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"Tengo el Orgullo de ser Peruano y Soy Feliz" Upper Class Limeños, National Identity, and Cultural Change in the 21st Century.

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Abstract

The key aim of this paper is to provide an overview of Lima's recent cultural transformations and their positive influence on the elite's contemporary process of identification with the country. In order to achieve these objectives, special attention will be paid to the consequences of the 1950s waves of migration and the massification of the media and the market four decades later. The equalizing role of the new context of the market and the media play a very important role in the argument of this paper, as it outlines the transformation of the cultural hierarchies within the city. Building upon the information gathered through focus groups and interviews in the city of Lima, the paper will conclude by addressing the contemporary cultural context of the elite and the degree of identification they now experience within the country.

TABLE OF CONTENTS **Page**

INTRODUCTION

"…La realidad, la identidad, la psicología, la antropología,

las tripas y las raíces de Lima, la ciudad capital del Perú,

la ciudad de las mil cabezas, el monstruo devorador de ocho millones de seres humanos,

ha sufrido una metamorfosis que ni el propio Kafka podría imaginar."[1]

Perú has always been characterized by a fragmented society. Three different regions conflicting in languages, customs and religion, have lacked not only a common cultural space for dialogue, but also the socio-political channels necessary to build a solid national identity. A strong culture of discrimination has constantly distinguished the Peruvian population, where indigenous peoples from the Andes and the Amazonian regions have carried a strong socioeconomic stigma typified by representations of cultural inferiority. Starting in the 1940s with a massive influx of migration from the rest of the country, "La Gran Lima", capital of Peru, came to incorporate the most significant national problem within the limits of its own territory: the contestation of what it means to be Peruvian. Changing its cultural face from "*señores criollos*" to a multicolour pamphlet of a *chicha* concert, colonial relations of stratification and emerging multicultural identifications entered into an ongoing dialogue within the city. Today, more than half a century later, the hegemonic cultural discourses of the elite Limeña has been transformed, and with it,

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[1] Abelardo Sanchez de Leon.. "Prefacio" Arellano, Rolando, and Burgos, David (eds). *Ciudad de los Reyes, de los Chavez , los Quispe…* (Lima, 2007), p. XIII.

it's understanding of itself, its country, and its role. Within this perspective, a new paradigm of nationalistic pride, in which *"lo Peruano es bueno"*, has become the essence for a new way of defining the nation. Building upon the crucial role of the wave of migration, the consequential changes within the mass media and market, and the cultural conversion emerging from these transformations, the main objective of this paper will be to address the new context within which the elite Limeña defines itself and its relation to a country, which it has neglected for a long time.

The first chapter includes a discussion about the conceptual background of the study, where the ideas of national identity, culture and post-modernism are addressed. The next two sections concentrate upon a historical discussion about the rise and the fall of the socioeconomic power of the elite and its traditional role in the national identity construction. The role of the process of migration is highlighted within the third chapter.

The second half of the paper transfers the place of discussion into the present, where important consequences from the waves of migration consolidate. The fourth section addresses the development of equalizing cultural factors within the city, which include the mass media and the market. Section five and six discuss the influence of these equalizing factors upon the elite's identification with the country. Included in this discussion are the changes within the elite's perception of *the other* and the self, and the surfacing of unifying cultural factors within the population, which include food and music.

<u>Literature Review</u>

During the past three decades, a vast body of work has been written describing the most salient characteristics and consequences of the last century's migration waves to the city of Lima. These studies have emphasised the role of migration in drastically changing the face of the capital of Peru and the cultural dynamics of stratification, both of which, have had a main role in the processes of national identity construction for hegemonic and subaltern classes in the city.

Matos Mar's classic book, "Desborde Popular" (1984), represents the stepping stone in understanding the consequences of the waves of migration to Lima and the process of transformation emerging from it. For Matos Mar, "el desborde popular…constituye el primer gran proceso nacional de articulación, participación y de intento de integración e identidad…"[2] He argues that this forceful process arose from popular sectors' unplanned mobilization, which, while met with a lack of state support and society's neglect, created multiple and informal strategies to survive. Therefore, they transformed the codes of behaviour and contributed to the collapse of the *Creole republic*. He concludes by describing Lima as a "…foco privilegiado de la nueva conciencia nacional…cuyos rasgos se perfilan con creciente nitidez en el mundo popular de la barriada"[3].

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[2] Jose Matos Mar. Desporde popular y crisis del estado: veinte anos despues. Lima: 2004, p. 143.
[3] Matos Mar. (2004), p. 21.

Guillermo Nugent's book "El Laberinto de la Choledad (1992), contemplates Lima's state of socio-cultural conversion during the 1990's as a result of the "Desborde Popular" of the previous decades. According to Nugent, Limeños were experiencing the expiration of the social world they knew and confronting the lack of consensual recognition and institutionalisation of the emerging order. "Estamos en un momento en que ni la riqueza ni la fuerza exudan naturalmente una cultura integradora. Lo característico de la realidad Peruana actual es la aguda sensación de la inexistencia de vínculos integradores en el mundo social"[4]. He identifies "la desgracia criolla" as an important factor within this crisis, which represents the split between the subjective and the experimental world of the dominant classes, who deny the changing nature of their social reality.[5] Eleven years later, in "Para Llegar al Suave Pueblo de la Memoria: la Política del Recuerdo y del Olvido", Nugent incorporates the emerging importance of the mass media in the construction of the Peruvian national imaginary within all social stratums in the city.[6]

In the early 1990s, Carlos Franco publishes "Imágenes de la Sociedad Peruana: la Otra Modernidad", where he describes the migration process as a "divorce within the waters of the Peruvian history".[7] As specified by Victor Vich in "Batallas por la Memoria: Antagonismos de la Promesa Peruana", Franco hypothesizes the importance of subjectivity within the cultural dynamics emerging from this historical rupture. As quoted by Vich, Franco believes that "lo cierto es que al optar por sí mismos, por el futuro, por

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[4] Guillermo Nugent. *El labertino de la choledad.* Lima:1992, p.32.
[5] Nugent. (1992) p.36
[6] Guillermo Nugent. "Para llegar al suave pueblo de la memoria: recuerdo y olvido al inicio de nuestro siglo XXI" in Marita López Hamman (et al.) (eds) *Batallas por la memoria: antagonismos de la promesa peruana.* (Lima:2003). p. 27.
[7] Carlos Franco. *Imagenes de la sociedad peruana: "la otra modernidad".* Lima: 1991. P. 84.

lo desconocido, por el riesgo, por el cambio, por el progreso, en definitiva, por partir,

cientos de miles o millones de jóvenes comuneros, campesinos, provincianos en las

últimas décadas se autodefinieron como modernos, es decir, liberaron su subjetividad de

las amanas de la tradición, del pasado, del suelo de la sangre, de la servidumbre,

convirtiéndose psicológicamente en hombres libres. Y al hacerlo, sin ser conscientes de

ello, cerraron una época del Perú para ir a otra".[8] He concludes by stating that the "los

discursos surgidos de los sujetos de esas experiencias portarán probablemente una

imagen y un sentido nuevo, mas profundo y mas abarcativo de los que entendemos hoy

por nación peruana."[9]

Gonzalo Portocarrero Maish, has also worked vastly on the subject. In one of his

writings, "Educación e Identidad Nacional: de la Propuesta Etnocida al Nacionalismo"

(1992), he describes the crisis in which the "propuesta oficial", valid since the beginning

of the republic, has represented the end of the white dominant class' search for a process

of homogenization or de-andeanization of the Peruvian society.[10] As stated by the

academic, "Lo andino se resiste a desaparacer y comienza a adquirir un prestigio

inimaginable..."[11] In "Ajuste de Cuentas: Cuatro Años de TEMPO"(1993), Portocarrero

describes Lima as a home for an emerging culture characterized by a new symbolic

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[8]Victor Vich. "Borrachos de amor": las luchas por la ciudadania en el cancionero popular Peruano" in Marita López Hamann (et la.) (eds) *Batallas por la memoria: antagonismos de la promesa Peruana.* (Lima: 2003) p. 359.
[9] Franco.(1991) P. 108.
[10] Portocarrero Maisch, Gonzalo. 1992. "Educacion e identidad nacional: de la propuesta etnocida al nacionalismo andino" in *Debates en Sociología.* No. 12, p. 10.
[11] Portocarrero, (1992) p.10.

process of social categorization.[12] Nevertheless, Portocarrero still emphasises the elite's desire to set itself apart from the popular classes, which is represented by this group's own depiction as a "superior specie"..[13]

Later in the 1990s, in "Identidades y Autonomias en Conflicto: Aproximaciones a los Rasgos Culturales en el Peru", Luis Mujica argues that "El Perú, en vez de ser una sociedad fragmentada, es mas bien una sociedad que va tomando conciencia de su segmentación histórica y estructural expresada en la centralización política y cultural".[14] Following the pattern of thought initiated by Matos Mar, Mujica steps a bit further and emphasizes the 'laberinto cultural' in characterising Lima's important transformations and in delineating the process of national identity construction in the city.[15] On the other hand, Carmen Rosa Balbi's "Lima: Aspiraciones, Reconocimiento y Ciudadania en los noventa" also published in the late 1990s, argues for a more consolidated vision of the process and refers to the "cholification" of the city of Lima," as an ethnic and cultural blend of the different components of the Peruvian society.[16]

In 2007, "Conversiones Culturales" of Juan Carlos Vela, emphasises the end of the dominant classes' cultural authority within society and the consolidation of the mass

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[12] Gonzalo Portocarrero Maisch. "Ajuste de cuentas: cuatro anos de TEMPO" in Gonzalo Maisch Portocarrero (ed) "*Los nuevos limeños, suenos , fervores y caminos en el mundo popular.* (Lima, 1993) p. 13.

[13] Portocarrero. (1993) p. 19.

[14] Luis Mujica Bermudez "Identidades y autonomias en conflicto: aproximaciones a los rasgos culturales en el Peru." *Paginas.* 21: 142 (1996) 46.

[15] Mujica (1996) 48.

[16] Carmen Rosa Balbi "¿Una ciudadanía descoyuntada o redefinida por la crisis?De "Lima la horrible" a la identidad chola" in Carmen Rosa Balbi (ed), *Lima: aspiraciones , reconocimiento y ciudadania en los noventa.* (Lima:1997), p 12

media as an agent of socialization within the city. He considers the subject of culture to be central in understanding the reconfiguration of the hegemonic and subaltern classes in 21st century.[17] He argues that Lima's cultural convergence represents "los cruces entre lo culto y lo popular, o lo que Garcia Canclini llama hibridez…. donde…lo cultural tiene que ver cada vez más con la comunicación de masas y con la cultura de masas…".[18]

Like the studies just discussed, this paper places migration and the cultural structural changes emerging from it, as the most important factors when discussing the Peruvian construction of national identity in today's Lima. However, unlike previous studies, this paper emphasizes the transformation of the traditional sector and their newly acquired position within the process of national identity construction. Having a better understanding on how the elite's cultural practices and images of national identification are materializing, could be the stepping-stone into consolidating another chapter in Peruvian history; a chapter where its multicultural faces find in their differences shared factors of pride as a nation.

Research Methodology and Sources

The research process was divided in three sections. The first section pertained to the research for the theoretical and historical background and literature review. The other two sections involved field research; one concentrating on ten interviews, and the other including four generational focus groups. The interviewees included various academics from Universities in Lima and specialists of different fields. The other section involved a

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[17] Juan Carlos Vela. *Conversiones culturales en el Perú.* Lima: 2007. p. 10.
[18] Vela (2007) p. 28.

group of 29 individuals. A representative sample from a network of elite contacts in Lima was chosen to participate. I have taken into consideration that this method could have diminished the control of the study over the representativeness of the sample; subsequently, special attention has been given to prevent over-generalizations of the data.

The sessions' length was an average of one hour. The participants were given structured questionnaires with 19 questions, as well as open-ended questions for a group discussion. There were twenty females and nine males. All of the participants reside in exclusive districts within the city of Lima: 8% in La Molina, 10% in Barranco, 27% in Miraflores, and 55% in San Isidro. 93% of the sample was born in Lima, while 7% was born outside the country. All the participants have attended or are attending prestigious private schools, such as Belén, Santa Ursula, Nuestra Señora del Carmen, and Santa María. They frequent selected private social clubs in and outside the city, such as El Regatas, El Club el Golf Los Inkas, Lima Golf Club, Jockey Club del Perú and the Country Club Villa, as well as popular restaurants, pubs and discotheques within the city.

SECTION 1

UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPTS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND CULTURE IN THE CONTEXT OF LIMA'S EXPERIENCE.

Central to this paper's success is the discussion of the concepts of national identity and culture. Due to the relative nature of their meaning, delineating these two concepts plays an important role in framing the discussion of Lima's elite national identity construction and changes. While particular definitions of these concepts will help to structure the analysis of this paper, it is still important to consider the dynamic nature of this process, in which the factors of identity and culture are constantly shaped and redefined by the social, political and economic context within each situation.

1.1   National Identity: An Approach.

On the onset, this paper does not consider the construction of a national identity as a synonym for a process of homogenization.[19] Conversely, the construction of a national identity is defined as a process of agglutination, where particular factors or events, serve as unifying agents of individuals within a nation. For this definition, individuals do not necessarily share the same perception of themselves, their surroundings and even, their country. They come together in their mutual recognition of certain symbols, images, objects or behaviours as representative of their belonging to a common national sentiment.

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[19] Tim Edensor. *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*. NY/ Oxford:2002. P. 27.

The notions of "self" and the "other" have a fundamental place in how this paper approaches the construction of national identities. Building upon the idea that identities develop from the notion of difference between the self and the other, we can conclude that "de la como concebimos al otro depende la manera como nos concebimos a nosotros mismos… Entre lo propio y lo otro hay una relación dialéctica."[20] Within this relationship, the elite Limeña's national identity transformation can be interpreted as arising from the changes of the other: the popular. As a consequence of the popular class' new role in the city of Lima, the elite's perception of this group has been transformed and has deeply affected the perception of themselves within society. Consequently, a wider space for mutual recognition has emerged, where agglutinating factors are more likely to arise.

The contestation of the self and the other, as well as the surfacing of agglutinating factors, are conceived within two different spheres: the public and the private. As stated by Jorge Larrin the public sphere is represented by well structured, top-down ideologies, which are produced and replicated by official institutions.[21] Conversely, the private sphere is represented by the social base of society and "expresses a variety of practices, modes of life, and feelings which become representative of a nation's identity…"[22] Due to the absence of any releveant role of public institutions within the process of national identity construction in Lima, as well as an inclusive official discourse of a national history or future national proyect in the city, the private realm has become much more

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[20] Fidel Tubito. "La recuperación de las memorias colectivas en la de las identidades" in Marita López Hamann (et la.) (ed) *Batallas por la memoria: antagonismos de la promesa Peruana.* (Lima: 2003) p 79.
[21] Jorge Larrain . "Identity and modernity in Latin America". Cambridge, Oxford, Maiden: 2000. p. 34, 69.
[22] Larrain (2000) p. 34,69.

influential in the population's imaginary. Individuals are increasingly finding their citizenship's rights develop within the private sphere, where the media and the market have come to replace the notion of political democracy and the traditional role of citizenship.[23]

1.2   The role of culture:

"La cultura no es un dato exterior, es una practica existecial identificatoria.".[24] A stated by Cecilia Salgado, culture is an "active agent", which delineates the subjective junctions and objective classifications which ultimately come together to constitute the foundation for the construction of a national identity. [25]   The authenticity and validity of this convergence will depend on the mutual recognition of the participant's cultural inputs and the acceptance of these inputs as part of the nations' general discourse.[26]

Although this paper highlights cultural factors as the unifying channels in the process of national construction, it does not suggest an absence of contestation within this realm. Culture "is not 'a rooted body that grows, lives ,dies, but is rather a site of displacement, interference and interaction'". [27] And that is the rationale behind the importance of cultural factors in Peru, where most of the population have been marginalized from the official channels of representation for a long time. The indication of the consolidation of a new order will depend on the extent and strength of cultural exchange, and its influence

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[23] Nestor Garcia Canclini. *Consumers and Citizens*. Minneapolis: 2001. 15,22.
[24] Javier Protzel. *Procesos Interculturales: texturas y complejidad de los simbólico*. Lima: 2006, p. 25.
[25] Cecilia Salgado Levano. ¿Quienes somos los Peruanos?: Una perspectiva psicologica de la identidad nacional. Lima:1999, p. 27.
[26] Salgado (1999) p. 27.
[27] Edensor. (2002) p. 2.

over the renovation of the participants' subjectivity.[28] As with what happens today in Lima, where the cultural classificatory lines of class haven began to disappear and the cultured and the popular to converge in a fusion of taste.[29]

1.3   From Modernism to Post-Modernism: A Dialogue between Multiculturalism and National Identity.

Discussing the process of national identity construction in Lima today entails an understanding of the post-modernist ideology. According to Garcia Canclini "la visualidad posmoderna… es la escenificación de una doble pérdida: del libreto y del autor".[30] Post modernism introduces the lost of the rhetoric of cultural hierarquization and the emergence of a concept of fusion. It is not a replacement for modernism, but a redefinition of its boundaries of development and notions of progress.[31] As stated by Jesus Martin Barbero, "instead of coming to replace, [post modernity] comes to rearrange the relationships between modernity and traditions"[32]

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[28] Martin Hopenhayn. "La aldea global entre la utopia transcultural y el radio mercantil: paradojas de la globalización cultural" in Carlos Ivan Degregori and Gonzalo Portocarrero (eds.), *Cultura y Globalizacion.* (Lima:2004) p. 26

[29] Maria Teresa Quiroz. "Comunicacion /educacion/tecnologia: homogeneizacion o diversificacion cultural?" in Santiago Lopez (et las.) (eds) *Industrias culturales : maquina de deseos en el mundo contemporaneo*. (Lima: 2007), p. 259.

[30] Garcia, Canclini, Nestor. 1995. Culturas Hibridas. Minn/London: Minnesota Press, p. 299. My Translation.
[31] Garcia Canclini (1995) 44
[32] Larrain (2000) p. 185.

SECTION 2

**THE RISE AND FALL OF THE ELITE'S TRADITIONAL ROLE ON
NATIONAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION**

Ever since the foundation of the republic, Limeños' national imaginary has been
dominated by an official and exclusionary discourse of what it means to be Peruvian. The
elite has been a major actor in the construction and reproduction of this discourse.
However, three decisive events taking place in the 20th century transformed the role of
this group in a process of political, socioeconomic and cultural contestation. These
events included the coming to power of Augusto B. Leguia in 1919, the coming to power
of the General Juan Velasco Alvarado in 1968, and lastly, the waves of migration through
the second half of the century.

2.1   The Elite and the Traditional Discourse of National Identity

On the 28th of July of 1821, Peru was founded as a new republic. Despite its political
constitution, the official act of founding a government, did not match with the process of
creating a nation.[33] The potentiality of creating a solid national sentiment was highly
diminished by the role the stereotypes played in the construction of the national
imaginary. As Homi K.Bhabha argues: "en una cultura colonizada el estereotipo, cuya
funcion es guiar el proceso de subjetivación, conlleva detrás un aparato de poder/saber
que es el de la cultura dominante, el cual conlleva en su seno el anular la posibilidad (de

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[33] Nelson Manrique. "Sociedad.", in *Enciclopedia Tematica del Peru Tomo. VII.*. (Lima: 2004), p. 18.

la identidad) del 'otro'…"[34] Events such as Tupac Amaru II's unsuccefful revolution in

1780, which terminated the indigenous elite system[35], and the War of the Pacific (1879-

1883) which deepened the sentiments of division and distrust between creoles and

indigenous peoples[36], intensified native population's negative categorizations by the

dominant classes. These categorizations, influenced by European theories of positivism

were at the core of the elite's traditional discourse of exclusion, which, as stated by

Portocarrero, rested upon the "alleged incapacity of indigenous peoples to modernize the

country and … [the elite's] self-proclaimed superiority".[37]

The elite was characterised as a small group of individuals with notable political,

economic and military achievements, who had increasingly accumulated fortunes and

social prestige throughout the 19th century.[38] Around eighteen thousand individuals

integrated this group.[39] Politically, they were represented by the Civilista party, which

stayed in power from 1890s to 1919, in what was called "the aristocratic republic."[40]

This period represented the golden years of the oligarchic group in the country.

The oligarchic group's position within society was understood as a natural event or, as

stated by Bourdieu, "un acto de magia social" where the limits were implied in the

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[34] Gisele Velarde. "Prejuicio e identidad nacional" in Marita López Hamann (et la.) (eds) *Batallas por la memoria: antagonismos de la promesa peruana*. (Lima: 2003) p.168.
[35] Manrique (2004) p. 11,13.
[36] Portocarrero, (1992) p.13.
[37] Protzel (2006) p. 67.
[38] Gonzalo Portocarrero. "Memorias del Velasquismo"in Marita López Hamman (et la.) (eds) *Batallas por la memoria: antagonismos de la promesa peruana*. (Lima 2003). p. 244.
[39] Juan Luis Orrego Penagos.
[40] Portocarrero (Lima). p. 244.

powerful social ordering of rituals.[41] This group "…introduced the chronicle of everyday life, common habits and tastes, ways of speaking and dressing that differentiated one people from another".[42] Trying to cross the line of class would single out a person as "huachafo"- a person who pretended to be someone that he or she was not.[43] The school and the church played important roles as socializing agents imparting accepted modes of taste, while the elite's exclusive residential areas, social clubs and restaurants, demarcated geographically their closed social circles.

The sense of pessimism and the high regard for foreign countries played a very important role in the cultural imaginary of the elite Limeña during this time. Pessimism represented the feeling of denial towards the country's own characteristics, which in turn, influenced the sentiments of admiration for foreign traditions.[44] This generated a "borrowed" discourse, incongruent with the social reality of the country and based upon an external idea of what was accepted. As stated by Salazar Bondy, the Peruvian identity was "una identidad de la carencia", an identity defined from what individuals "no eran y querían ser", an identity based upon "…una comunidad imaginada cuya esencia –también imaginada-…[fue] el descentramiento, es decir, el estar lanzados hacia fuera desde ningún centro.[45]

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[41] Garcia Canclini (1995) p.185
[42] Garcia Canclini (2001) p. 89.
[43] Juan Luis Orrego Penago
[44] Mendez (1996) p.199
[45] Tubito. (2003) p 77.

2.2 Crisis of the Hegemonic Role: Leguia and Velasco.

In 1919, Augusto B. Leguia, sought his second presidential term and participated in a military coup against the civilista party. Leguia's success, added to popular mobilizations, marked the end of the civilista's political power and the aristocratic period.[46] The oligarchic group lost its hegemonic political position as a "clase dirigente" and eliminated any trace of a "political elite" in the country. Nevertheless, while this group lost the opportunity to govern directly, its economic power and the support from the military, allowed them to influence the country's future administrations.[47]

Consequently, the oligarchy's economic and social supremacy remained intact. While the aristocratic republic represented the most important manifestations of exclusionary ideas of citizenship, after its defeat, the concept of national identity was still determined by dominant classes' socioeconomic and cultural standards. The goal was to save the *indio* by means of education and cultural assimilation based on occidental principals.[48] The view of indigenous peoples was still tainted by feelings of superiority and exotism.

More than four decades later, none of the twelve civilian governments that had been in power had challenged the oligarchy's supremacy in the country. In 1968, tired of being the "perro guardian de la oligarquía",the armed forces decided to intervene.[49] A military junta staged a coup, placing General JuanVelasco Alvarado as the president and marking the beginning of the end of the oligarchic group in the country.

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[46] Julio Cotler."Democracia e integración Nacional." Lima:1980, p. 65.
[47] Francois Bourricaud. *Poder y sociedad en el Perú*. Lima:1989, p. 64.
[48] Manrique (2004) p. 25.
[49] Manrique (2004) p. 46.

Once in power, Velasco introduced a series of reforms aiming to destroy the economic foundation and the political influence of the oligarchic families. One of his most important projects was the agrarian reform, which expropriated and re-distributed the *haciendas*, major symbols of the oligarchy's supremacy in the country. Other important changes included the expansion of the public education system, the growth of communication structures, and the elimination of the restriction for the illiterate to vote.[50] The government gave for the first time, "un lugar previligiado al "cholo" en un intento fracasado por producir una nueva identidad nacional homogenea."[51]

While Velasco's government succeeded in dismantling the oligarchic system, breaking its economic base and cutting up its political privileges, the government failed to consolidate the construction of an inclussionary national project in the country. His reforms did not signify the complete removal from power of the members of the oligarchic group, but their re-accomodation in society.[52] The new dominant classes, the socioeconomic elites, or "nice people", continued to legitimize the social order by excluding themselves from the "nasty people".[53] They were still characterised by having a lot of money, exclusiveness, and an important role in the construction of the social imaginary.

And it would be the consequences of the third and most important event, the waves of migration , that would, not only challenge the economic hegemony of the elite, but also

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[50] David Wood. *De sabor nacional : el impacto de la cultura popular en el Peru*. Lima: 2005, p. 25, 29.
[51] Wood (2005) p. 24.
[52] Interview with Juan Luis Orrego Penagos, Lima. 2 Jul., 2008.
[53] Nugent. (1992) p.20

defy the cultural norms of society, transforming fore ever, the official discourse of

national identity construction in Lima.

SECTION THREE

"EL DESBORDE POPULAR"

The process of migration represents one of the most important events in Peru in the 20th century. As stated by Franco, the waves of migration to Lima, "no solo transform[aron] el scenario politico-cultural en que se desarrolla la vida peruana, sino que… convi[rtieron] a los centros urbanos en el espacio privilegiado de encuentros, intercambios y fusiones de las corrientes étnico-culturales del país, forjando así precarias realidades pero también el vasto potencial de comunidad nacional."[54]

3.1 The Face of Migration

The first waves of migration to the city of Lima consisted of farmers and hacienda servants, mainly coming from the Andean valleys and mountains located in the most neglected regions of the country.[55] The main cause of migration was an economic crisis, which hit certain provinces lacking governmental support, due to the preferential assistance to the coastal region. According to Julio Cotler, during the 1950s, while the coastal sectors' per capita income was growing at a 4% rate, the per capita income of the Andean region fell by a 7%.[56] Later in the 1960s and 1970s, the consequences of Velasco's failed agrarian reform, exacerbated these tendencies.

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[54] Balbi. (1997) p. 11.
[55] Franco.(1991) P. 85
[56] Manrique (2004) p. 34.

By the 1980s, 42.7% of Lima's 4.6 million residents had emigrated from other parts of the country.[57] The number of new settlements in the city rose from 95 to 605 in thirty years of migration.[58] By the 1990s, the city had experienced a total population growth of 500% since the 1950s, within which the "new Limeños" accounted for around 70% of the whole.[59] As stated by Sandoval, Peru was transformed from a rural to an urban country, where the urban population went from 35.4% in the 1940s to 70.1% in the 1990s, while the rural population decreased from 64.6% to 9.9% of the total.[60] The *Lima senorial* from the beginning of the century had been transformed into the *Lima de las invasiones.[61]*

3.2   Lima de las Invasiones.

During the first decades of the process, the elite's hegemonic socioeconomic and cultural position remained in its place. When arriving to the city, immigrants defined themselves within the elite's parameters of the world, which located them in an inferior position and transformed their subjective world of references.[62] They were ignored and rejected from mainstream society. Survival resided in the negation of their own identity.

On the part of the dominant classes, "cholear" became the main tool of discrimination, where not only the physical characteristics counted as differentiating factors, but also the individual's cultural taste.[63] The "cholo" was this dirty, uncivilised, tainted person, not

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[57] Rolando Arellano and David Burgos (eds) *Ciudad de los Reyes, de los Chavez , los Quispe...* Lima: 2007) p. 53, 55.
[58] Arellano and Burgos (2007) p. 53, 55.
[59] Sanchez de Leon (2007), p. XII.
[60] William Stein. "Los letreros de las calles del Centro de Lima: identidad en el Perú" in Marita López Hamann (et la.) (ed) *Batallas por la memoria: antagonismos de la promesa Peruana.* (Lima: 2003), p. 64.
[61] Matos Mar. (2004), p. 18.
[62] Portocarrero. (1993) p. 24
[63] Walter Twanama. "Racismo Peruano, ni calco ni copia". *Que hacer..*170 (2008) p 104.

indian, but neither white. It was an individual in a transitional state, which signified

inferiority. The cholo was the person who did not whitened himself/herself and became

"criolla".

With time, the city of Lima was going through a path of "cholification", which was

progressively disconcerting for the elites. "Lima finalizaba la primera mitad del siglo

fortalecida por la precensia de los migrantes, los cuales dia a dia no solo la hacian mas

suya, sino que la iban construyendo (moldenando) a la par que se adaptaban a ella."[64]

They bypassed the system of exclusion and organized themselves. They opened

businesses and built *comedores populares*. They made a living. Immigrants also imposed

their music, their dances, and their *chicha* culture. They transformed themselves from

"marginales" to "informales", from "emergentes" to "emergidos.[65] The colonial paradigm

of understanding and defining society was lost, and *la Lima de las invasiones* was

giving way to "*la Lima de la integración*".[66]

3.3   La Lima de la Integración.

This period represents the time where the social and cultural consequences of the

processes of migration materialized. The third generation, those who contrasting their

parents and grandparents consider themselves today as "Limeños complete"; are the

central force behind these changes.[67] While they have not ignored the process of

modernization, they have not felt the need to deny their roots. They feel proud of whom

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[64] Arellano and Burgos (2007) p. 45.
[65] Vela (2007) p. 118.
[66] Arellano and Burgos (2007) p. 95.
[67] Arellano and Burgos (2007) p. 78

they are, and they have come to represent the connecting bridge between the traditional and the modern, the popular and the cultured, the imagined and the real.

These changes have resulted in cultural experiences that are increasingly becoming a common factor among individuals from different socioeconomic and cultural classes. Sharing more public and private spaces has influenced a positive interchange of costumes and practices between them. As stated by Arellano, "las antiguas clases sociales se han mezclado más que nunca".[68] A double-sided process has taken place, where the defeat of the hegemonic role of the elite and the boom of the popular classes have resulted in the democratization of the construction of the country's national identity. As referred by Matos Mar, the important of this event has not been that society is undergoing changes due to popular mobilization, but that they are happening outside the limits of the elite's official discourse.[69]

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[68] Arellano and Burgos (2007) p. 95.
[69] Matos Mar. (2004) p. 18.

SECTION FOUR

LA LIMA DE LA INTEGRACION: THE EQUALIZING FACTORS

Immigrants came into Lima and within decades, they changed the urban cultural context, the face of the city and their role within it. Two interrelated factors have functioned as mirrors and agents within this process, helping to shape Lima's cultural transformations and the process of cultural levelling. These factors include the mass media and the market.

4.1   The mass media and the cultural industries.

The importance of the cultural industries comes at a time where the urbanization of the population and the increasing accessibility to communication mediums are highly influencing the process of media massification within the city. The school has lost its central role as the most important socializing institution, where the elite reproduced the hierarquization of culture and the national collective memory. The importance of written material has moved away into a backstage position in the face of the radio, the television, and the internet. The family, core institution of cultural status, has lost its influence against the emergence of mass culture and the reorganization of collective imaginary symbols.[70] Emerging cultural industries are not longer defined by contrasting concepts such as popular and cultured, illiterate and educated. While it is getting difficult to remain exclusive within the city, the "equalizing" character of the mass media is bringing a

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[70] Daniel del Castillo. "Lo masivo en el proceso cultural Peruano" in Gonzalo Maisch Portocarrero (ed), *Los nuevos limeños sueños , fervores y caminos en el mundo popular.* (Lima, 1993) p. 335.

general opportunity for expression, identification, and projection; an open door for universal contribution.[71]

Whereas the process of socialization was usually intended for small cultural circles, today, notions of "*lo nacional*" are highly emphasized.[72] Cultural industries have a crucial role in this process, where the transformation of the Andean to the *cholo,* and the *cholo* to the national takes place.[73] The increasing accessibility of Limeños to communication technology, has had a fundamental impact within the process.

4.1.a   Limeño's access to technology.

The growing presence of internet, radio and television has highly influenced the cultural transformations taking place in Lima. According to the National Institute of Statistics and Informatic's 2007 survey, 24.71 % of Limeños owns a computer, 85% owns a radio, and 95.17% owns a television.[74] This massification of technology has opened the doors for the construction of a merging field of experiences, where the population has increasing opportunities to share a common cultural context. Due to its popularity within the residents, television has had a central responsibility in the process. Television programming and advertising have been important elements within this development.

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[71] Portocarrero. (1993) p. 35
[72] Del Castillo (1993) p. 337.
[73] Castillo (1993) p. 349.
[74] Martell, Javier. Lima solo 24% de Hogares cuenta con PC.
<http://www.elestandarsocial.com/2007/09/lima-solo-24-de-hogares-tiene-pc.html>

4.1.b   Television Programming.

Although Peruvian television could have never been considered to be of an "elitist" style, it has always been marked by a traditional occidental taste.[75] However, due to the demographic changes brought by migration, it was forced to pay more attention to the national context. While Peruvian productions increased in number and in preference, their innovative content came to interpret what was happening on the streets.[76] "La popularizacion de la pequena pantalla…contribu[yó] substancialmente a legitimizar el autoreconocimiento de un nuevo sujeto cultural moderno que durante mucho tiempo permanecio excluido."[77] Clear examples of these processes are represented by the transformations within the conception and reception of newly produced television programs, as well as within the revalorization of standards of beauty within actors and television hosts.

In 2005, "Dina Paucar: La Lucha por un Sueño", the biographical story of an Andean female singer, hit the small screen. As stated by Javier Protzel, the differences in content between "Simplemente María", a 50 year old production featuring the unforgiven love of a *muchacha* and her *patron*'s son, and Dina Paucar's mini-series, reveals the country's deep cultural transformations.[78] Protzel discusses the nature of the characters and compares the interpretation of María, an immigrant domestic worker performed by an occidental looking actress, to the interpretation of Dina Paucar, an Andean immigrant artist performed by a *chola* actress. He highlights the denial of reality in the first

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[75] Protzel (2006) p. 119.
[76] Protzel (2006) p. 122.
[77] Protzel (2006) p. 119.
[78] Protzel (2006) p. 129.

production and the framework of thought in regards to the audience's feelings, notions of beauty and process of identification. He underlines the programmes content's changes, which have moved away from portraying the patronizing relationship between helpless cholos/as and the dominant classes into a more realistic approach to the popular population's experiences. As stated by Protzel, "El triunfo de la María de 1969 era el ascenso obtenido mediante el amor del señorito de la casa, la Dina del 2004 es una 'self-made woman' que encuentra una pareja de la misma extraccion que ella".[79]

The changing approach of the mass media to the popular market is not the only positive transformation occurring in the last decades. The remarkable success of Dina Paucar's biographical story, especially within the elite sector of the city, also highlights the important changes taking place in society. In an interview to the producer of the miniseries, Michelle Alexander, she explains that the production's accomplishments, has made obvious that a process of social cohesion is taking place. Scoring 30 points of rating within the elite sector of Lima points out, not only to an increasing amount of exposure to the "other" within society, but also to a collective enjoyment of the same experience.[80]

Hand in hand with the transformations within the conception and reception of television programs, comes the revalorization of standards of beauty within actors and television hosts. An important illustration comes from the experiences of Gisella Varcarcel and Tula Rodriguez. Gisella was a young dancer, coming from the most impoverish districts

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[79] Protzel (2006) p. 129.
[80] Cinco Uno Noticias. Michelle Alexander y el Exito de la Miniserie sobre Dina Páucar. <http://www.cincouno.com/noticias/notas/00153.htm>

in the city of Lima, who started her career during the 1980s.[81] Although talented, Gisella had to transform herself to fit into the occidental physical standard of the television world. She died her hair blonde, underwent surgical procedures, and took every step to assure the whitening of her image. As stated by Jorge Bruce in an interview with Eduardo Abusada, in order to make it, Gisela "no tenia otro camino"[82]

Comparing the different experiences from Gisella and Tula, also a dancer coming from a poor district within Lima who started her career during the late 1990s, exemplifies the drastic changes within the acceptance of the 'popular other' within the media. Today Tula feels proud of her origins, her brown skin, and her social background. She is as successful as Gisella, and has achieved it without the need to accommodate to an occidental standard of beauty. Gonzalo Portocarrero believes that a notion of a *belleza chola* "[83] has emerged, which not only precludes artist as Gisella and Tula of having to transform themselves in order to be liked, but also helps to rearrange the national imaginary within the population.

4.1.c Advertising.

Although the occidental stereotype of beauty is still a strong image in advertisement, it does not play the same role it did decades ago. The "argumento aspiracional", referring to the desire of popular classes to reflect themselves in occidental characters, has lost its

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[81] Stein (2003), p. 65.
[82] Eduardo Abusada. "Nos habíamos choleado tanto: una entrevista a Jorge Bruce". Que Hacer, 170 (2008) p. 101.
[83] Interview with Gonzalo Portocarrero, Lima, 17 Jul., 2008.

appeal.[84] Publicists such as Rolando Arellano have come to recognize the fact that 80%

of the market is made-up of *cholos*, who want to be acknowledged in the media.[85]

Ignoring this fact not only has contributed to the reproduction of cultural hierarchies, but

also, to ineffectual publicity campaigns. Today, being "100% Peruvian" sells, and

publicist are starting to take advantage of this realization.

However, publicists are not the only ones taking advantage of this situation. Gustavo

Rodriguez, discusses the subject of national heroes and the role of advertising in their

construction. He argues that publicists not only take advantage of the market, but also

satisfy the needs and desires of society. Rodriguez argues that a "tacit negotiation"

between the media and the audience, where 'I give you what you need and you give me

attention', have been crucial in the production of national heroes (or agglutinating

factors). Consequently, while advertising is looking for "anchors of pride" to satisfy

Limeños' emerging need of nationhood, the audience is materializing as a new unified

market and potential consumers. Both of which, has contributed to a common ground of

identification.[86]

Despite the mounting examples of advertising positive influence upon society, the reality

of this process is still surrounded by questions on its duration and profundity. However,

as believed by Rodriguez, the appearance of new anchors of national pride in the media,

are not a mere fashion or a sheer marketing tool, but a reflection and reaffirmation of

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[84] Rolando Arellano. Bueno, bonito y barato: aprendiendo marketing con historias de la vida diaria: Tomo1. Lima: 2007, p. 51.
[85] Abusada (2008) p. 100.
[86] Interview with Gustavo Rodríguez, Lima, 22 Jul. 2008.

important transformations taking place within society's notions of cultural and racial hierarquization. In order to exemplify this argument he describes an anecdote:

"Hace tiempo un periodista me pregunto en que etapa de una compaña publicitaria entraba el prejucio, ¿en el casting? ¿antes del primer comercial?...Yo respondi que se instala un poco antes, osea en 1533 cuando Atahualpa es tomado por los Españoles …La publicidad en sí, no es ni machista, ni discriminitaria o sectaria. La publicidad lo que es, es reflejante. Refleja lo que sus creadores ven de la sociedad. Entonces, hace 20 años, por ejemplo, la publicidad era mucho más prejuciosa… mucho más discriminatora. Pero obvio que las sociedades cambian [como en Lima hoy], nacen nuevas classes medias, mas emprendedoras, mas mestizas, mas cholas.Y este fenómeno se empieza a reflejar. Entonces no lo veo como una moda. La publicidad empezo a reflejar algo que ya comenzaba a cocinarse en los últimos años."[87]

4.2   The Market.

As with the mass media, the markets also came to replace traditional socializing agents in society. During the 1980s, as a result of a vast economic crisis, the increasing rate of unemployment, and the governments' detachment from the population, an important portion of the new sectors of the city of Lima searched for new strategies of survival. Self-employment and small and medium businesses invaded the city and created a new economy.[88] The development of this new market soon erased the "imaginary lines"

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[87] Rodríguez (2008).

[88] Franco.(1991) P. 31

separating those who could be potential clients and consumers.[89] As interpreted by Garcia Canclini, consumption became to be understood as a "means of thinking", which created "new ways of being citizens"[90]

The market was not only an equalizer field, but also, a potencial architect of national identity within Limeños[91] According to Arellano, "the emergence of a national sentiment, was in way, being increasingly translated to the field of consumption".[92] The market not only levelled the population as consumers, but also reflected the surfacing of a consuming nationalist sentiment with a growing preference for national products. Businesses began to flourish, exports to rise, successful entrepreneurs to emerge. Cultural products, such as food and music, were important factors within this process of increasing national confidence and pride.

The mass media and the market have been important channelling factors of the transformations of the city of Lima. They have come to represent essential levelling actors within society, which have helped to outline Lima's cultural conversions. The cultural industries emerging from this development have helped to shape a new sense of peruviannes, where an increasing influence from the popular to the traditional sectors of society has taken place.[93]

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[89] Rolando Arellano. Bueno, bonito y barato: aprendiendo marketing con historias de la vida diaria: Tomo 2. Lima: 2007, p. 89.
[90] George Yudice. "Translator's Introduction" in Nestor Garcia Canclini *Consumer and Citizens.* Minneapolis:2001. XXXIV
[91] Arellano (2007) p. 50.
[92] Arellano and Burgos (2007) p. 235.
[93] Arellano. (2007) p. 57.

SECTION FIVE

NATIONAL IDENTITY AND CULTURAL CHANGE IN THE 21 FIRST CENTURY: THE SELF AND THE OTHER.

Lima's demographic changes have had an important effect on the elite's understanding of its country. Not only has this group stopped being the hegemonic socioeconomic and political force within the city, but it has also changed its perception of national identity and its role in its construction. These changes have been reflected by two events, which have influenced the foundation for new identitary models within the city. These include the transformation of the elite's perception of "the other", which in turn has influenced the transformation of the elite's perception of itself, and the emergence of cultural industries, which have encouraged the development of agglutinating cultural factors among the population and reinforced the new hybrid cultural context within the city.

The elite's perception of the 'self' and the 'other'.

The elite Limeña's construction of national identity has always revolved around the relationship between the perception it has of itself and the perception it has of the others around it (i.e the *cholos,* popular classes). It has been a process reflected upon the act of differentiation and dual categorization (i.e rich/poor, cholo/blanco, clean/dirty, etc), where the elite's socioeconomic status has determined its notion of society's cultural hierarchies. However, this process had changed. The replacement of traditional socializing factors (i.e school and family) for the mass media and the market, has shattered the notions of cultural differentiation between the educated and the popular and

made the paradigm of taste an obsolete marker of superiority. As the elite's VIP position has expired, so did the way they used to classify the city's cultural world.[94] Degregori has explained this process in light of a "construccion de un Nosotros diverso, reivindicando el derecho de unos y otros a la igualdad y a la diferencia."[95]

Discussing the changes within the elite's perception of the other, the transformations within its notions of racism and the act of *cholear*, and its perception of itself, will provide a preliminary understanding of this ongoing process of change. Information gathered throughout the field research, during the interviews as well as in the focus groups' discussion and questionnaires, will be used within this section.

5.1   The perception of the *cholo* 'other'.

The foundation within the elite's perceptional change of the *cholo* emerges as a direct consequence of the changes of the cholo's perception of himself/herself. For a long time, the subaltern sectors of the population had internalized the elite's dual categorization, thus assuming a position which diminished their cultural practices. "La dominación política y cultural se reprodu[jo] en el mundo interno como baja autoestima… El racismo presion[ó] hacia la verguenza y el arribismo, impid [ió] articular identificaciones, [y] plasmar una identidad." [96] The first generation of immigrants felt ashamed, neglected their own identity and imitated the cultural characteristics of the elite. Today, their descendents feel increasingly proud of their roots, their culture, and their achievements.[97]

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[94] Pierre Bourdieu. *Distinction: A Social Critique of theJudgement of Taste*. London: 1984, p. 473.
[95] Wood (2005) p. 21
[96] Portocarrero. (1993) p. 22
[97] Interview with Hortensia Ferrand, Lima, 27 Jun., 2008.

One of the most important factors within this perceptional change has been the economic transformations experienced by the popular classes. Today they have come to represent the most dynamic economic sector within the city, and become, according to Hernando De Soto the "héroe de la epopeya del desarrollo" [98]. This situation has strongly influenced their sense of unity and the elite's impression about them. The emerging positive attributes as producers, consumers, and active participants of the construction of a coherent and positive sense of peruviannes, are grasped by the elite's world and introduced as a contraresting position to the colonial notion of power."[99]

While positive economic change in the market and positive perceptional change in the media have taken place, the coexistence of the popular and the cultured have increased and the imaginary barriers within society have started to disappear. Personal contact with "the other" has gradually changed the elite's notion of owning the city, as they have started to share their children's schools, their beauty salons, their malls, and their restaurants.[100] Exclusive places, previously designated for the elite, such as *La Tiendesita Blanca* coffee shop in Miraflores, could today, be also visited by "un panzon con 20 camiones", who also lives in La Molina, sends his kids to an exclusive school such as "Markham", and watches the same programs as members of the elite.[101] This increasing opportunity for social and cultural exchange has helped to overcome myths and false

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[98] Portocarrero. (1993) p. 36
[99] Balbi. (1997) p. 16.
[100] Ferrand (2008)
[101] Interview with Julio Cotler, Lima, 31 Jul. 2008

believes about the 'non-white other', which have been perpetuated by traditional socializing agents.

5.2   Racism and *choleo*.

Racism has a long history in the Peruvian imaginary, as the perception of the other has constantly been defined within its boundaries. After the period of migration, racism became embodied in the action of *cholear*. *Cholear* was to lessen the other, to undermine its worth. While for some writers on the subject *el choleo* is still a strong mechanism of exclusion and alienation in Lima, many others have started to highlight the changes within its usage and connotation. Although these changes have not signified the eradication of racism in Lima, they represent the first steps towards a positive redefinition of the other. As stated by Nelson Manrique, "la desaparición del racismo ser[a] solo cuestión de tiempo".[102]

The connotations of the words cholo, serrano, indio, have been redefined as a consequence of the socioeconomic and cultural success of the popular sector of the population.[103] As believed by Julio Cotler, the meaning of term *cholo* "ha cambiado porque en sí, hay gente mas existosa 'chola' hoy en día." [104] Terms, "as cholo de mierda", which used to be commonly employed on a daily basis, are not anymore. As referred by Julio Hevia, while 30 years ago those types of phrases would have been

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[102] Manrique (2004) p. 38.
[103] Arellano. (2007) p. 63.
[104] Cotler (2008)

socially accepted, today the classifier would make a bad impression upon the witnesses.[105]

The information gathered through the focus groups support these new propositions. While 10% of the participants believed that the value of the word *cholo* still has a negative connotation, 50% believed that the word has no connotation at all, and 40% that the word's connotation is moving towards a positive association.[106] The explanation given by some of the participants, specially the parents of young and teenage children, is based upon the idea that there is a generational change that is helping to transform racist practices in society. As stated by one of them, "Creo que nosostros hemos cambiado, no estamos formando a nuestros hijos como nos formaron a nosotros. Olvidate, nuestros padres yo creo que eran digamos, mas racistas, de los que somos o de lo que nosotros formamos a nuestros hijos." She goes on describing how not only the up bringing has changed, but also the sociocultural context within schools, where from representing the minority group, the increasing number of students considered *cholos* has dramatically changed the educational experience of the elite and imposed 'diversity' as its new characteristic."[107]

In an interview with the Peruvian chef Gaston Acurio, he shares with me this anecdote: "Cuando yo abri mi primer restaurante hace catorce anos, habian clientes que llegaban y nos decian: "¿Por qué has dejado entrar a este restaurante a la gente de esa mesa?" [Lo

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[105] Interview with Julio Hevia, Lima, 26 Jun., 2008.
[106] Focus group 4. 2008. Lima, 20 Jul., 2008
[107] Focus group 2. 2008. Lima, 3 Jul. 2008.
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decían] porque tenían un color mestizo. Y nosotros nos indignabamos, nos provocaba botar del restaurante a estas personas. Era algo normal escuchar ese tipo de cosas de gente de esas típicas tradicionales familias antiguas. Cuando les cuento esto a mis hijas, ellas se quedan pasmadas, porque ellas entraron a un super colegio, donde todos los chicos son de todas las razas, de todos los colores. Y no logran si quiera entender como podía haber pasado esto hace tan solo catorce anos. Entonces, hoy en día vas al mismo restaurante que ibas hace catorce anos y lo maravilloso es que los raros son esas personas que nos decían eso…Termina siendo el cholo de antaño el que hoy día se atrave a decir una cosa asíí digamos. Entonces ese es el huachafo de nuestros días. Eso es maravilloso".[108]

5.3   The perception of the 'self'.

From representing a hegemonic and exclusionary force within the Peruvian national imaginary to recognizing 'the other' as part of a multicultural national project, the elite's notion of national identity has turned to the 21st century with a need of redefining itself. Factors such as the elite members' reflection upon their racial categorization and the change within their point of reference from the foreign to the national field are some of the important aspects materializing with this process.

5.3.a   From *'blancos de todas maneras'* to a discussion on the matter.

The equalizing effect of the mass media and the market, and its consequences upon the recognition of "the other", are being reflected in the elite's notions of racial and cultural classification of itself. Two questions in the focus groups questionnaires touched upon

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[108] Interview with Gaston Acurio, Lima, 4 de Jul., 2008

this subject. One reflected upon the participant's ancestors racial type, and the other upon the participants' consideration on their racial type.

The first group of participants consisted of five females within the ages of 65 to 80 years old. Both questions were answered without hesitation. Within the first one, all of the participants considered their ancestors to be European. Some of their comments about this question included: "No hay confusion para nada", "Ninguna duda de que lo sean". Likewise, in the second question all of the participants considered themselves to be white. As with the first case, some of the comments that followed included firm affirmations such as: "me considero blanca pues!", which denoted a somewhat sarcastic approach to such "an obvious" question.[109]

While the first group seemed to be very certain about its European/white origins, the following groups of younger generations, which included an adult group of seven females and five males from 40-55 years of age, a young-adult group of four females and three males from 20-30 years of age, and a teenage group of four females and one male from 13-16 years of age, not only expressed different answers, but also showed mix-up feelings on what to choose.[110] On the first question, while 67% of the participants believed their ancestors were from either a mestizo or a European-mestizo origin, only 33% believed they were just from a European origin. On the second question, while 42% of the participants considered themselves either mestizos or white-mestizos, 58% of the participants considered themselves just white. Although the percentage of the

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[109] Focus group 1. 2008. Lima, 4 Jul., 2008.
[110] Focus groups 2, 3,4 (2008)

participants who chose mestizo or white-mestizo in the second question is smaller than the percentage of participants who chose white, it still represents a significance change from the 100% choice of white origin from the older generation.[111]

The group discussions following the second question brought about an interesting approach to the changes within the feelings and values of identification within the elite. It also explained the inconsistency between the group's own racial classification and that of their ancestors. Many of the participants who did not consider themselves to be "white"per sei (i.e: physically), chose white as an answer. As stated by one of them, "Yo me puedo considerar blanco, y no soy blanco". Conversely, many who believed to be white, chose to marked mestizos. As discussed by two of them: "Es controversial. Yo pongo mestizo, pero me siento blanco.". "Lo haces por un tema de no querer parecer sobervio, o como que marcar una diferencia."

The participants maintained this contradiction emerged as the question incorporated "perception" as a central factor. The question referred to "what do you consider yourself to be?", which incorporated a whole set of subjective assumptions, values, and prejudgements. They were aware of the influence the traditional racist connotation of the concepts of blanco, mestizo, and indigena, had upon their choices in the answers. They chose mestizo, not because they felt they were, but because they did not want to embody the racist path they felt their ancestors did. Supporting this statement, one female from

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[111] Focus groups 2, 3,4 (2008)

the second group, commented, "Si se enteran que puse mestiza, seguro que mis tías me pegan!"[112]

On the other hand, while acknowledging their "mestizo blood", other participants considered themselves to be white. As stated by one of them, "Yo me puse blanco, porque me considero blanco, pero se que tengo de mestizo."[113] As they reflected upon these contradictions, they recognized the role of the cultural factor and the hierarchical differences inflected upon the white (cultured) and the mestizo (popular) within the question. One more time they came to recognize the racist classificatory characteristics influencing their answers, as well as the situational relativeness of the concepts of white, mestizo and indigenous.

The significance of the participants' responses, not only lie within whether or not they chose white or mestizo as an answer, but instead, in the process they engaged while doing so. The nature of their arguments and the emerging contradiction they encountered in the process, illustrates a transitional condition from *'blancos de todas maneras'* to a profound discussion about the matter. Traditional notions of racial and cultural superiority are being recognized, considered and questioned. The elite not longer sits upon the natural order of things, but instead, it reflects about its changing reality.

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[112] Focus groups 2,3,4 (2008)
[113] Focus group 2 (2008)

5.3.b.   Point of Reference: National vs. International.

A second factor materializing the elite's changing notion of the other and itself has been reflected upon the transition from an international identitary point of reference to a national one. Two questions within the focus groups' questionnaires have reflected upon this subject. The first question referred to the attitude of having been born in Peru. The second question referred to the option of studying overseas and moving to another country.

One of the most important causes behind the neglect for the national and admiration for the foreign, has been the elite's lack of knowledge and contact with the rest of the population. As indicated by the first focus group's participants, for a long time the elite was not keen of learning about its country, "Antes se ignoraba todo lo Peruano… En el colegio no nos enseñaban casi nada… Admirabamos a los demas."[114] While asserting the recent positive changes within society, the participants from this group also acknowledged that it would be hard for them to accept and incorporate the popular sectors within their own circles. As one pointed out: "Es que piensa en la generacion de nosotros. A estas alturas no nos van a cambiar de una cosa que hemos tenido toda la vida de asociar cosas negativas con cierto tipo de gente… No hemos estado relacionados con gente educada que sean asi."[115]

Conversely, younger generations are experiencing increasing positive situations within their country and with other sectors of the population. A sense of belonging is emerging,

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[114] Focus group 1 (2008)
[115] Focus group 1 (2008)

where phrases such as "este pais" or "esta gente" are being replaced by phrases such as "mi pais" and "mi gente". Pessimism, one of the central characteristics within the traditional elite's sentiments towards the country, is fading away and leaving room for important components of social transformation.

Within the first question, 83% of the total participants responded they were satisfied to have been born in Perú. Some of the participants acknowledged that this feeling has not always been the same, and is has changed into the positive spectrum in recent years. In the second question, 93% of the total participants believed that is reasonable to study abroad, only for a graduate course and with the intention to come back to the country. According to Guillermo Nugent, "La crisis de identidad, por supuesto no está en el proyecto de viajar sino de la completa disasociación entre un proyecto individual y su reconocimiento colectivo".[116] And, it is this collective recognition of a national project that is reflected upon the participants' answers and their new perception of reality. As one of the participants stated, "Los jóvenes estan yendo a estudiar fuera, pero con la meta de regersar al Peru, lo cual antes no sucedia."[117]

5.3.c   Pride

Resulting from all the socioeconomic and cultural changes taking place in the last decades, a strong sense of pride has emerged within the population, where previous feelings of rejection have been replaced by new feelings of identification. The answers to one of the questions within the focus groups reflects this change. The results show that

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[116] Nugent. (1992) p.5
[117] Focus group 2 (2008)

90% of the total participants felt proud or identified with their country, while only 10%

felt indifferent. Similar results have been found by a 2007-2008 survey done by Ipso

Apoyo S.A., where 91% of those polled declared they were proud of their nationality.

According to Ipso Apoyo S.A, "estamos en terminos estadisticos ante un guarismo mas

que contundente y representativo.[118]

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[118] El Comercio (Lima) 2-20 de July 2008.

SECTION SIX

NATIONAL IDENTITY AND CULTURAL CHANGE IN THE 21ST CENTURY- AGGLUTINATING FACTORS.

The new context for Lima's national identity construction lies upon the emergence, not of a new homogenous group, but of agglutinating cultural factors, which have reinforced a new hybrid cultural context within the city. Within the most significant contributors within this process are music and food, which represent *la punta de lanza* of the new universal ideas of peruviannes.

6.1 *La Comida*

In the last decade, food has come to operate as a "brujula de desorientados" within an ongoing situation of important contextual changes in the city of Lima.[119] It has grown to become a point of convergence, where the population is placing almost all its "bullets of identity", as it becomes an increasing important factor of unity, recognized inside and outside the country.[120]

The process of migration has been a central factor influencing what Peruvian food is today: a mixture of flavours and styles. The once despised regional dishes have now proudly become part of the mainstream gastronomic boom in Lima, where a "culinary

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[119] RaulVargas "Prologo" in Cocco Gomez (ed.) in *La Academia en la Olla: reflexiones sobre la comida criolla*. (Lima: 1995), p. 12

[120] Rodríguez (2008).

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apartheid" used to be the norm.[121] From a popular type of food to an accepted and valued

gastronomic succes, *la papa la huacaina, el ceviche,* and many more, have turn into a

sense of pride for the popular and the elite sectors and a shared cultural characteristic

between them.

As stated by Gaston Acurio: "Hace unos años en la casa del rico y en la casa del pobre se

comía lomo saltado. Sin embargo en la casa del pobre cuando tenía que invitar o agasajar

a alguien, ¿cómo le invitaban un lomo saltado? En la casa del rico le invitaban un lomo a

la pimienta. ¿Porqué? Porque consideraban que el lomo saltado no era digno de su

invitado."[122] Conversely, today, a lomo saltado has become a symbol of good food, a

common experience between a CEO and an *ambulante*, and a cover letter of our culture.

These transformations are reflecting the elite's changing outlook towards the

multicultural characteristics of Lima and the parallel socioeconomic processes of

conversion within he city.

The massification of the media and the market have played a very important role in

supporting the culinary boom. At the outset, their role in the creation of opinion leaders,

like Gaston Acurio, who has been repeatedly broadcasted and interviewed, has had a

significant impact on the imaginary of the population. Exposing Acurio's conviction

about the country's gastronomic potential has had a contagious effect, which has

positively affected how Peruvians see themselves.[123]

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[121] Isabel Alvarez."La cocina criolla", in Rosario Olivas (ed), *Cultura identidad y cocina en el Perú.* (Lima: 1992), p. 283.
[122] Acurio (2008.
[123] Focus group 1 (2008)

The promotion of a general feeling of pride and success has been also an important component of the culinary boom in Lima.[124] As referred by one of the participants within the third focus group, "Es verdad que ha empezado a tomarse un monton de importancia a lo nuestro, porque nos hemos dado cuenta que si podemos competir en ciertos aspectos como con la comida. Si nuestra comida triunfa, el Peru triunfa. Y asi nos vamos aglutinando y sintiendonos mas Peruanos." [125]

6.2   *La Musica*

Music represents one of the most tangible cultural reflections of Lima's society, where the aims, concerns, successes and fears of the population have been recorded. Music has also represented an important classificatory factor of taste, which has separated the experiences of the popular from the elite.[126] However, as a result of the ongoing process of cultural integration, the role of music has gone from representing a class-isolating factor, to an agglutinating symbol of national identity. It has transcended the hierarchical cultural markers of exclusion.

Chicha music represents a central symbol of this changing cultural condition. As stated by Felipe Portocarrero, *la chicha* es una "manifestacion de este proceso de creacion de una nueva identidad contemporanea"[127]. *Chicha* music came into the scene in the 1970s

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[124] Rodríguez (2008).
[125] Focus group 3 (2008
[126] Vela (2007) p. 80.
[127] Interview with Felipe Portocarrero, Lima, 1 Aug., 2008.

as an urban fusion of Andean and tropical rhythms.[128] It broke into the urban context, disrupting the traditional dual classification of society (Hispanic-Andean) and turning itself into a cultural movement.[129] In the 1980s it reached absolute success within the novo-limenos, who danced to its rhythm and identified with its lyrics However, as *chicha* music represented an important event within the popular classes, it was seen as a marginal phenomenon by mainstream society.[130]

During the 1990s, comes into the musical scene the tecnocumbia. Founding a consolidated popular market, the tecnocumbia had an instant success.[131] However, this success was not limited to the popular sectors of the city, as it entered into the elite's circles and incorporated its songs in its exclusive clubs, weddings and parties.[132] While the acceptance of popular rhythms within mainstream society represented a positive change, taking into consideration the importance of the process of 'de-andianization" in the tecnocumbia's success, reflected a ongoing racist and exclusionary characteristic of the cultural classification of Lima's society.[133]

After the boom of the tecnocumbia, the turn of the century brought with it a remerging and fortified taste for the chicha music, the Andean rhythms and the cumbia. Tongo, a chicha singer, who had remained unnoticed until then, turned not only into a popular icon, but also a recognized figure and the face for series of advertising campaigns. Next

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[128] Vich (2003) p. 352
[129] Raul Romero "Andinos y tropicales: la cumbia peruana en la ciudad global" Lima: 2007. p. 31
[130] Romero (2007) p. 31
[131] Romero (2007) p. 11
[132] Romero (2007) p. 7
[133] Romero (2007) p. 38

to Tongo, Dina Paukar's and many other popular groups' success "refleja[ron] la presencia de la cultura andina en los espacios y potencia[ron] su renovado aporte en la formacion de una identidad nacional y en la lucha por la democratizacion efectiva de nuestra sociedad".[134]

Consequently, while years earlier playing *chicha* music was an aberration of taste, today it is a "prerequisite" of the most exclusive events in society.[135] As exemplified by one of the focus groups' participants: "Este viernes fue el aniversario de mi compañia. ¿Y a que grupo contrataron? A un grupo chicha, Armonia 10, y la gente se divertia hasta decir basta." Accordingly, today popular music is present throughout society, where the elites, although sometimes still in an anecdotal note, are taking it as part of their on cultural identity.

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[134] Wilfredo Hurtado Suarez. "La musica y los jovenes: los hijos de la chicha", in Carmen Rosa Balbi (ed), *Lima: aspiraciones , reccnocimiento y ciudadania en los noventa.* (Lima) p. 89.
[135] Rodríguez (2008)

<u>CONCLUSION</u>

More than half a century after the first waves of migration, the hegemonic position of the elite Limeña and the subjugated place of the popular sectors, have been radically transformed. Today, Limeños are experiencing an ongoing process, which symbolizes the new path of the city's cultural conversion and delineates the future creation of a strong national identity. Although it cannot be suggested that Lima's context of exclusion and racism is inexistent, the recent changes brought on by the media and the market are introducing fundamental changes to a traditionally fragmented society.

Although the social sciences cannot predict the outcome, it is expected that the media and the market will continue to influence this dynamic process of cultural conversion, where a strengthening of the existing agglutinating factors and the emergence of new ones, will probably take place. However, it is still important to highlight the dynamic nature of this process, as it takes place within the influence of the social, political and economic context of the city. Any major shifts within these fields could redirect, strengthen or weaken its development.

Representing an outline for an emerging phenomenon, this paper's attempt has not been to draw a conclusion on the subject, but to introduce a stepping stone to a deeper understanding of the role of the elite in contemporary Lima. As a result of the rapid contextual changes taking place in the city, further research will be essential to gain a clear perspective of the elite' changing national perception and national sentiment of identification. Additionally, although the public sphere has not had an active role within

the socioeconomic and cultural changes within the city, special attention should be given to the institutionalization of the process, which involves the transferring of cultural channels of representation to the political and the economic sphere.

For now, "el mounstruo devorador de ocho millones de seres humanos" has overcome the decades of the traditional order of society and embraced a new definition of its constitution. It has engaged in an internal process of growth and transformation, of which even Kafka would be pleased.

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