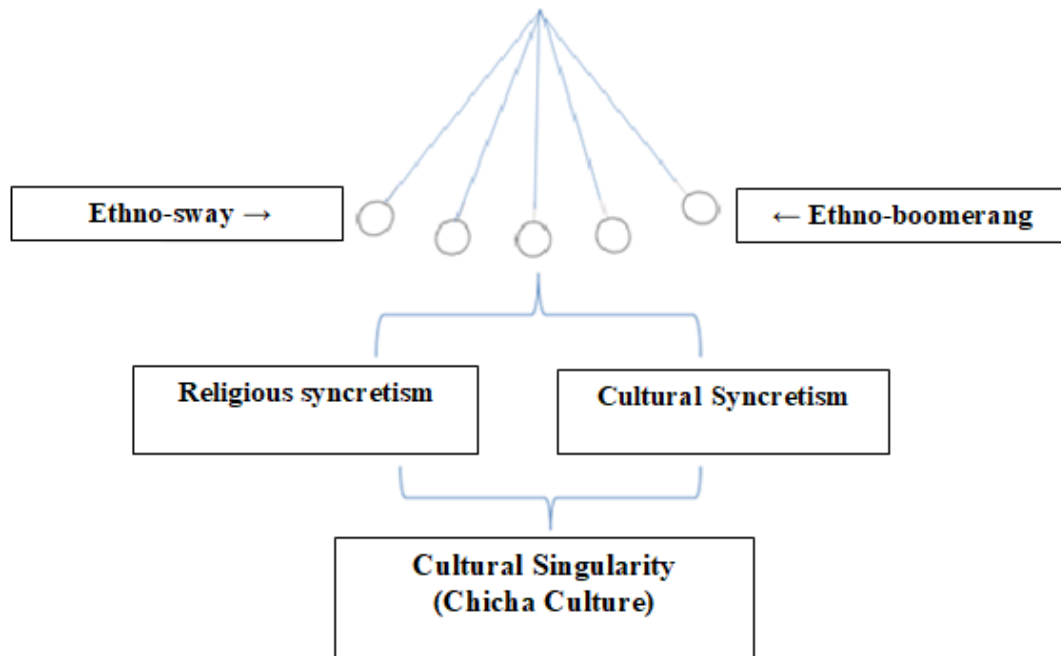
In traditional philosophy, identity takes root in properties and essential characteristics. In contrast, differential ontology (Derrida and Deleuze, among other) poses that identity is the result of relational, variable, and flexible positions: “[T]he question of identification is never the affirmation of a pre-given identity, never a self-fulfilling prophecy” (Bhabha 45). So much singularity (individuality) in one end, as multiplicity in the other, must be understood in term of differences. In addition, because positional relations are in constant renovation (i.e. a dynamics of change) in an endless

repetition process, each new version of a cultural expression is a unique copy. Jorge Luis Borges' short story "Pierre Menard" —in which the main character rewrites *Don Quixote* "without incurring a tautology" (*Narraciones* 92) —illustrates the idea that repetition is capable of producing a very similar, and yet different singular outcome if compared with those of previous versions [50]. Consequently, in the constant confrontation of the ethno-sway and ethno-boomerang antagonistic forces, the subaltern's singularity—split by nature [51]—is re-defined and becomes more *sui generis* in every new repetition, which is always partial [52]. Similarly to corporal exercises and to habits, culture is internalized by repetition (Bergson 137-8).

### **ETHNO-SWAY↔ETHNO-BOOMERANG (ES↔EB) EPISTEMOLOGICAL MODEL**

The main assertion of this essay is that Peruvian subalterns forge their cultural singularity—which becomes manifest in the chicha culture—by constantly swinging between ethno-sway and ethno-boomerang. The following graph illustrates this dynamics in which the subaltern's cultural singularity materializes in some point where the pendulum's massive bob's trajectory finds an *interstice*, i.e. a propitious *third space* [53].





The Ethno-sway ↔ Ethno-boomerang (ES ↔ EB) Epistemological Model is crafted by building upon Homi K. Bhabhas' concepts of mimicry, camouflage, difference, ambivalence, and hybridity; and by "localizing" (in Linguistics terminology) these concepts in order to customize them to the Peruvian social reality. ES ↔ EB is an ad hoc, useful tool to analyze ways in which the subaltern resists and subvert colonialty in Peru, as well as to explain the underlying dynamics of the chicha culture. This model may be replicable in other former colonies with historical and social backgrounds similar to those of Peru, such as Panama, for instance, as short story "Amor se escribe con G" (1987) suggests. In the case of Caribbean countries, the term *cholication*—

concerning the Andean region—could be replaced with the term *negrification or negroization*.

### **Religious Syncretism**

Despite the priests' efforts to extirpate what they considered idolatry, by destroying and looting the material substratum of the pagan cults, in the end they realized that the Indians continued worshiping their gods, like *illapa* (thunder). For example, many hills were crowned with Christian crosses, but the Indians actually worshiped the *apu* (the guardian spirit of the mountains) instead, deceiving the Spaniards by making them believe that they were exclusively in line with the faith, as they were urged to. The cross itself, especially those planted in many crossroads, ended up studded with symbolic pagan objects (stairs, little roosters, epaulettes, and so on); therefore, reduced to the status of standing coat racks. Nevertheless, the Christian cross would have never lost its original meaning, because no dogmatic contradiction exists in the Andean syncretic world view. "In the Indian's mental universe it was indeed possible to serve two masters" (de la Torre 6) [54]. Unfortunately, the aforementioned duality is also fertile ground for the emergence of false Messianic leaders that are so harmful to society [55]. Abimael Guzmán, the leader of Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path), exercised that type of leadership.

At present, offerings to the *Pachamama* (mother land) and to the *apus* are common in Peru. The survival of Andean cults worship obeys to several reasons: 1) The

magical-religious element is well rooted in the Peruvian Indians' world view (*Weltanschauung*), 2) Indians' persevere in maintaining their traditions, and 3) Indians are capable of religious syncretism because of the ability to re-semanticize symbols. Because spirituality permeates most aspects of Peruvian's life—for example, “politics is never a profane activity. As so many other things in this country, politics is also determined by the religious factor” (Flores Galindo 375) [56]—, religious syncretism must be analyzed as a separate category, distinct from cultural syncretism albeit being part of it.

### **CHICHA CULTURE**

Over a few generations, Andean immigrants and their descendants have gained economic power and have consolidated their social position on the coast. In the outskirts of cities like Lima, “[t]he grandfather, who was a peasant,[...] conquered a piece of land on a hill or in the dessert, and started building a house of straw and cardboard. The father grew up on the first floor of a brick-and-cement house, and made a living as a taxi driver. Finally, the grandson grew up in a three-story house, and he is currently studying to become a computer specialist” (Arellano and Burgos 19) [57]. Notwithstanding many immigrants from the Andes and from the jungle have preserved their traditions and customs, it appears that the majority of subalterns who succeeded in achieving secondary structural assimilation are those who became more westernized by acquiring cultural capital (education, manners, way of speaking, way of dressing, etc.) in the

transculturation process [58]. In other words, the best well-off subaltern is the one who, in the ethno-sway dynamics, turns out being more whitened than cholified.

In Mario Vargas Llosa's opinion, for José María Arguedas antiquity and tradition were the highest cultural values in a society that has been capable of preserving its ancient magical-religious essence (*La utopía arcaica* 283). Because of this reason, Vargas Llosa thinks that Arguedas, in the depths of his soul, was not fond of a hybrid culture, as it would end up contaminated by progress (ibid. 332-3). Conversely, Antonio Cornejo Polar considers that Arguedas genuinely hoped to see Peru as a country of “every blood” and of “all homelands” (“Last Diary?” *El zorro de arriba* 221); i.e. “a social space open to the peculiarities and dissensions of the human groups coexisting within it that have wished to preserve the idiosyncratic ways of their cultures, not in order to repeat their fate, but as a result of more symmetrical and nonhegemonizing interactions with their collective neighbors” (*Writing in the air* 153). What is chicha culture but that open social space?

Martin Tanaka has confirmed that the adoption of a *modern* [my emphasis] cholo identity gave Indians the possibility of achieving greater social integration and of conquering the city (Rodríguez and Venturo 18). This was the case of Aquilino Gamarra, from Huancavelica, who migrated to Lima and, after several decades of hard work, he became the owner of Topitop, one of the most important textile companies in Peru (Álvaro Vargas Llosa, *Lessons from the Poor*). At the other side of economy, as a consumer, the chicha subaltern became part of the credit system, acquired new

consumption patterns, and was able to afford luxuries that would have been unthinkable before (Garvich 62). The proliferation of mega malls and shopping centers in the Lima condes (i.e. in the northernmost and southernmost urban areas) that have nothing to envy those located in the city's upper-class neighborhoods, demonstrates this phenomenon. In some respects, the type of subaltern I am referring to has ceased to be one.

In the sphere of music, in the early 1960s, Carlos Baquerizo Castro composed the song “La chichera” (the chicha maker/vendor woman), and musical band Los demonios del Mantaro made it become a major hit. Bands like Armonía (1972) and Agua Mariana (1976), formed in Piura, rode the wave of Peruvian cumbia music. It was in the 1980s, however, that Chicha music—a close relative of technocumbia—became really popular. Electronic instruments are used in this musical genre to combine huayno (Andean music) and other types of traditional Peruvian music with tropical rhythms and rock, among other. In those years, musical bands like Los Shapis and Chacalón sold thousands of vinyl records and compact cassettes, and *chichódromos*—i.e. facilities where chicha music is interpreted and danced—proliferated. At the beginning of the 1990s, Los Mojarras burst into the musical Peruvian scene: “It was the first time somebody sang so much forcefully with contained anger. The themes of the rebellious ‘chicha rock’ songs described the lives of [social] groups that had been unexplored by other national rock singers: i.e. the migrant, the informal, and the *achorado*” [59]. Bands like Libido (1995) and TK (2001) followed the lead of Los Mojarras from El Agustino. Long before, the band Juaneco y su Combo (1969) had become famous for

combining rhythms from the jungle with the other rhythms I have mentioned. Thirty years later, music band Grupo Antología was formed, and in 1999, the same year they started, they were invited to Japan to interpret urban Andean music. Fully aware of the power of chicha music to reach the masses, Fujimori and his supporters danced to the rhythm of "Baile del Chino" during the 2000 presidential elections campaign. Similarly, major firms—one of them a multinational company—chose Tongo (José Abelardo Gutiérrez Alanya), a famous Andean cumbia music composer and singer, as their institutional respective iconic advertising images (celebrity branding).

Even though the chicha gained momentum through music, at present it manifests in almost all areas and aspects of Peruvians' daily lives. "[N]ew radio stations were created around chicha music; the new rhythm penetrated television and reached the cinema" (Garvich 60) [60]. For example, on Saturdays throughout three decades (1966-1996), Panamericana Televisión (Channel 5) aired live entertainment show *Trampolín a la fama*, conducted by "el Zambo" Augusto Ferrando. He was also the founder of *La peña Ferrando*, an itinerant vaudeville covering all the national territory between 1967 and 1982. Humor and parody are certainly important elements of cholification, as it may be appreciated in the case of *Cómicos Ambulantes*. On the other hand, several tabloid talk shows that Laura Bozo has been hosting since the late 1990s are deemed chicha. Celebrity gossip TV show *Magaly TeVe*, conducted by Magaly Medina—the creator of portmanteau *Chollywood*—, was successfully aired over 15 years (1997-2012). In 1986 the chicha film *Los Shapis en el mundo de los pobres*, directed by Juan Carlos Torrico,

was released; and more recently *Asu mare* (2013) and *Asu mare 2* (2015), box-office hits without precedent in the history of the Peruvian film industry, directed by Ricardo Maldonado, were released as well. The first movie is about the life of actor Carlos Alcántara (starring Alcántara himself) since the time when he was a little boy and lived in a low-income neighborhood with his mother until grew up and became famous. In the sequel, Alcántara (nicknamed Cachín) has already achieved professional success; however, he conceals his social background and lets down his closest friends, as they embarrass him, in order to conquer the love of a high-class girl. Both films clearly reflect the ethno-sway↔ethno-boomerang dynamics.

Similarly, tabloids that focus on sensational crime stories and on gossiping about celebrities are, decidedly, *chicha* [61]. These publications connect with popular taste not only because of the topics they address, but also because of their graphic design, and because of the jargon they use in eye-catching headlines and texts [62], emulating the posters announcing *chicha* music concerts. These tabloids are surfaces are overflowed with images and compact copious information printed in a peculiar typography with multicolor phosphorescent ink. It is a matter of getting noticed. Many truck drivers are also fond of the graphic design *chicha* aesthetics, as they paint very folkloric names on their trucks, such as *The king of the curves*, *I'll be back*, *El Chasqui* [The Emissary/Messenger], *Move or I'll knock you down*, and so on (Bourricaud 29). The equivalent of printed press in radio broadcasting would be the "strident, hasty and

repetitive way of speaking" (Garvich 61). No doubt, these subalterns are not the type Spivak referred to; they no longer need intermediaries [63].

The same as there is a chicha radio, a chicha TV, a chicha cinema, and chicha printed press, there are also chicha culinary tastes. The combination of spaghetti in red sauce, *chanfainita* (a stew made from beef lungs), ceviche, and *huancaína* sauce as a main course; or the combination of purple *mazamorra* and rice pudding—called "El Clásico" (Derby), in allusion to the football match between Universitario de Deportes and Alianza Lima sports clubs—are good examples of chicha culinary tastes. The chicha culture also manifests in fashion. For example, Carmen Villavicencio Ruiz is a successful chicha fashion designer. Because of all these cultural manifestations, the pejorative use of the term chicha is less frequent nowadays.

Religion has also made a shift towards chicha. Nowadays, one might as well talk about the cholification of the Christian pantheon. For example, Sarita Colonia (Sara Colonia Zambrano, 1914-1940) is a chola apocryphal saint, whom marginal people and left-behinds of Callao began worshipping in the 1970s, the decade when the massive immigration of Andean settlers to the coast intensified [64]. This saint probably emerged from the need of Indians and cholos to be represented in the celestial court. Creoles already had Saint Rose of Lima, and the blacks and mulattos had Saint Martin de Porres, but there was no Andean or mestizo saint [65].

Jeffrey L. Klaiber points out that "the [Catholic] Church has regarded [...] popular manifestations with different degrees of benevolence" (137) [66]. Nonetheless,



despite of the Catholic Church's recent openness, it "has lost its sphere of influence in comparison with new Protestant and Charismatic creeds, and more recently with vernacular and syncretic expressions [...] of popular origin, [...] such as Melchorita or Sarita Colonia, [who] are displacing the local devotion to Saint Rose of Lima and other traditional saints" (de Soto 4) [67]. Perhaps ever since the publication of *El padre Horán* (1848), a novel by Narciso Aréstegui, numerous Peruvian literary pieces clearly reflect a strong anticlerical feeling. For example, in *Aves sin nido* (1889), Pascual Vargas—the parish of Kíllac—and Bishop Pedro de Miranda y Claro are characterized as immoral, corrupt and oppressive, while in *Montacerdos* (1981) the Catholic Church proves to be foreign and indolent in regards to Griselda's and her family's extreme needs. The priest even refuses to give them the communion (26-7) [68].

The subaltern's constant oscillation between antagonistic forces (i.e. whitening↔cholification, and ethno-sway↔ethno-boomerang) produces fragmented identities. In view of this reality, Luis Guillermo Lumbreras wonders how to carry on necessary structural reforms in a "fatally split and modularly fractured" country (74). Several things prevent those reforms for the time being: First of all, despite subalterns are the majority of the population, their condition as subalterns defines them as being a minority. Consequently, the subaltern's discourse does not prevail. In 1990, Uriel García Cáceres speculated on the possibility that a mestizo demographic explosion may produce a critical mass capable of solving the socio-racial problems of Peru (134). Albeit mestizos are presently the majority of the population and many things have

improved, García Cáceres' dream has not come true. Secondly, it will not be possible to forge a national identity if racism continues being the norm. Thirdly, the atavistic resentment is an anchor that keeps many subalterns moored to the past, holding them off on building a better future for them. Last and most importantly, it is impossible to build and to maintain cohesive cultural identities without social justice and equity. If at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it was expected that the "national spirit" would result from a racial and cultural synthesis (Flores Galindo 369-70), for the chicha culture re-imagined communities have asserted their right to inclusion while maintaining their diversity and difference.

## SUMMARY

In short, chicha culture is the contemporary expression of Peruvian subalterns' cultural singularity, and in its own right a means to resist coloniality. It is forged by the confluence of religious and cultural elements that become hybridized at some point of the subaltern's ethno-sway trajectory (whitening↔cholification). Influenced by atavistic resentment and ethno-boomerang, the syncretic distinctive singularities that emerge as a result of this process constantly reaffirm, refine, and renew themselves.

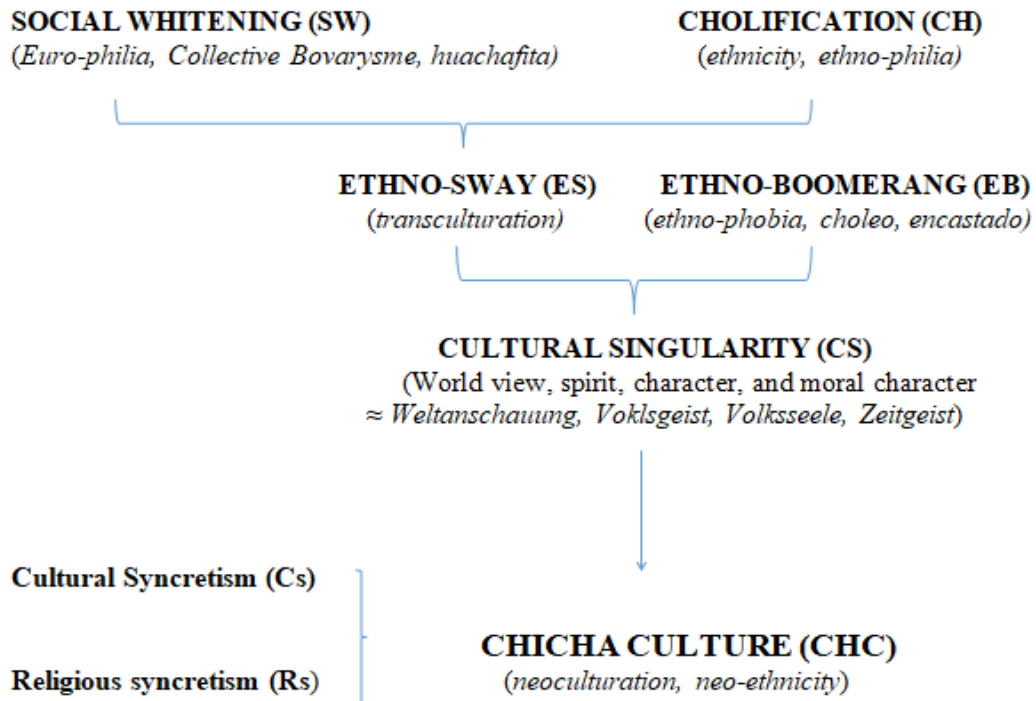
Built upon the colonized's strategies of resistance Homi K. Bhabha identifies (namely mimicry, camouflage, difference, ambivalence, and hybridity), the Ethno-sway↔Ethno-boomerang (ES↔EB) Epistemological Model is an *ad hoc* tool to analyze coloniality in Peru, and to better understand the chicha dynamics. This model, however,

may as well be replicable in other former colonies with a similar historical and social background to that of Peru.

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**ETHNO-SWAY ↔ ETHNO-BOOMERANG (ES ↔ EB)**  
**EPISTEMOLOGICAL MODEL**  
**Concept Map**

**CHICHA CULTURE: PERUVIAN SUBALTERN'S CULTURAL SINGULARITY**



ES ≈ SW + CH  
CG ≈ ES ± EB  
CHC ≈ Cs + Rs

Frank Otero Luque  
March, 2018

### Notes

- [1] The former is my free translation into English of the following text originally written in Spanish: “El carácter subversivo de la mímica surge de la diferencia solapada de quien la practica. La mímica no es tanto una máscara como un disfraz poroso y variopinto” (Camayd-Freixas 31).  
**Unless otherwise noted, it should be understood that all translations from Spanish into English in this paper are my free translations.**
- [2] “A la gloriosísima Virgen María, Nuestra Señora, Hija, Madre, y Esposa Virginal de su Criador, suprema princesa de las criaturas. El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega su indigno siervo, adoración de Hiperdulí” (Inca Garcilaso, *Historia general del Perú* 20).
- [3] “A los indios, mestizos y criollos de los reinos y provincias del grande y riquísimo imperio del Perú, el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, su hermano, compatriota y paisano, salud y felicidad” (Inca Garcilaso, *Historia general del Perú* 22).  
The translation into English is included in: Cornejo Polar, Antonio. *Writing in the Air* 62.
- [4] “Durante los tres siglos que duró la dominación colonial en América, [la] estratificación racial de la sociedad modeló la conciencia de los habitantes [...] tan fuertemente como la imposición del feudalismo, de la lengua castellana, de la religión católica y de los usos y costumbres hispánicos” (Rendón Vásquez, “El racismo en el Perú”).
- [5] “[V]erás cómo la gente importante empieza a respetarnos y a abrirnos las puertas” (Morillo Ganoza, *Hienas en la niebla* 322).
- [6] “En el Perú nos leemos la piel todo el tiempo” (Avilés, interview with Juan Carlos Fangacio de *El Comercio*).
- [7] “Esta clase social se encontraba entre la clase alta y el pueblo y se distinguía por su deseo de imitar a la clase alta y distanciarse de la baja” (Watson 43).
- [8] It may be inferred that the opposite of Euro-philia would be Euro-phobia (i.e. the rejection of European white people, their ways and values), while the opposite of ethno-phobia would be ethno-philia (i.e. attraction towards non-dominant ethnicities). *Matalaché* offers an example of ethno-philia: Maria Luz, the white master’s daughter, falls in love with José Manuel, a mulatto slave. Ethno-philia may also refer to the feeling of attachment to one’s own ethnic group.
- [9] “La mala suerte me acompaña desde el día en que nací [...] [J]amás hubiera escogido los padres que tengo si el destino me hubiera dado la oportunidad. Los hubiera escogido ricos, blancos y sobre todo muy lejos de este lugar. El gran problema de mi vida ha sido siempre mi familia. Casi todos morenos. Y todos, sin ninguna excepción, pobres y brutos que es lo peor” (Britton, “Amor se escribe con G” 115-6).

- [10] “De los gringos estuve enamorada desde que tengo uso de razón” (Britton, “Amor se escribe con G” 118).
- [11] “Jerry me invitó a la playa [...] En realidad, la idea no me entusiasmó para nada. El sol tiene la costumbre de sacarle a uno la raza y además, ni por nada me quería mojar en el mar mi cabello alisado, porque cualquiera se daría cuenta que me lo estiraba. Insistió tanto, que no me quedó otro remedio y allá fui, con un vestido de baño Jantzen que me costó un montón de plata” (Britton, “Amor se escribe con G” 125).
- [12] According to Fernando Fuenzalida, the first authors who used terms such as “cholo stratum” (*estrato cholo*) and “cholification” (*cholificación*) were Gabriel Escobar [“La cultura: sistema de valores”, 1959], Richard Schaedel [“La organización social en el departamento de Puno”, 1959], Jacob Fried [“The Indian and Mestizaje in Peru”, 1961], Aníbal Quijano [*La emergencia del grupo cholo y sus implicaciones en la sociedad peruana*, 1965], François Bourricaud [*Cambios en Puno*, 1967], and Julian Pitt-Rivers [“Race, Color, and Class in Central America and the Andes”, 1967] (“Poder, raza y etnia en el Perú contemporáneo” 77).
- Maxime Kuczynski (the father of the current president of Peru) and Carlos Enrique Paz Soldán, who early grasped that a cholo conscience was in formation (*Disección del Indigenismo Peruano: un examen sociológico y médico-social*, 1948) (Obando 29), should also be included in this list.
- [13] As can be appreciated, the female characters of *La paisana Jacinta* and *La chola Chabuca* are played by men: Jorge Benavides and Ernesto Pimentel, respectively. The fact that both characters have been highly successful in Peruvian television suggests that the audience understands and celebrates the artistic dimension of the representation, regardless the performers’ gender.
- [14] The word *serrano* “alude a un ser primitivo, sucio, ignorante” (Ardito Vega 56).
- [15] It is possible that the adjective “chicha” in the expression “chicha culture” may allude to *chicha morada*, an Andean drink that is very popular all over Peru.
- [16] In this sense, choloness emerged, first of all, as “una alternativa de descolonización del imaginario”, and as “una propuesta de reconstitución de identidad para la amplia mayoría de la población peruana” (Quijano, “Colonialidad del poder, cultura y conocimiento” 146).
- [17] “[E]l objetivo de la conquista es extender la religión cristiana; en la práctica, el objetivo religioso es uno de los medios que aseguran el éxito de la conquista; fin y medios han intercambiado sus lugares” (Todorov 116).
- [18] The *malquis* were forbears’ mummies that had a tutelary function (Ramos 19-21). They were kept both in temples and in houses. Sometimes, the members of the *ayllu* would take turns to host their *malquis*, so that they may bless their homes by their sole presence.

- [19] Peruvian historian Teodoro Hampe Martínez (1960-2016) had conceived the project to locate the *malquis* that, theoretically, had been buried in the Hospital San Andrés in Lima, the place where it is presumed they were transferred from Cusco. This project had foreseen the use of cutting-age technology, such as a ground-penetrating radar (*GPR*), to explore the subsoil, as well as performing DNA tests to the *malquis* that may be found, with the purpose of identifying them with living members of their respective *panacas* (Muñoz-Nájar, *Buscando al Inca*). It was even speculated that, should the blood ties be confirmed, the *malquis'* living relatives might have legal rights on the properties of their ancestors. Doctor Hampe passed away in 2016, and I do not know the current status of his project.
- [20] The Inca economy was based on communitarian work carried out by *ayllus* or family communities: Given the totemic proneness of the Andean dweller, the *ayllu* extends to comprise living organism other than human beings, non-living organism, as well as sacred places. Because of the holistic conception of the *ayllu*, the boundaries between the environment and the community are blurry or even inexistent.
- [21] “Nacer en el Perú constituye una situación límite y significa llevar una herida nunca cicatrizada fruto de una violencia original primigenia” (Gutiérrez Correa, *La generación* 186).
- [22] Colonial power created “una huella mnémica en la que los blancos surgen como seres agresivos y potencialmente peligrosos” (Portocarrero, in Callirgos 14).
- [23] “[L]a cultura europea se convirtió en una seducción; daba acceso al poder. Después de todo, más allá de la represión el instrumento principal de todo poder es la seducción. La europeización cultural se convirtió en una aspiración. Era un modo de participar en el poder colonial” (Quijano, “Colonialidad y modernidad-racionalidad” 439).
- [24] “[N]uestra verdadera guerra debe orientarse contra la dependencia, contra el subdesarrollo, contra la miseria, contra la explotación, contra la enfermedad, contra la desocupación, contra la injusta repartición de riquezas, contra la inmoralidad en todas sus formas, contra la división nacional” (Fernández Salvateci 7).
- [25] The notion that “an old fault is transmitted from one generation to another, as a hereditary disease, comes from the ‘archaic Greek thought’. This idea usually express through the concept of pollution (miasma)”: “Una antigua culpa se transmite de una generación a otra, como una enfermedad hereditaria, viene del ‘pensamiento arcaico griego’ y es una idea que se expresaba normalmente a través del concepto de contaminación (miasma)” (Bettini and Guidorizzi, *El mito de Edipo* 34).

For example, we may find the following in *Un drama singular* (1888), a novel by Lastenia Larriva de Llonca: “It was Father Bernardo who hold her in his arms and, as if he were touched by the Divine Grace, deep and prophetic voice, he said: ‘Innocent creature, whose existence has taken two lives, as an Angel of the Lord and your destiny is to atone for the sins of your parents. May God give you the power to accomplish your difficult mission in this world!’”: “Fue el padre Bernardo quien la tomó en los suyos [en sus brazos] y cual si se sintiera tocado por la Gracia Divina dijo con voz grave y profética: ‘Inocente criatura dos crímenes, ángel del Señor destinado a la vez a expiar las faltas de tus padres, el cielo te dé las fuerzas necesarias para cumplir tu difícil misión en el mundo!’.” (60-1). “Carmela is a pure and innocent child [...] Perhaps this is why Providence has chosen her as the scapegoat to atone for the sins of your parents”: “Carmela es pura e inocente [...] [P]ues, por eso mismo tal vez, la destina la Providencia a ser la víctima expiatoria de los pecados de sus padres” (134), the priest reflected.

Similarly, Fernando Castaneda comments that Alonso Cueto’s novel *La hora azul* (2005) “bets for the reappearance of an atavism that the Christian religion, and especially Catholicism, helped to eradicate in the past: the belief that faults are inherited up to the third or fourth generation”: “apunta al resurgimiento de un atavismo que la religión cristiana, y sobre todo el catolicismo, contribuyó a erradicar en el pasado: la creencia de que la culpa se hereda hasta la tercera y la cuarta generación”.

- [26] “El odio acumulado puede sustentar a una sublevación; no necesariamente la construcción de una sociedad diferente” (Flores Galindo 375).
- [27] “[E]l resentimiento es voraz e insaciable, nada puede calmarlo; en cambio, la sed de justicia tiene límites y puede ser satisfecha” (Portocarrero, *Profetas del odio* 10).
- [28] In English, the word *sway* —in addition to referring to an oscillating, fluctuating, or sweeping motion—means the ability to exercise influence or control. Therefore, the word *sway* concords very well to the concept of *ethno-sway*. Consequently, *etnovaivén* may be translated into English as *ethno-sway*.
- [29] “Los *apus* han dicho que un cholo gobernará el Perú, y Alejandro Toledo es cholo, no un pituco de Lima [...] Mi cholo es sano y sagrado” (Eliane Karp). In the Andean world view, the *apus* are the spirits of the mountains. *Pituco* is a stuck-up, sometimes arrogant person, who is usually white and belongs to the upper class.
- [30] “A los hijos de español y de india, o de indio y española, nos llaman mestizos, por decir que somos mezclados de ambas naciones; fue impuesto por los primeros españoles en tener hijos en Indias, y por ser nombre impuesto por nuestros padres y por su significación me lo llamo yo a boca llena y me honro con él” (Inca Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales* ix.xxxi.424-5).



- [31] “Las palabras no te hieren si aprendes a ponerlas de tu lado. Úsalas tú antes que los otros. Soy indio, quechua, serrano [...] Decirlo me ha dado energía. Ahora tengo los puños en alto” (Avilés, *No soy tu cholo* 16).
- [32] “El concepto religioso de la propiedad y el trabajo, y por lo tanto de su colectivismo, corresponde a una concepción religiosa, primitiva, del mundo [...] Los elementos distintivos y profundos de la cultura india están ajustados sobre esta base” (Arguedas, *Cuentos mágico-realistas* 121).
- [33] The chicken party (*pollada*) is a fundraising luncheon to benefit some members of the community. It is called "pollada" because the main course is chicken.
- [34] I do not wish to give the impression that cooperativism and other similar institutions are contemporary versions of the *ayni* that have reached the present time mediated by the passage of time only. These institutions, as we know them nowadays, have certainly received multiple influences and they have been nurtured by other models, such as Rochdale Equitable Pioneers Society, the consumers' cooperative founded in England in 1844, or the Fenwick Weavers' Society, established in East Ayrshire, Scotland, in 1769.
- [35] “Don Metreque Candela, el tamborilero, era un experto en amarrar el macho, en embromar el tiempo, en prolongar hasta el infinito las faenas que no eran a destajo” (Martínez, *Crónica de músicos y diablos* 151).
- [36] “Yo no juego con zambos” (Ribeyro, “Alienación”). A *zambo* is a mixed person of black and Indian parentage, resulting in a light skin mulatto.
- [37] However, a short while after the wedding “le fue saliendo el irlandés que disimulaba su educación puritana” y empezó a maltratar y a despreciar a su esposa debido a su origen peruano, a quien terminó llamándola ‘chola de mierda’” (Ribeyro, “Alienación”).
- [38] “A pesar de ser zambo y de llamarse López, quería parecerse cada vez menos a un zaguero de Alianza Lima y cada vez más a un rubio de Filadelfia” (Ribeyro, “Alienación”).
- [39] “Toda su tarea en los años que lo conocí consistió en deslopizarse y deszambarse lo más pronto posible y en americanizarse antes de que le cayera el huaico y lo convirtiera para siempre, digamos, en un portero de banco o en un chofer de colectivo. Tuvo que empezar por matar al peruano que había en él, y por coger algo de cada gringo que conoció” (Ribeyro, “Alienación”).
- [40] Evidently, the process of cultural hybridization is not necessarily a harmonic merger. On the contrary, the attempt of smoothening cultural differences through an artificial merger process will probably produce a hybrid being whose parts will not be able to hide the coarse seam joining them (Camayd-Freixas 20).
- [41] “[S]e compuso una nueva persona, un ser hecho de retazos, que no era ni zambo ni gringo, el resultado de un cruce contra natura” (Ribeyro, “Alienación”).

- [42] “Cuando me los encuentro por ahí me da vergüenza que me saluden, con el tía, tía, delante de mis amigas de la oficina. Me di cuenta de la cara de extrañeza que puso Laura Requena, cuando le expliqué que eran los hijos de una empleada muy querida de mi madre y que por cariño me decían tía” (Britton, “Amor se escribe con G” 115-6).
- [43] “La raza no solo se ‘mejora’ teniendo hijos con alguien de piel más clara, sino acumulando más dinero, pasando por una universidad costosa, mudándose a otro barrio, podando las ramas del árbol genealógico, cortando tus raíces, olvidándose de dónde vienes” (Avilés, *No soy tu cholo* 73-4).
- [44] *Choleo* and *cholification* must not be confused: While *choleo* (*choling*) is a form of ethno-boomerang, *cholification* is a strategy of resistance (When the subaltern becomes *cholified*, he reaffirms his ethnic identity).
- [45] “El cholo cholea no porque no se sienta cholo, sino porque intenta jugar como blanco” (Avilés, *No soy tu cholo* 73).
- [46] Cacique is a Taíno word that the Spanish conquerors imported from the Caribbean. Even though there were hierarchies among the *curacas*, the Spanish conquerors would refer to any Indian political authority, regardless his/her rank.
- [47] [C]uando un individuo se eleva sobre el nivel de su clase social, suele convertirse en el peor enemigo de ella [...] [N]o hay quizá opresores tan duros del indígena como los mismos indígenas españolizados e investidos de alguna autoridad. El verdadero tirano de la masa, el que se vale de unos indios para esquilmar y oprimir a los otros es el “encastado” (González Prada, “Nuestros indios” 126).
- [48] “[D]espués del amo yo soy aquí quien manda, y cuando mando algo hay que hacerlo manque el mundo se abarraje” (López Albújar, *Matalaché* 85).
- [49] “La otra faz del racismo se ubica en la conducta sumisa de los mestizos e indios frente a los blancos y en su actitud discriminatoria de sus propios congéneres [...] Manifestaciones de este racismo inverso o de sumisión, que va de abajo hacia arriba, es la tendencia general en numerosos indios y mestizos a considerar a los blancos como sujetos superiores a ellos, a creerles más que a quienes no lo son, a obedecerlos sin reflexión si los blancos tienen el poder de mandar y a preferirlos en las múltiples relaciones sociales” (Rendón Vásquez, “El racismo en el Perú”).
- [50] I analyze this short story in: “Borges, uno de los tantos autores de ‘Pierre Menard, autor del Quijote’.” [Borges, one of the many authors of Pierre Menard, Author of the *Quixote*]. *Argus-a* 6.22 (2016): 1-17.
- [51] “Identification [...] is always the return of an image of identity that bears the mark of splitting in the Other place from which it comes” (Bhabha 45). “Its representation is always spatially *split* [my emphasis]” (ibid. 72).

- [52] “For identification, identity is never an a priori, nor a finished product; it is only ever the problematic process of access to an image of totality [...] For the image—as point of identification—marks the site of an ambivalence” (Bhabha 72).
- [53] "It is in the emergence of the interstices—the overlapping and the displacement of the domains of difference—where the intersubjective and collective experiences of *nationness*, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated" (Bhabha 2).
- [54] “En el universo mental del indígena sí era posible servir a dos señores” (de la Torre, *Movimientos milenaristas* 86).
- [55] Alberto Flores Galindo points out that the greatest danger Messianic leaders pose to society is that they manage to stir passions in their followers to such a degree that, once s/he has hypnotized them with a discourse carrying a pseudo-revelation, it is possible for them “to endure any sacrifice and to justify any atrocity under the Messiah's tyranny”: “sobrellevar cualquier sacrificio y de justificar todas las atrocidades” bajo la tiranía del mesías” (374).
- [56] “[L]a política no es sólo una actividad profana. Como tantas otras cosas en este país, está también condicionada por el factor religioso” (Flores Galindo 375).  
 “The Inca mummies participated actively in public affair; they were brought to temples and houses to carry out functions that, to all appearances, were of a political character, and they were regularly borne on litters during the most important ceremonies that took place in Cuzco’s plaza” (Ramos 21).
- [57] “El abuelo campesino [...] conquistó un pedazo de cerro o arenal y comenzó una casita de pajas y cartones. El padre creció en el primer piso de una casa de ladrillos y fue chofer de taxi. Finalmente, el nieto vio ya la casa con tres pisos y estudia para ser especialista en computación” (Arellano y Burgos 19).
- [58] Roxana de la Jara makes an interesting comparison between Fernando Ortiz' concept of transculturation and that of Ángel Rama's. She favors the first one because for Ortiz, unlike Rama, a cultural hybrid subject emerges as result of the transculturation process (5-6):

TRANSCULTURATION BY ORTIZ AND RAMA	
Fernando Ortiz	Ángel Rama
<i>Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y del azúcar</i> (1940)	<i>Transculturación narrativa en América Latina</i> (1982)
Deculturation	Loss
	Selection
	Re-discovering
	Incorporation
Neoculturation	
De la Jara, Roxana. “La transculturación según Fernando Ortiz y Ángel Rama”. <i>Palabra en libertad: Revista Peruana de Literatura</i> 19,179 (2016): 5-6. Print.	

- [59] “Era la primera vez que se escuchaba cantar con tanta fuerza y rabia contenida canciones contestatarias de ‘rock-chicha’ que describían la vida de grupos inexplorados por la temática del rock nacional: los migrantes, los informales, los ahorados, la gente de barrio, el lumpen” (Ramos-García 126-7).  
The word *achorado* alludes to a daring, and/or defiant, and/or insolent subaltern. A subaltern may take pride in being called, or in calling himself *achorado*. However, from the viewpoint of the dominant class, an *achorado* may also be deemed as an *igualado*, meaning an impudent subaltern who “boldly” expects to be treated fairly and equally.
- [60] “[N]acieron a su alrededor nuevas cadenas radiales, el nuevo sonido penetró en la televisión, alcanzó al cine” (Garvich 60).
- [61] When Fujimori took office, the National Intelligence Service (SIN) promoted chicha press to divert public attention, and to slander political enemies.
- [62] For example, "Five lukewarm and one cold fellows" in the context of a car accident means that five people were injured and one died.
- [63] Cornejo Polar is skeptical about Spivak's conception of a mute subaltern: “I shall not go into the elegant sophism of Gayatri Spivak, for whom subalterns as such cannot speak, first because they obviously do speak—and most eloquently—to those in their sphere, and second because we non-subalterns do not have the ears to hear them, except when we attempt to listen and decode at the same time [...] The subaltern voice is present in our daily lives, but we make it part of our academic activity only when it has fulfilled certain requirements: it should be selected and adapted (and frequently translated) by prestigious colleagues, or transposed and transformed (by other colleagues) into ‘testimony’.” (*Writing in the Air* 154).
- [64] Eduardo González Viaña states that Sarita Colonia is worshiped beyond the national borders. He also reports that, out of the 890 miracles that had been attributed to Sarita Colonia, 751 referred to worshipers having got a job thanks to her intervention (*Sarita Colonia viene volando* 15). This suggests that the cult to Sarita Colonia has arisen out of the subalterns’ most basic needs.
- [65] Religious syncretism also took place among Afro-Peruvians who, up until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, linked the Christian gods with those of the black continent. For example, the Lord of Miracles was related to the Zambí Bantu god.  
The Lord of Miracles began being worshiped in 1655, the year when a terrible earthquake destroyed Lima, but the image of a dark-skinned Christ that an Angolan slave had painted four years earlier on a wall remained intact. Nowadays, one of the largest and most important Christian processions in the world is the one carried out in veneration of the Lord of Miracles.

- "In the beginning the Church censured the formalities of the cult of the Lord of the Miracles, then they tolerated them, and they finally fully approved them": "En un primer momento la Iglesia censuró las solemnidades al Señor de los Milagros, luego las toleró y finalmente les dio su plena aprobación" (Klaiber 137).
- [66] Jeffrey L. Klaiber points out that "la Iglesia [católica] ha mirado con distintos grados de benevolencia [las] manifestaciones populares" (Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú* 137).
- [67] Catholicism "ha perdido terreno frente a nuevas confesiones como las protestantes, carismáticas y, más recientemente, expresiones vernaculares [sic] y sincréticas [...] de origen popular [...], como la Melchorita o Sarita Colonia, están desplazando en la devoción local a Santa Rosa de Lima y [a] otros santos tradicionales" (de Soto 4).
- [68] In Juana Manuela Gorriti's short story "Si haces mal, no esperes bien" (*Revista de Lima*, 1861), she pinpoints the Sub-prefect, the landowner and *the priest* [my emphasis] as the oppressors and tyrants of the people in villages located far away from the capital.

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