21st Century Cholos
Representations of Peruvian youth in the discourse of

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Dissertation submitted to the Department of Media and Communications, London School of Economics and Political Science, August 2016, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the MSc in Media, Communication and Development. Supervised by Shakuntala Banaji.

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groups of people that suffer 'under hegemonic domination of a ruling elite class that denies them the basic rights of participation in the making of local history and culture as active individuals of the same nation' (Louai, 2012: 5), the subaltern class. Subalternity does not only involve class, but also 'caste, age, gender and office' (Guha, 1982) or any marker of differentiation that could be used to oppress. Thus, subaltern classes exist in every nation of the world, in every time in history. In that sense, we are very likely to find more similarities in the experiences of Andean Peruvians, Desi Britons or Black South Africans, that we are to find differences.

The study of   is also relevant from the standpoint of one of the major discussions in postcolonial studies: can the subaltern speak? (Spivak, 1988). Spivak's famous question 'was interpreted as a declaration of the impossibility of voicing the oppressed groups' resistance because of their representations by other dominant forces' (Louai, 2012:

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Discourse and Power

In Peruvian society, discursive power runs deep. As Stuart Hall defined it, discourse is a

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classes, which subject 'the victims of racism to the mystifications of the very racist ideologies which imprison and define them', while emphasising the value of ideological struggles to transform 'common sense' (Hall, 1986, 23-27).

Representation is a powerful vehicle through which ideologies are disseminated in a society. As Hall notes, it links concepts and language, allowing us to refer to people places and things both in real and imaginary worlds (1997:

is a clear distinction between Us and the Others, who are seen as less cultured, less intelligent, less worthy. It is worth quoting them at length:

2005): a top down process in which members form their identity on the basis of shared characteristic that differentiate their group from others, and a bottom up process in which shared identity is based on the sum of individual expressions by group members (p. 1145-6). The first approach implies the perceived homogenisation of the members in the group, who favour the group common traits over their own individual identities (Turner, 1985); in the second one, 'within-group differences may be integrated into the shared cognitive representation of the group' (Swaab, Postmes et al., 2007, in Jans, Postmes et al., 2012: 1146). While it was believed that heterogeneity impairs social cohesion (Putnam, 2000), Jans et al. suggest that 'strong social identities can emerge and thrive even in heterogeneous groups' (2012: 1149).

National identity formation in societies in which multiple cultural traditions coexist oscillate between this two extremes. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997), for instance, identify five types of multiculturalism, ranging from monoculturalism — in which the dominant culture is assumed as a norm and all other expressions should be subsumed into it — to critical multiculturalism — that take into account issues of race, gender and ethnicity, and problematises the hegemony of the dominant culture. In recent years, Peru has seen a renewed interest in safeguarding cultural manifestations, manifested, for instance, in the existence of an Interculturality Vice Ministry[6], or in the inclusion of Andean and Amazonian

answering that question, some scholars (e.g. Johnson, 1991) argued for the necessity to have a 'voice of colour' when discussing public policy. A similar claim to that made in the theories of voice and the public spheres which will be discussed in the next section.

Recognition, voice and listening

A large part of the Peruvian fixation with whiteness has to do with the diminished importance given to indigenous and afro traditions, for 'nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a (...) reduced mode of being' (Taylor, 1994: 75). A mode of being so reduced as to render someone invisible (Ellison, 1952), non-existent in a social sense (Honneth and Margalit, 2001: 111). Thus, in order to properly exist — once again, in a social sense — it is not only necessary for an individual or a group to be acknowledged, but to be recognised, which Honneth defines as 'the expressive act through which (...) cognition is conferred with the positive meaning of an affirmation' (2001, p.115). Recognition matters not only in the symbolic level, but also has direct economic

(Burbank, 1998), which consists in the gradual change of the ideas and associations related to particular people, concepts or ideologies (Day, 2011:

Hegemony, as Hunt (1990) shows us, can be contested through the the 'reworking' or 'refashioning' of the elements which are constitutive of the prevailing hegemony' (p. 313). The emergence of counter discourses, in particular those originating in subaltern public spheres, provides capital in formulating 'oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and need' (Fraser, 1990: 67). The process of displacing existing hegemonic blocs, however, is gradual and slow, and requires cumulative strategic action on the part of specific social actors (Hunt, 1990). Laclau and Mouffe identify this struggle for meaning as 'social antagonism', where 'different identities mutually (di) 5

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This research analyses the discourse of   by performing a discourse analysis grounded in Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's Discourse Theory (1985). While this particular approach has been criticised for its lack of a structured framework (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002) and for the excessive importance that it gives to discourse over structural conditions in society (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999), when applied to the study of discourses it becomes a powerful tool to discuss identity, hegemony and resistance, in particular from a subaltern's point of view[7].

light over the power and effectiveness of the discourse which is being studied in this investigation.

A second limitation regards the identity of the researcher operating the analysis. While his ethnic and economic background is mix-raced and upper-middle class, his education and social circle plants him squarely in the privileged class. In that sense, he becomes an outsider looking in, able to empathise with the bitterness and indignation felt by the inequality, but having never felt it himself.

Deployment

The frequency with which   posts new articles — at least one per day since December 2013, and with several months in which the average has been three or four daily — has generated a vast amount of data that could be potentially analysed. Thus, it was necessary to establish filtering criteria.

Given the nature of the research question, the first filter applied identity code words. A search was made for all the articles that contained the words '   ', '
and 'door people'[9]. The two hundred and thirty five (235) resulting articles were then

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

A wild *cholo* appears

Stereotyping, as Hall (1997) shows us, is a powerful tool of domination. Just as black males in the USA were constantly reduced to insatiable sexual beings while at the same time being infantilised by being denied the attributes of adulthood, to the point where they were referred to as 'boys', native and mix-raced Peruvians have suffered their own repertoire of stereotypes that seek to define them and their relations with society. Callirgos (1993) lists some of them: backward, uneducated, primitive when living in the countryside; ambitious, resentful, and parvenu when moving to the city.

is acutely aware of these stereotypes, which are constantly used as the building blocks of their articles. A perfect example can be found in the opening paragraphs of the

are violent and semi-literate (Müller, 2016a), 'wild   , obscene brownies, doorpeople, a herd of unpresentable peri-urban marginal subjects' (Müller, 2016b).

Together, the list of epithets presented above form the chain of equivalence attached to the nodal point that is the   identity. By hammering on them, by playing on the stereotypes historically used to subjugate the subaltern classes of Peru, but which are nowadays often just implied and not uttered out loud,   displays just how much they are still present in Society; by doing so in a jocular tone, they resist them by showing just how ridiculous they are. As a consequence, the   identity — a discursive nodal point, as mentioned above — opens up to the field of discursivity, and becomes a floating signifier to which attach a new meaning, a new sense of Self.

The exotic and brown world of the Peruvian peasants

In Peruvian society, the   is, and has always been, the Other. For   , it is the more specific category of '   '[12] the one that nowadays contains 'the crux of otherness', 'the acme of prejudice' (Müller, 2016a). To be an   , one has to be everything that a privileged Peruvian is — supposedly — not: 'wretched, exotic, violent, quasi illiterate, half-civilised, in a word: a settler[13]' (Müller, 2016a). As with every case of otherness, however, attention should be paid to what is being opposed, to that Other of the Other which Lacan deemed an impossibility (Bush, 2005), but who must exist i (d) 1 15 -1 TcO Tm -23 () 1 2 (ha)2 (tnt)

By focusing on the figure of the white intellectual,   emphasises how powerfully entrenched in society are the discourses of racism and exclusion, for even in well-meaning allies you can find traces of it. In this sense, we find a repertoire of characters that perpetuate exclusion: a girlfriend, student of Philosophy in the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru (PUCP), who 'doesn't share [his] brown tastes' (Müller, 2015b); a travel show about 'the exotic and brown world of the Peruvian peasants' (, 2015); or a Social Science Faculty that sees the appearance of a 'poor Ayachuchan settler' as an opportunity to have him perform in the show

<div align="center">(Müller, 2015c).</div>

In other instances, what is highlighted is not how much discrimination is still strong in society, but how little regard and respect is bestowed upon the subaltern. This is comically exemplified by the lack of seriousness with which François Müller undertakes his academic obligations. Asked about the reason why Peruvians lose their countryside accents the minute they set foot in the capital, Müller responds that it is because they see in Lima a place where you can fulfil your dreams, away from provinces where you cannot find universities or work, and where the main economic activity is to be a serf in a hacienda; with his expertise in   as the only argument given to sustain the claim (Müller, 2015d). In order to make an ethnography of the Peruvian door people, he enlists studen

necessity to share my music with all those chacaloneros-at-heart. I invited them to spontaneously take this place. I wanted to show that I'm rebellious and popular", declared the person in question.

While Chacalón Jr. was declaring to our journalists, a fleet of F-16, commanded by Urrestegui and Susel Paredes[21], was seen in the sky. "WE'LL NEVER ALLOW FOR THIS FELLOWS TO TAKE PLAZA SAN MARTIN SPONTANEOUSLY! THEY ARE A MOB THAT MUST BE DISSUADED IMMEDIATELY! WHO DO THEY THINK THEY ARE! THEY ARE NO ARTISTS!" said both from a condor. (Müller, 2014)

The scale of the reaction seeks to unveil the scorn that is felt by Peruvian popular artists when

In the April 2015 article (Müller, 2015a) a playlist of traditional Peruvian huaynos[27] is accompanied by commentary of what would a hypothetical family be doing when each song played in a party. The article is a treasure chest of clichés of what a working class party is: '

lived pioneering booths of North Lima, the Mantaro Valley, Ayacucho, Piura and Arequipa' (Müller, 2016b). The exercise of the voice found in the Internet booths implied a 'necessary and urgent change in the relations of yacht people (the privileged class) and door people', a change that would break centuries of subalternity and second-class citizenship in favour of becoming the current idea of the country.

CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages we have seen how   , through humorous tales of squalor and discrimination — counterintuitive as that may be — reveals the rise of a new, markedly distinct Peruvian   identity. An identity that is inevitably influenced by their forebears' own social processes and identities, but that is also decidedly their own. An identity that is both traditional and modern, local and globally connected, that dances with the same glee to   and EDM, to   and punk rock. In   's view, migrants and   , long condemned to be perceived as 'poor little birds' in need of help (Müller, 2016a), are ever gaining agency and voice, are ever 3 (e) r -153 (e)3 1 Tf(r) ET I3 (3 (e) r) ( ) -97 (1144 é

political humour brandished by   with similar undertakings in other la

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