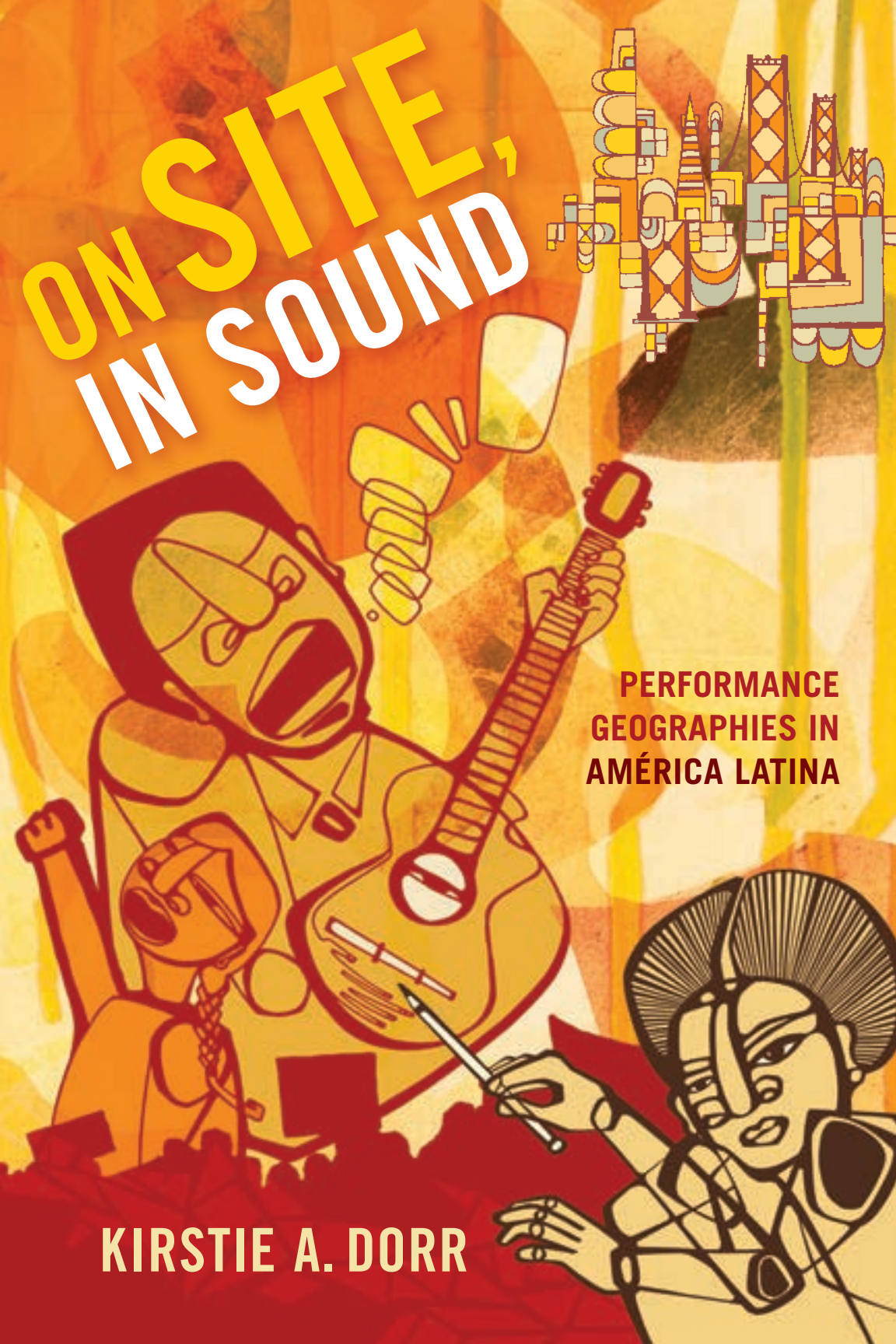
# ON SITE, IN SOUND

## PERFORMANCE GEOGRAPHIES IN AMÉRICA LATINA



KIRSTIE A. DORR

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# IN SOUND

## REFIGURING AMERICAN MUSIC

*A series edited by Ronald Radano and Josh Kun*
*Charles McGovern, contributing editor*

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*Performance Geographies in América Latina*

KIRSTIE A. DORR

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# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In 1991, when I began working as a booking agent and tape seller for the pan-Andean band Markahuasi, I never imagined that the social and sonic arenas of cultural and economic (re)production they introduced me to would become the focus of my intellectual life for over twenty years—first as my senior thesis, then as my dissertation and eventually, as this book. This project was indelibly shaped by, and is eternally indebted to, the cohort of Latina/o cultural workers who made San Francisco's Mission District a nexus of immigrant-of-color activism through the early 1990s. Carlos Lara Yupanqui and Freddy Franco deserve particular recognition for the many overnight car rides they spent teaching me to hear, sense, and interpret the intricacies of Andean song. The artists and activists of La Peña del Sur, among them Alejandro Stuart, Galo Paz, and Samuel Guia, gave their time and energy to help me to reconstruct its history. The collective creative of work of these cultural workers and their comrades endures as an illuminative example of the power of sound and performance to shape and transform place.

From my early years in community college through my doctoral education, I was fortunate to have remarkable advisers and mentors. Carlos Córdova introduced me to interdisciplinary scholarship at the City College of San Francisco and encouraged me to think about transferring to a four-year university. At the University of California, Berkeley, I was honored to have Julio Ramos direct my undergraduate thesis; his mentorship was integral to my decision to continue in the academy, and his unflagging support for my work has continued through my graduate and postgraduate years. Gina Dent cultivated my interest in popular culture generally, and greatly enriched my knowledge about Black popular culture. José Saldivar was an enthusiastic sounding board and a careful reader, as well as an adviser and ally. Ruthie Gilmore taught me why space *always* matters and modeled what scholar activism at its best looks like. And Craig Gilmore coached me through the for-

midable book-pitching process. I continue to learn from this group of extraordinary intellectuals, and I am honored to count them as close friends.

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During my time at the University of California, San Diego, I have been part of a number of invigorating and nourishing intellectual communities. Shortly after arriving to Southern California, I was invited to participate in the Sound Studies working group funded by the UC Humanities Research Institute. Reading and thinking alongside feminist sound studies powerhouses Inés Casillas, Roshanak Kheshti, Shana Redmond, and Deborah R. Vargas made this book immeasurably better. Their collective scholarship has defined the field of feminist and queer approaches to the study of race and sound, and I am honored to call them my comrades. The Department of Ethnic Studies is full of intelligent and committed colleagues, all of whom I have benefited from teaching and learning with. In particular, Curtis Marez has been the most generous, helpful, and encouraging mentor that one could hope for, as well as being a marvelous friend. My work on Afroperuanidad and the Black Pacific have been greatly enriched by UCSD's Black Internationalisms, Transnationalisms, and Diaspora working group and the Black Studies Project. I'm grateful to my BIT coconveners, Dayo Gore and Jessica Graham, for helping to build desperately-needed intellectual community, and to the UCSD Center for the Humanities for the financial support that made the working group possible. A Center for the Humanities faculty

fellowship also allowed me time to write, revise, and share work with an impressive cadre of faculty from across campus.

The publication process is formidable and at times, unnerving! But I was incredibly fortunate to work with a fantastic cadre of experts at Duke University Press. I am forever grateful to Ken Wissoker for shepherding the project through every step, from proposal to publication; to Olivia Polk and Christi Stanforth for handling all production details large and small; and to the two astute, rigorous, and generous readers, whose engagement with the work made it immeasurably better. Favianna Rodriguez's willingness to work with me to customize the cover art was an unexpected gift from a long-admired artist.

It goes without saying that academic work can be isolating. I feel graced every day to have the unwavering community and support of my lifelong friends and sisters—Jessica Delgado, Jennifer Hamelburg, Emily Leys, Heather Murphy, Erica Steiner, and Vanessa Zelenak—as well as the Goetcher/Rivers/Valentine clan. My sojourns in the San Francisco Bay Area, Ohio, Illinois, and San Diego have yielded a number of exceptional friends and interlocutors. Asha Nadkarni, Renu Cappelli, and Mrinalini Chakravorty have been allies through thick and thin, and across many cities. My colleagues at the University of Illinois, particularly Ruth Nicole Brown, Karen Flynn, Soo Ah Kwon, Mimi Nguyen, and Fiona Ngo, made the cold climate infinitely more hospitable. In Southern California, Maylei Blackwell, Sara Cassetti, Erica Edwards, Arianne Miller, Alanna Aiko Moore, Leila Neti, Marcia Ochoa, and Shelley Streeby have proven that you still can make amazing new friends in middle age. Colleagues in the field who have become dear friends and inspiring interlocutors—Eva Hageman, Christina Hanhardt, Jennifer Kelly, Marisol LeBron, Christina León, and Ivan Ramos—have made conference travel something to look forward to. Felicia Lynch traveled cross-country to have insightful conversations over folded laundry and chicken dinners. My parents Kathleen and Richard and my brother Scott have staunchly stood by me as I've transitioned from small-town school kid to professor and have cheered me on through many an obstacle. My partner, Sara Clarke Kaplan, has been my closest interlocutor and fiercest advocate for nearly two decades, and has believed in me and my work even when my own faith wavered. Her passion, brilliance, and love are equal parts invigorating and sustaining, and it is sharing my life with her and Miles Martín that makes everything worthwhile.

# INTRODUCTION

## *Thinking Site in Sound*

"You can't have a revolution without songs." It was below a banner emblazoned with this popular slogan that Chilean Socialist Party leader and populist activist, Salvador Allende Gossens, greeted cheering throngs of thousands to declare his victory in the nation's contested 1970 presidential elections.[1] In his subsequent inaugural address to the Chilean parliament, Allende again roused the attention of aural publics by concluding his speech with "Venceremos!" (We Shall Overcome), referencing his campaign song that was popularized by the leftist coalition, Unidad Popular. Through a practiced deployment of sound and staging, the Allende camp acknowledged its indebtedness to Chile's burgeoning Nueva Canción movement, a pan–Latin American ferment that mobilized regional "neo-folklores" to promote anticapitalist and anti-imperialist commentary and to foment alliances among the nation's student, labor, and indigenous populations.[2] Indeed, Nueva Canción cultural workers were among Allende's most ardent supporters, among them acclaimed artist Victor Jara, who had written and performed new lyrics to "Venceremos" as part of his ongoing support for the Unidad coalition. Already the soundtrack for Allende supporters, "Venceremos" flooded the radio airwaves in the months following Unidad's victory, arguably becoming the unofficial anthem of Chile's revolutionary govern-

ment. Yet, less than three years later, as the Allende administration fell to the U.S.-backed military coup that placed infamous dictator Augusto Pinochet in power, the sound and text of this militant march would evoke in its audiences both defiance and despair. For, the words to "Venceremos" would be the very last uttered by Victor Jara following his capture, torture, and public murder by Chilean military officers.

In the same year that "Venceremos" sounded the Unidad Popular's electoral victory in Chile and heralded the spread of socialism throughout Latin America, another notable South American ballad found its way to the international stage. During a European tour in 1965, renowned U.S. singer/songwriter Paul Simon met South American folkloric group Los Inkas at the Parisian nightclub L'Escale.[3] Intrigued by the band's instrumental interpretation of "El Cóndor Pasa," a melody first arranged by Peruvian folklorist Daniel Alomía Robles in 1913, Simon brazenly elected to record his own version of the song layered over Los Inkas' LP.[4] With Simon's awkward English lyrics superimposed, "El Condor Pasa (If I Could)" was released to U.S. and European audiences in 1970 to become a celebrated hit—one for which Alomía Robles was neither credited nor compensated. Presaging the world beat movement by nearly a decade, the haunting ballad topped charts in the United States, Germany, Holland, Belgium, and Spain, and helped to land Simon and Garfunkel's *Bridge over Troubled Water* a Grammy for "Album of the Year." Following several lawsuits and few apologies, Simon's appropriation of "El Cóndor Pasa" would later become one of world music's most infamous origin stories.

I open with the apposition of these seemingly dissimilar soundtracks for several reasons. First, each of these sonic flashpoints recalls a pivotal juncture within the itineraries of what I describe throughout this book as "South American musical transits." The thematic anchor of *On Site, In Sound*, this term references the genealogy of interconnected musical actors, aesthetics, texts, and practices whose modes of circulation are hereto examined.[5] As an organizational frame, it is deliberately capacious and intentionally strays from the conventional rubrics that most often inform musical study in the Americas. Rather than relying on nation or genre as an organizational principle, South American musical transits connotes an analytical framing of the sonic that straddles the particularism of geographic emplacement and the dynamism of cultural travel. In other words, it is a conceptual rather than descriptive term that, eschewing fixed or stable notions of sonic origin

or musical destination, contemplates the alchemic capacity of aural transmission to produce, contest, or reimagine individual and/or collective perceptions of social space—its commonsense contours, ambits, and borders, as well as its fundamental abstractions, contradictions, and exclusions. Here and throughout, South America is invoked not as a fixed or stable regional location, but rather as a spatialized claim to relative and relational modes of creative production.[6] Musical transit registers how such claims are negotiated in and articulated through the dynamic interaction of performance practice, circulation process, and geohistorical context. This emphasis on cross-national and cross-regional circulations, conversations, and influences enables me to develop a primary argument of this book: that sonic production and spatial formation are mutually animating processes. Moreover, it allows me to narrate the rich if understudied geohistory of three musical moments that—owed to the racial-regional designs of academic disciplines, nationalist imaginaries, and generic conventions—are most often discussed as politically discrete, geographically bounded, and aesthetically disparate: Música Andina, Nueva Canción, and Música Afrosudamericana.

Second, these sonic flashpoints both mark moments of profound transformation within the geopolitical history of South American musical transits. The competing ideological and economic trajectories that these musical milestones foretell—the birth of a regional grassroots cultural politics rooted in anti-imperial socialist activism on the one hand, and the advent of a global culture industry steeped in uneven relations of race and capital on the other—aptly index the complex amalgam of structural forces and ideological struggles that form the contextual backdrop of this book.[7] These geohistorical conditions can be recapitulated in brief as four correlative realms of social conflict that have profoundly shaped South American cultural politics over the past century: early centurial nation-building projects that, through the state-sponsored "folklorization" of regional indigenous musics, ambitioned the generation of detectably modern yet singularly domestic aural canons and listening publics; a subsequent era of leftist pan-American musical activism that since its emergence in the 1950s, has advanced various regional and international populist agendas via grassroots strategies of promotion and political education;[8] a surge in campaigns of foreign-backed militarism and state terror that violently repressed these socialist movements, often via the detention, torture, and "disappearance" of prominent cultural workers;[9] and finally, the hemispheric imposition of neoliberalism

as a global market integration strategy that bolstered the entrenchment of global culture industries oriented toward capital accumulation in the global North and resource extraction from the global South. Although rarely discussed in concert, the juxtaposition of Paul Simon's rise to world music fame and Victor Jara's violent murder poignantly illustrates a central exposition of this book: that the musical cultures of América del Sur have figured as a central node for the material-discursive expression of these struggles over political governance, economic vision, and cultural representation.

Third, I lead with these sonic flashpoints because they effectively allegorize the salient theoretical positions and evidentiary accounts that often ground popular and academic debates concerning Latina/o American musical migrations—conversations that have served as the theoretical point of departure for this book. Over the past three decades, Latina/o and Latin American studies scholars have effectively established a rich subfield of popular music studies scholarship, detailing the protean economic imperatives and political stakes that undergird relations of sonic production and exchange within and between the global Southern and global Northern Americas. The contributions of feminist of color sound studies scholars including Frances Aparicio, Deborah Pacini Hernández, Raquel Rivera, María Elena Cepeda, Licia Fiol-Matta, Deborah R. Vargas, and Alexandra Vasquez, among others, are particularly instructive, as they cogently elucidate the inextricability of musical relations from those of race and ethnicity, gender and sexuality, economy and class.[10] *On Site*, *In Sound* extends this scholastic trajectory by introducing a third analytical dimension to its contemplation of how the social and sonic intersect and overlap: the spatial. To date, a few noteworthy exceptions notwithstanding, the constructed and contested nature of social space remains remarkably undertheorized within discussions of musical circulation, both within the field of Latina/o sound studies and within popular music studies more generally.[11] Read together, Victor Jara's regionalized musical activism and Paul Simon's internationalist musical appropriations also offer an illustrative indexical contrast of two salient yet uninterrogated premises concerning interrelations of space and sound that commonly inform studies of musical circulation within the Americas.

The first of these narratives might be described as the uncritical celebration of "music in place"—that is, the extolment of sonic practices that are viewed as, and thus valued for, their ostensible aesthetic invariability and geographic autochthony. This approach to the study of popular music,

which emphasizes rootedness and continuity over movement and dynamism, has informed much of the existing ethnomusicological scholarship about the artists and texts discussed in this book.[12] This privileging of "local" musical geographies such as Jara's electoral activism over global aural circulations such as that of "El Cóndor Pasa" is often leveraged in order to critique the deleterious effects of mass mediation. While critiques of capitalist mediation are crucial, the South American musical transits narrated herein effectively demonstrate that this particular analytical maneuver is problematic for several reasons. First, it speciously presumes that music's capacity to express political designs or enact solidarity practices is arbitrated by its static entrenchment in bounded, circumscribed spatial typologies such as community, region, or nation. Consequently, social space is understood and represented as static and unproblematic rather than unstable and contested, and the crucial role of performance in sounding competing geographic imaginaries and arrangements both within and beyond these typologies is effectively occluded and disavowed. Next, the "music in place" premise tends toward geopolitical framings of sonic practices and practitioners that fracture rather than foment internationalist solidarities. As a result, musicians such as Jara are viewed as national icons rather than international activists, and popular sonic movements such as Nueva Canción are historicized according to their national and regional variations rather than the hemispheric political ties and crosscurrents that they enabled. Finally, as I will soon expound upon in greater depth, such static conceptions of space and sound tend to sustain rather than unsettle the most suspect of cultural binarisms, including distinctions between traditional and modern, authentic and corrupted, high and low.

The analytical foil of the "music in place" narrative is represented in the second flashpoint—a proverbial, cautionary tale about the perils of sonic globalization. Coded as abstraction from a proper geographic domain and alienation from authentic aesthetic origins, the globalization of sound, it has often been argued, inevitably reproduces uneven relations of culture and capital between global South and global North.[13] Indeed, transactions of musical appropriation touted as the "rescue" of far-flung cultural traditions have catapulted the careers of white global Northern artists such as Paul Simon. Such cynical examples of so-called sonic partnerships thus merit trenchant scrutiny as they veritably reinstantiate material inequities via imperial relations of nostalgic consumption.[14] However, scholars of popular music

studies often anchor such criticism in the erroneous presumption that the commodification or depoliticization of musical forms is the inevitable result of exogenous circulation, or, when "local roots" travel "out of place."[15] In this instance, "the local" is offered as a spatial metaphor for the ostensibly culturally and geographically fixed or static landscapes of the non-West, while "the global" is narrated as the dynamic, agential (albeit usually malign) forces of the West.[16]

Taken together, then, these sonic flashpoints reference the entangled structural forces and ideological stakes that propel South American musical transits as well as the correlative analytical premises that most often frame their study. As such, I offer these as a point of departure from which to stage the interwoven inquiries of *On Site*, *In Sound*. The questions that shape this book emerge from conjoint thematic interests and theoretical pursuits. Conceptualized at a time when the burgeoning world music industry was matched by a boom in scholarship on globalized pop, *On Site*, *In Sound* developed out of my interest in tracking South American musical transits and geographies of aural circulation that defied the putative cultural imperialist model of global Southern musical dissemination: extraction, abstraction, and resignification. In the shadow of new media technologies and neoliberal markets, I was instead curious about those transregional and –national itineraries of South American musicians and musics that had never been "discovered" or endorsed by industry promoters yet were crucially sustained through globally dispersed networks of sonic production, distribution, and consumption. What geohistorical conditions, political and economic strategies, and creative artistic practices have enabled these alternative modes of bodily and cultural transit? How might such histories be tracked, what unheard stories do they harbor, and what might they teach us about grassroots cultural struggle and quotidian practices of life making amid the dystopic conditions of neoliberal globalization?

This shift in scholarly attention from South American "world music" to the politics of South American "musical worlding" prompted a thorny yet provocative theoretical conundrum: how to *emplace*—within existing literature reviews, field debates, and analytical claims—an unruly set of globalized musical practices and transregional cultural landscapes that stubbornly refused submission to the conventional "in" or "out of place" contextual framings that dominate ethnic, area, cultural, and music studies scholarship. Popular and academic discourse concerning transnational musical

migrations has routinely examined and debated how relations of mediation and routes of travel transform musical texts and practices.[17] These conversations have engendered compelling models of aural interaction—from "soundscapes" to "contact zones" to "glocalisms."[18] Yet, despite a common predilection for spatial metaphors, such accounts fail to amply or adequately consider the dynamic relations of space and place that musical production necessarily entails.[19] While contentious, these conversations are oft rooted in a common misconception: that while sonic cultures are constantly on the move, the places from, to, and across which they travel remain constant, intact, uncontested. This fictional premise has dissuaded scholars of popular music from taking seriously the spatiality of sound—the ways in which music is "linked to particular geographical sites, bound up in our everyday perceptions of place, and a part of movements of people, products, and cultures across space."[20] It is to the inverse logics and implications of this site-sound relationship that this book turns its critical attention. It argues that an integrated analysis of space, sound, and difference unfolds a neglected path of scholarly inquiry: the agential force of musical poetics and practice in shaping social relations of embodiment, mobility, and coalition.[21] It asks: how have South American cultural workers negotiated the constraints of global culture industry relations by activating grassroots practices of sonic siting, staging, and transmission to pursue their creative endeavors? What unique types of performance geographies have such modes of spatialized cultural activism engendered? And if, as feminist, antiracist geographers have persuasively argued, the construction of place is dynamic, ideological, and contested, then how have the material contours and ideological coherence of dominant geopolitical regimes of sociality, activism, labor, and commerce been transformed by these nonconventional modes of musical circulation?

These are some of the primary political concerns that animate this inquiry. Convening the theoretics and vocabularies of space, sound, and difference, *On Site, In Sound* examines four geographies of South American musical transits from the 1960s to the present. Each of its chapters offers a case study of aural cultures and migrant "musicking" practices that circulate via quotidian, minor, or nonconventional modes of transmission such as street performance, piracy networks, underground nightclubs, and other extralegal transactions.[22] In charting these dispersed yet connected sonic networks, *On Site, In Sound* necessarily questions and complicates modes of analysis that situate musical texts and cultural workers as singularly or

universally "in" or "out of place." Rather, it interrogates the politics of musical emplacement itself, arguing that the invention and maintenance of these performance sites and circuits have relied upon tactics of "sonic transposition"—that is, the (re)configuration of place through the practice of sound.[23] Put differently, it advances that global Southern cultural workers who are unable or unwilling to access industrialized structures of musical production and promotion in the global North have alternatively relied on informal and/or improvisational networks of communication, exchange, and promotion to forge and sustain sonic relationships. These alternate forms of aural "franchise" have most often required the material and discursive transformation of social space—a reconfiguration of the boundaries between public and private, commercial and residential, labor and leisure, and so on—through the practice of sound.[24]

The South American musical transits examined herein complicate dominant itineraries of musical globalization by demonstrating how state-sponsored research and knowledge production, regional and international media networks, and nonconventional modes of sonic transmission have all forged concurrent and competing pathways of aural circulation. Blurring rather than bolstering diametric framings such as the local and the global, the rooted and the mobile, the homogenous and the hybrid, these geographies of musical transit emanate from grassroots modes of popularization, follow dynamic itineraries of cultural and bodily migration, and illustrate creative negotiations of neoliberal globalization. They have occasioned the analytics and approaches deployed and developed throughout this book, which are meticulously attentive to the spatial work of sound, the sonic politics of place, and the generative material and imaginative potentialities realized in quotidian geographies of performance.

## SETTING THE TERMS

> Sound and space—however one defines these terms—are phenomenologically and ontologically intertwined. Sounds, after all, are always in motion; they emanate, radiate, reflect, canalize, get blocked, leak out, and so on.
> —ANDREW J. EISENBERG, "Space"

Attention to the dynamic interplay of sonic production and spatial formation figures as a central preoccupation of this book. To think the spatial and the aural together, it argues, is to enliven registers that, through their subor-

dination to the (purportedly) animate corollaries of the visual and temporal, have often suffered a common fate: relegation to static and/or abstracted domains such as Euclidean backdrop or reflective node.[25] Within cultural criticism, the spatial and the sonic are often discussed as the mere scenery or scrim upon which the agential forces of the visual or temporal are staged. In this sense, the deadening of space and the muffling of sound operate somewhat analogously, in that the effective capacities of each have been eclipsed by a narrow focus on their representational or mimetic functions. Against such tendencies, *On Site*, *In Sound* aims to enliven the study of the spatial and the sonic by investigating the dynamic, mutually defining relationship between musical circulation and geographic formation.

## THINKING SITE

From the early 1970s through the mid-1990s, the intersection of 24th Street and Mission Ave. figured as a public transport nexus designed to shuttle San Francisco's segregated Latina/o population to various outposts of low-wage factory, sweatshop, and reproductive work. In July 1993, on an unusually sunny late afternoon that punctuated the city's notoriously frigid summer weather, the Andean music ensemble Markahuasi set up their generator-fueled sound equipment opposite the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) stop's entrance and exit escalators to play a few sets. Their improvisational performance soon attracted an enthusiastic crowd of Mission District denizens who paused their daily routines to listen. Thenceforth, random individuals were hailed as a collective aural public forged through shared rituals of musicking: listening and singing, clapping while dancing, shouting out song requests or hollering "¡Otra! ¡Otra!" (Encore! Encore!). Deploying quotidian technologies of siting and sounding, Markahuasi effectively converted a subway station into a performance venue, one representative of what Chicana literary critic Mary Pat Brady has aptly described as a "counter-cartography": a place that reimagines dominant arrangements of racial capitalist space and/or narratives of how social space can or should be understood, organized, and occupied.[26] Markahuasi's improvisational sonic event demonstrates the power of performance to transform a site designed to facilitate racial capitalist relations of labor and commerce into a place of cultural production and community congregation, collective respite, and sensory pleasure. Moreover, it reveals how technologies of performance can serve to interrogate and denaturalize the constructedness of social space itself—

specifically, the ways in which its seemingly immutable material organization and ideological scripts are in fact unstable, contested, and susceptible to respatialization.

In her recent meditation on the significance of the geographic imagination, Doreen Massey advances a compelling definition of space: "the product of interrelations" that recounts "a simultaneity of stories-so-far."[27] Here, Massey proposes a conceptualization of the spatial that encompasses both the infinite totality of organic social relations and ongoing contests over how such relations are imagined and made sense of. In doing so, she challenges perceptions of space as fixed, static, or unproblematic, instead highlighting its fluidity, relationality, and heterogeneity. Following Massey, *On Site*, *In Sound* proceeds from the premise that spatial formation is an ongoing social process that materializes, in both immediate and far-reaching contexts, *differential* experiences of proximity, mobility, attachment, regulation, and containment. In accordance with Katherine McKittrick and Linda Peake's persuasive contention that difference must be conceptualized through "socially produced markers (such as race, class, gender, and sexuality) *and* their attendant geographies," it understands the social construction of space and the social construction of difference as co-constitutive.[28] For racialization, gendering, and class formation are spatialized practices of material emplacement and ideological abstraction that encompass no less than what Ruth Wilson Gilmore has described as the "death dealing displacement of difference into hierarchies that organize relations" within and between contested sites, scales, and landscapes.[29]

The extent to and urgency with which the spatial is engaged throughout this book are incumbent upon the structural imperatives of its contextual purview: global transformations in capital accumulation and production landscapes, the emergence of new media technologies, the entrenchment of neoliberal modes of governance, and the proliferation of multiscalar social movements. Within social and cultural theory, such processes are often discussed as the "deterritorialization" of production, finance, and technology, and correspondingly, as the abstraction or erosion of geographic registers. Such postulations, however, fail to consider the extent to which these transformations have in fact entailed comprehensive geopolitical reorderings. As Massey and others have shown, contemporary processes of global (dis)-integration signal not the death or neutrality of space, but rather, its constructedness, its materiality, and its dynamism.[30] And, it is precisely through

charting the spatial politics of such transformations that we can make material sense of how relations of power and difference are territorialized in and reproduced through ongoing, contradictory processes of spatial formation. We can investigate, for example, how flexible modes of accumulation such as free-trade zones require state-funded infrastructural emplacements such as transportation networks and public works, yet are staffed by workers who often live without such amenities; how neoliberal trade agreements and transnational corporatism have renewed nationalist attachments, spawned regional vigilantisms, and entrenched border militarism;[31] or, how culture industries and information technologies have in turn produced new regimes of interconnection, deepening digital divides, and crises of copyright and intellectual property protections.[32] These and other multiscalar processes of spatial formation have continually structured both the contexts of struggle and the conditions of possibility that have propelled the South American musical transits discussed throughout this book.

To invigorate engagements with the spatial, human geographers have developed a language of geographic differentiation. Two conceptual terms that emerge from this body of work are frequently used herein: "place" and "scale." "Place" is a term that indexes a particular intellectual shift: challenges to the "subordination of space to time" popularized by political geographers beginning in the 1970s, and subsequently, the introduction of innovative models for capturing the processes by and through which the temporal "takes place."[33] Here, I use place to connote an ensemble of social relations given meaning through geopolitical designation.[34] My discussion of musical emplacements and transpositions presumes an understanding of place as sensory, ideological, and relational. Place is sensory to the extent that it assumes social meaning via multiple sensory registers, from the visual and the sonic to the olfactory and the tactile. Place is also relational, as it references geographic arenas produced through interaction with wider, overlapping, and or competing social relations, divisions, and tensions. Finally, place is ideological, in that it announces particular epistemologies of orientation, expanse, connection, and affiliation. These premises underpin the interventions that I have introduced thus far, which are developed and detailed throughout this book: that sonic cultures neither can nor should be understood as inherently "in" or "out of place," and concomitantly, that the dynamic and contested (re)production of place is indelibly shaped by relations of musical transit.

That all places are constructed and contested does not mean that some

places are commonly viewed as especially "natural," "universal," or "necessary." To give name to such places and their constitutive role in coordinating relations of capital, geographer Neil Smith proposed a typology of spatial differentiation that he dubbed nested "scales." Smith defined scale as "the geographic resolution to the contradictory social processes of competition and cooperation."[35] For Smith, geographic scales such as home, urban, region, and nation represent sedimented modes of spatial organization that both orient and naturalize capitalism as a mode of production and a mode of life. Smith's language of scale is useful because it draws critical attention to the ways in which seemingly ubiquitous or stable modes of geographic division, or *scales*, involve ongoing material and ideological struggles to fix boundaries between different locations, places, and sites of meaning.

Analyses of scale, then, set the stage for the discussion of South American musical migrations that follows in that it provides a descriptive rubric of the conventional spatial orderings that configure industrial regimes of aesthetic expression, dominant production landscapes and exchange networks, and sanctioned modes of political dissent. And, it sheds light on the political stakes and oppositional potential of acts of sonic transposition. For, given that the cartographic practice of enclosure is most often imagined and explicated through grammars of racial, gender, sexual, and class difference, it follows that to challenge structures of racism and heteropatriarchy is to question the integrity of seemingly natural geographies of containment, access, or empowerment. And, conversely, to expose the constructed nature of social space is to expose the spatial organization of difference.[36] The chapters that follow engage in such a project by highlighting nonconventional scales of movement and constraint, including hemispheric and diasporic formations. In doing so, they unfold stories of musical transit that expand the geographic imagination to include sites and modes of spatial contest that exceed Smith's typology of scale. Concurrently, they exact pressure on the tendency within ethnomusicological scholarship to adopt colonial mappings of the world, particularly "the local," which is most often coded as provincial and isolated, traditional and static, feminine and nonwhite.

## THINKING SOUND

The study of musical cultures has long provided for scholars of race, gender, and sexuality a rich archival index of the enmeshed relations of labor, difference, and desire that inhere in particular geohistorical landscapes. Yet,

the "transnational turn" within ethnic, area, and cultural studies research has dramatically shifted how musical cultures are contemplated. Arguably, this is in no small part owed to the ways in which the proliferation of new global media structures, technological innovations, and international cultural flows have accelerated the disorderliness of musical circulation and, accordingly, have highlighted the inadequacy of conventional geopolitical frames of musical study. For example, as the South American sound studies scholar Ana María Ochoa Gautier has astutely observed, contemporary shifts in global relations of technology, sociality, and exchange have generated new typologies of sonic codification, platforms for promotion, and methods of dissemination: "Today it has become normative that the circulation and marketing of musical genres historically considered under the aegis of folklore or intangible heritages occur side by side and/or is interspersed with what historically has been considered mass music, classical music of the Western world."[37] For Ochoa Gautier, these shifts can no longer be reduced to the dialectics of "retraditionalization" and "hybridization" but, rather, necessitate "a fundamental reconceptualization on the role of the temporal and spatial dimensions of the sonic and their existential and epistemological significance under the changing technological and social conditions of a globalized world."[38]

In the introduction to their 2003 anthology *Musical Migrations: Transnationalism and Cultural Hybridity in Latin/o America*, volume 1, Frances Aparicio and Cándida Jáquez anticipate Ochoa Gautier's keen observations, arguing that the intellectual challenges posed by the study of transnational circulations of sound, rhythm, and performance have effectively "transform[ed] traditional methodologies and theoretical frameworks that have defined music and music making primarily through discrete categories such as national identity and musical genre."[39] In the decade that has passed since the publication of this field-shaping collection, many of these interventions have been posed by scholars of sound working within my home fields of critical race, gender, and ethnic studies, and the political import and institutional impact of their labors cannot be overstated. Significantly, this work has shifted the subject/object relationship that has traditionally structured ethnomusicological inquiry, offering instead antiracist, feminist, and queer analyses of how musical practice figures in the production of historical memory and cultural canons; how aural imaginaries reflect and refract contested, cross-cutting social relations; and how the sonic offers unique

practical and aesthetic repertoires for the expression of solidarity and formation of community.[40] *On Site*, *In Sound* aims to contribute to these conversations, and shares their political and intellectual commitment to thinking about the sonic as a critical realm of social conflict and a productive site for imagining and activating alternative social possibilities.

The burgeoning field of sound studies has equipped scholars of ethnic, area, and cultural studies with valuable theoretical and methodological tools for engaging popular music as a unique mode of sensory signification, interpretation, and practice. In the words of scholar Jonathan Sterne, "sound studies is a name for the interdisciplinary ferment in the human sciences that takes sound as its analytical point of departure or arrival."[41] Among its many contributions, the emergent field of sound studies has prompted productive conceptual breaks with and reconfigurations of the logo- and ocular-centric tendencies of critical race and gender studies, insisting upon new theoretical frames for and methodological approaches to the study of the aural.[42] This turn toward the sonic has often entailed, for example, the embrace of listening as a critical practice; attention to the polyphonic technologies and textualities of song, including rhythm, instrumentation, vocality, and sensuality; and the positioning of the auditory as a unique yet imbricated sensory index of political labors, uneven relationships, and unwritten stories. In my examination of the dynamic interplay of the spatial and the sonic within South American musical migrations, I integrate three conceptual frames developed by scholars of race, gender, and sound: "listening," "musicking," and "performance."

In the most immediate sense, the practice of listening advanced here can be described as a method of cultural "reading" that takes seriously the unique representational capacities and material functions of sound. Such a method is necessarily multipronged. As Ana María Ochoa Gautier has astutely argued, perceptions of the aural and practices of listening have deep and contested genealogies that are inextricably enmeshed in the social relations and "audible techniques" that have constituted them.[43] At stake in her work, as well as my own, is attention to how legacies of colonialism, Eurocentrism, anti-Black racism, and capitalist modernity in South America can be traced in the competing epistemologies of sound and their attendant textual and taxonomic registers.[44] I address these issues at length in chapters 1 and 3, as each explores how the emergence of state-sanctioned "folklores" and "heritage cultures" in the early and mid-twentieth century generated

sociopolitical contest over how Peru's national past has been narrated and memorialized through the creation of what Ochoa Gautier has dubbed "aural public spheres."[45]

Like other forms of textual analysis, listening is a multisensory hermeneutic that requires "the deliberate channeling of attention" toward the interplay of sensory content, form, and context.[46] I take seriously Alexandra Vasquez's contention that in the case of southernized musics, "listening in detail" proffers a critical methodological antidote to the tendency within Western ethnomusicology to reduce the work of Latin American artists to a univocal anthropological gaze. Following Vasquez, this book aims to provide "an experience with rather than an account of" South American musical transits, periodically pausing to attune aural attention to the aesthetic richness and ingenuity that defined the texts and performances discussed herein.[47] Yet, this book likewise heeds Deborah R. Vargas's call that we "listen for" performative affirmations, negotiations, and disruptions of social norms and structures, musical canons, and modes of cultural analysis.[48] Hearing such "dissonances" requires "listening against" presumed narrative, aesthetic, generic, and technical registers and hierarchies: purported distinctions, for example, between high and low, authentic and hybrid, prodigious and amateur, and so on.[49] Mindful of these insights, *On Site*, *In Sound* deploys a method of listening that integrates attention to sonic aesthetics, musical canons, practical scenarios, and historicogeographic contexts. My aim is to capture some of the understudied and unanticipated ways in which South American cultural workers have mobilized musical performance and practice as a means of negotiating and even transforming the spatial arrangements of power and difference that conspire to silence or subdue their ongoing struggles against emplacements of raced, gendered, and classed vulnerability, violence, and exploitation via the articulation of new modes of cultural and economic reproduction and political participation.

A second important conceptual tool that has enabled my attention to the interplay of musical text and spatial context is an analytic that sound studies scholar Christopher Small has dubbed "musicking." For Small, to music "is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing."[50] Musicking is important to this project's queries and interventions for several reasons. First, by questioning the primacy assigned to musical works over musical perfor-

mances, this analytic disrupts many of the racial-colonial presumptions that have framed dominant approaches to the study of music: that musical texts can be read as singular, objective transcripts of a unidirectional conversation between performer and listener; that performance plays little to no role in the creative process of music making; and that social interaction and context are irrelevant to the interpretation of musical works. Conversely, by conceptualizing music as action rather than object, musicking enables an engagement with the sonic that bridges the common interpretive gaps that *On Site, In Sound* aims to address: between artist and audience, between the political and the aesthetic, and between text and context. In doing so, this conceptual optic avows the performative dimension of musical interactions, which are necessarily enmeshed in and productive of a broad array of social relationships, meaning-making practices, and material contexts.

My interest in exploring musicking as a dynamic mode of social (and as I will soon detail, spatial) interaction has necessarily prompted my engagement with a third conceptual frame: "performance." As performance studies scholar Diana Taylor has argued, the former is a vexed term as it simultaneously connotes "a process, a praxis, an episteme, a mode of transmission, an accomplishment, and a means of intervening in the world."[51] Following Taylor, performance is engaged here as both optic and object of analysis. My use of performance as an analytic tool draws upon the insights of Taylor and other scholars such as VéVé Clark, Joseph Roach, and Celeste Fraser Delgado and José Esteban Muñoz that take seriously performance as a technique of action/embodiment that effectively negotiates, interprets, and potentially reshapes social texts, relationships, and environments.[52] For example, chapter 2 takes interest in how creative modes of siting that strategically leverage public and semipublic space as places of musical activity have enabled unique modes of immigrant sociality and cultural and economic reproduction. Similarly, chapters 3 and 4 examine the creative mobilization of theatrical practices such as staging and choreography—as well as embodied actions such as musicking, gesture, vocality, and audience engagement—to examine how South American cultural workers have strategically emplaced nonconventional geographies of musical circulation, economic activity, and political convocation.

Each of these conceptual frames—listening, musicking, and performance—encourages the contemplation of sonic cultures, social relations, and geohistorical contexts as inextricably linked and mutually defining. As

such, they both stipulate and ground my integrated approach to thinking site and sound.

### THINKING SITE IN SOUND

Analysis of site and sound as synchronous processes brings focus to an important yet neglected dimension of musical study: the *effective* work of musical production and circulation. Scholars of sound have importantly demonstrated the elusive power of song to convene audiences, forge attachments, mobilize publics, market lifestyles, enact fantasies, sell commodities, (dis)articulate registers of social meaning, and so forth. Yet few have considered how sound's *affective* labor is alternately enabled by and generative of its effective capacities.[53] *On Site*, *In Sound* takes interest in one such capacity—sonic transposition—and the political and economic work it performs and accomplishes. Through an examination of quotidian South American musical transits, it theorizes the constellated practices of imagination and performance that transform street corners into sound stages, sidewalks into vending stalls, private patios into public nightclubs, or living rooms into theater venues. It argues that such sonic emplacements effectively reorganize and potentially challenge dominant conceptions of place, practices of convocation, and methods of cultural and economic exchange. And, it takes interest in contemplating how such grassroots cultural tactics might be productively mobilized in other geographies of struggle against colonial, racial capitalist, heteropatriarchal designs.

*On Site*, *In Sound* deploys "performance geography" as both a theoretical framework for and methodological approach to the exploration of these questions. I extend this fertile concept introduced by Caribbean feminist geographer Sonjah Stanley Niaah to describe the range of situated and imagined places at and through which the collective cultural task of materialization—including embodiment, mobility, attachment, and speculation—collides with the physical and ideological constraints of context.[54] Performance geography proffers a conceptual frame for apprehending the ever-evolving conjuncture of sonic and spatial intra-action.[55] It approaches the practice and circulation of musical performances as at once *in situ*, or "intelligible in the framework of the immediate environment and issues surrounding them," and *in flux*, or perpetually (re)shaping the very function and meaning of their contexts of elaboration. In this sense, performance geography is a mode of analysis rooted in performance cultures rather than

capitalist scales, positing the site/sound relationship as an entangled negotiation between dispossession and embodiment, displacement and territoriality, muting and sounding.

As the term suggests, performance geography highlights points of convergence within the fields of performance studies and human geography, demonstrating how the methods and vocabularies of each might be productively combined. Scholars of performance and performativity have persuasively demonstrated how social categories are constituted and consolidated through performance acts. This work largely coheres around an examination of how the materiodiscursive reproduction of subjected (gendered, raced, sexualized, classed) bodies has become so routinized as to appear natural or inevitable.[56] Similarly, political geographers aim to expose the constructedness of seemingly natural or immutable political territories such as bodies, as well as the broader social relations and modes of differentiation that organize them.

Given the shared political stakes of these intellectual endeavors, spatialized approaches to performance are particularly productive, as they offer nonreductive tools and frames for materializing, and thus amplifying, analyses of the interplay of performance, text, and place. For example, against the tendency to understand performativity as a social process that occurs at the scale of the abstract individual subject and in isolation from (rather than in interaction with) broader scales of social meaning, a territorialized approach to performance politics enables a reconceptualization of performativity as "a dialectical operative that makes connections between labor, work, and the practices associated with the material production of everyday life and with imaginative work as a means of engaging in political action and resistance."[57] In other words, performativity can be understood as a multiscalar entanglement of space and practice that links embodied acts to broader realms of social meaning and contest. Thus, rather than locating the agential force of performance within individual bodies or conduct, we can expand our attention to the ways in which collective improvisations within scripted social encounters "can expose the fissures, ruptures and revisions that have settled into continuous reenactment."[58]

In co-convening these registers, then, performance geography is an analytic that enables the address of three interrelated areas of theoretical and thematic neglect within contemporary studies of musical circulation. First, it foregrounds the materiality of performed sound: the realms, distances,

and surfaces within, across, and through which sound travels; the mechanisms of its production, amplification, and mediation; and sound's contextual relationship with other modes of cultural production and signification. Next, performance geography emphasizes the dynamic relations of space and place that animate media circulation patterns and emplacements, thereby interrogating the dominant racial capitalist landscapes within which global Southern sounds are most often (de)localized and (de)valued. And finally, it emphasizes the spatial dynamism of sonic work: the ways in which artists and activists use performance as a means of confronting the constraints of their physical and discursive containment and/or abandonment, and conversely, how they creatively manipulate social space to enable new modes, relations, and venues of performance.

*On Site*, *In Sound* examines four performance geographies of globalized South American cultural production from the 1970s to the present: informal economies of Andean musical fusion, iconic circulations of worlded "Latin" music, cultural production in Peru's Black Pacific, and an urban neighborhood *peña* in the United States.[59] In each of these case studies, I examine how spatialized practices of musicking—from the use of creative staging techniques, to the construction of informal economies and improvisational performance venues, to the activation of transnational musicians' networks—have enabled South American cultural workers to negotiate the social and spatial circumscriptions of extant racial capitalist landscapes. As critical, creative responses to uneven processes of neoliberal encroachment, long-standing structures of anti-Black and settler colonial racism, and revanchist anti-immigrant public policy, each of these performance geographies indexes how expressive cultures can challenge and, potentially, transform the dominant raced and gendered mappings of place that configure production regimes, inform disciplinary frameworks, and structure regimes of aesthetic and affective expression and consumption.

Chapter 1 sets the historical stage for my analysis of South American musical transits by chronicling the "worlding" of Latin American "folklore" vis-à-vis the example of the well-known ballad "El Cóndor Pasa." In it, I examine the mobilization of this traveling melody in three distinct geohistorical contexts: nation-building processes in early twentieth-century Lima, migrant musical communities in mid-century New York, and the nascent world music industry of the 1970s. Combining archival research with musicological and cultural analyses, I argue that these protean recontextualiza-

tions of "El Cóndor Pasa," initiated by artists ranging from Peruvian ethnologist Daniel Alomía Robles, to Quechua chanteuse Yma Sumac, to U.S. folk artist Paul Simon demonstrate how the strategic deployment of a seemingly transparent artifact of national folklore can work to instantiate, consolidate, or destabilize geopolitical formations such as the local, the national, or the global, and/or extant geopolitical boundaries between public and private, rural and urban, political and aesthetic.

Chapter 2 examines the sociospatial politics of contemporary indigenous migrant community formation in California through an examination of what I term the "Andean music industry": the extensive—and, at times, extremely lucrative—U.S.-based informal economy of Andean musical production that has operated as parallel to, and at times in competition with, the world music industry over the last several decades. The birth of this industry can be traced to the early 1980s, when, rather than appealing to world market promoters for corporate sponsorship of "import" recording projects, dozens of Indigenous Andean musicians chose immigration to global Northern metropoles as an alternative option for their economic and aesthetic pursuits. The result was the creation of an extensive network of Andean performance that relocated the spatialized processes of cultural production, mediation, and consumption to everyday public spaces: commercial venues, such as subway stations, street corners, and shopping malls; and, more recently, virtual platforms such as Facebook and YouTube. Drawing upon critical race studies, popular music studies, and political geography, I argue that attention to the unique relations of culture and capital born of this industry demands an important retelling of dominant narratives about world(ed) music and musical worldings—one attentive to prior histories of migration and displacement, to ongoing regional and national revanchisms, and to the oppositional potential of strategic appropriations of physical and virtual public space.

Chapter 3 charts a vibrant geohistory of Black women's cultural activism in Lima from the mid-twentieth century to the present. Combining the analytics and vocabularies of sound studies, critical race and gender studies, and feminist geography, it examines convergences within the transnational, cross-generational work of five Black women performers—U.S. artist Katherine Dunham and Afro-Peruvian artists Victoria Santa Cruz, Susana Baca, and sisters Peta and Kata Robles. I argue that despite differences in content and form, and at times even approach and aspiration, their

collective work as political activists and cultural producers can be understood as both formed by and formative of "performance geographies of feminist diasporicity." Through a geocultural reading of their performance texts and pedagogical practices, I detail how the artist-activists have mobilized spatialized expressive practices such as siting and staging and as spatial imaginaries such as "the coastal," "the Pacific," and "the Afro-diasporic" to advance deprovincialized manifestations of the historical continuities, transnational ties, and internationalist impulses that connect otherwise localized and specific stories of diasporic cultural formation in the Black Americas.

I argue that these Black feminist geographies of political colloquy and communion imagined and activated by these Afroperuana artists are instructive for several reasons. First, they articulate powerful, nuanced critiques of and responses to the commonsense geographies of race, gender, and place that have physically and ideologically contained Black cultural production and political struggle in postcolonial, postmanumission América del Sur. Next, they highlight important convergences among three sociocultural movements that are rarely coexamined: Peru's mid-century Black Arts Revival, Black liberation struggles in the United States and continental Africa, and internationalized forms of Latin American musical production such as Nueva Canción. In doing so, they not only amplify transatlantic mappings of the African diaspora; they also reveal a vital if neglected history of Afro-Latino participation in the region's pan-Americanist social movements of the 1960s–1970s. Finally, the contours of these Black feminist performance geographies effectively challenge and recalibrate the dominant racial-regional designs that most often inform popular and academic discourse on Blackness and indigeneity in the Southern Americas.

Chapter 4 returns to the Mission District of San Francisco, where I use the case study of La Peña del Sur—a grassroots cultural organization that operated there for nearly a decade—to examine the dynamic role that a spatialized cultural politics can play in processes of transnational, multiracial community formation. Founded in 1992 by South American immigrant artists, and located in the rented basement apartment of queer Chilean artist and activist Alejandro Stuart, La Peña del Sur was a unique institution—cooperatively founded and sustained, commercially unlicensed, and community funded. Drawing into conversation sound and performance studies, critical geography, and queer of color critique, this chapter examines

three vital elements of La Peña del Sur as a performance geography. First, it offers a queer reading of the *peña*'s improvisational spatiopolitical structure, which productively troubled commonsense geotemporal boundaries between public and private spheres, aesthetic and political practice, and labor and leisure time. Next, it surveys the multiscalar political work performed through La Peña's conceptual imaginary of "Southernness," which positioned the organization as both locally situated and transnationally oriented. Finally, it reflects upon La Peña's ongoing confrontation with debates concerning competing conceptions of sustainability as they relate to the limits and possibilities of institutionalization. I argue that, taken together, these defining features of La Peña—and the ongoing sociosonic negotiations that produced them—enrooted a vital venue for otherwise unlikely encounters among Mission-area residents, which in turn enabled creative coalitional responses to issues ranging from California Proposition 187 to the Zapatista revolution to the gentrification of San Francisco's neighborhoods of color.

To conclude my discussion of performance geographies of hemispheric South American musical circulations, I turn to a contentious trend within current sonic worlding practices: *piratería*. Through a case study of Lima, Peru's most established and notorious pirate market, El Hueco, I contemplate the questions of sonic debt and musical futures heralded by its unauthorized relations of media reproduction, mediation, and consumption. Located on the fringes of Lima's *centro histórico*, El Hueco boasts over four hundred venders that traffic in the unauthorized manufacture and sale of tens of thousands of audio and video recordings, sourcing both local and transnational distribution networks. El Hueco's extralegal economic activities are in keeping with Peru's broader landscapes of musical exchange, as the BBC recently reported that 98 percent of all music transactions in the nation occur in the black market. The International Intellectual Property Alliance, a private-sector coalition of seven trade associations representing U.S. producers of content and materials protected by copyright laws, has commissioned several investigative reports condemning the significant scope and international reach of Peru's unlicensed digital media trade, and has urged Peruvian authorities to crack down on centers of contraband dissemination such as El Hueco.

Against U.S. culture industry narratives that cast El Hueco as a marker of global Southern "incivility," "disorder," or "corruption," however, I sug-

gest an alternative reading of Lima's piracy networks. El Hueco has served as a primary archive for *On Site*, *In Sound*, as it, alongside its elder twin Polvos Azules, constitutes one of the largest sonic collections in the nation. In the absence of state infrastructure and public services such as libraries and research centers, pirate markets such as these function as important sites of collective knowledge production, digital curation, and artistic registry. I argue that small-scale piracy practices such as these have, since the advent of the audiocassette, accomplished critical modes of popular archival work that sanctioned sites of knowledge production are unable or unwilling to perform. Pairing my discussion of El Hueco with other examples of informal or unlicensed modes of aural circulation discussed throughout the book, I interrogate the U.S.-centrism of dominant popular and academic debates concerning the politics of artistic and author protections.

I conclude *On Site*, *In Sound* with a bold argument: that the settling of musical debts (such as practices of appropriation) via the expansion of U.S. culture industries and international copyright law demands both access and capitulation to the political logics and economic structures of neoliberal capitalism in ways that will not, and indeed cannot, serve the interest of global Southern musicians. Here I question, for example, the effects of leveraging such "protections" via the vulgar conversion of collective musical texts and practices into singular commodities with individual owners and quantified economic value. I close by posing the question of what it would mean to rethink questions of musical appropriation and debt in a manner that decouples the valuation of creative work and capitalist determinations of value. I ask, how might we create and sustain venues for musical production and exchange—a sonic commons—that refuses current structures of private property protection and regulation? I argue that such musical futures will most effectively be pursued via multiscalar organizing agendas that, rather than capitulating to legislative models of individualized economic redress, pursue the eradication of vulnerability, exploitation, and encumbrance via collective investments in infrastructure, services, and opportunities.

By staging unlikely disciplinary, thematic and geopolitical couplings, *On Site*, *In Sound* endeavors the encouragement of critical dialogue between the fields with which it communes: ethnic, area, feminist and queer studies; cultural, performance, and sound studies; and political and cultural geography. To do so, it proceeds with productive engagements with the theoretical and thematic strengths and gaps in each. First, by modeling an approach to

spatial inquiry that centralizes race and gender as modalities through which capitalist landscapes are produced and experienced, this book highlights how ethnic studies methods can enrich geopolitical analyses of culture-capital relations. Next, by coupling frames of critical race and gender studies with geographic grammars, *On Site, In Sound* also argues for the need to territorialize, and by extension, materialize analyses of transnational, post-national, and diasporic cultural practices. Finally, by modeling materialist approaches to popular music studies, it emphasizes the political stakes and imaginative possibilities enabled by nonconventional geographies of world musicking. Ultimately, in integrating the seemingly divergent analytics, methods, and vocabularies of these fields, *On Site, In Sound* aims to draw critical attention to sounded sites of struggle, solidarity, and possibility.

# NOTES

## INTRODUCTION

1 "Soundscapes: La Nueva Canción."

2 An expanded discussion of the multiple ways in which "folklore" as a conceptual term and cultural terrain will follow in chapter 1. For an excellent discussion of the *Nueva Canción* movement, see Fairley, "La nueva canción latinoamericana"; Reyes Matta, "The 'New Song' and Its Confrontation in Latin America"; and Tumas-Serna, "The 'Nueva Canción' Movement."

3 Rios, "Andean Music, the Left, and Pan-Latin Americanism."

4 Simon and Garfunkel, "El Condor Pasa (If I Could)."

5 Here I build on Frances Aparicio and Cándida Jáquez's discussion of "musical migrations," which they define as a conceptual tool that "foregrounds the processes of dislocation, transformation, and mediation that characterize musical structures, productions, and performances as they cross national and cultural borders and transform their meanings from one historical period to another." Aparicio and Jáquez, *Musical Migrations*, 3.

6 This conceptualization of South America is indebted to the collective work of María Amelia Viteri, José Fernando Serrano, and Salvador Vidal-Ortiz. In the introduction to their dossier "¿Cómo se piensa lo 'queer' en América Latina?," the authors argue that the regional term "South America" can be understood to represent not a fixed geographic location but rather "a position in the production of knowledge." Viteri, Serrano, and Vidal-Ortiz, "¿Cómo se piensa lo 'queer' en América Latina?," 47.

7 For an excellent anthologized discussion of the relationship between the growing presence of Latin(o) popular music in the United States, hemispheric bodily and cultural migration patterns, and the commodification of Latin(o) popular music, see Aparicio and Jáquez, *Musical Migrations*.

8 Examples of such tactics include, for example, the reclaiming and re-signification of public space, emphases on spontaneous and do-it-yourself modes of convocation, and the elaboration of informal modes and networks of cultural and economic exchange.

9 Taken together, these dialectics of social mobilization and state revanchism prompted mass migration and exile throughout the Southern Americas, which

in turn sparked the formation of transnational networks of political community and cultural exchange.

10 Aparicio, *Listening to Salsa*; Hernandez, *Bachata*; Hernandez, "Dancing with the Enemy"; Cepeda, *Musical ImagiNation*; Fiol-Matta, "Pop Latinidad"; Rivera, *New York Ricans from the Hip Hop Zone*; Vargas, *Dissonant Divas in Chicana Music*; and Vasquez, *Listening in Detail*.

11 These exceptions include the following: Wade, *Music, Race, and Nation*; Lipsitz, *Dangerous Crossroads*; Johnson, *Spaces of Conflict, Sounds of Solidarity*; Whiteley, Bennett, and Hawkins, *Music, Space and Place*; Connell and Gibson, *Sound Tracks*; Guilbault, "On Redefining the 'Local' through World Music."

12 See, for example, Romero, "Black Music and Identity in Peru"; Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru*; León Quirós, "The Aestheticization of Tradition"; and Rios, "Andean Music, the Left, and Pan-Latin Americanism."

13 Although widely interrogated, the "culture industry" model of global production and consumption articulated within the work of Frankfurt School theorists Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer has remained foundational to contemporary critiques of the world music industry. For example, "cultural imperialism" is a common analytical frame through which scholars of popular music have tracked sonic circulations from the global South to the global North. This model applies "culture industry" logic within global networks of capitalist production and exchange, suggesting that the process of packaging and mass-producing musical traditions in the "third world" for consumption in the centers of global capital results in the depoliticization, homogenization, and corruption of local musical products and practices. For discussions of the cultural imperialism model, see, for example, Campbell Robinson, Buck, and Cuthbert, *Music at the Margins*; Frith, "The Industrialization of Popular Music"; Garofalo, "Whose World, What Beat"; Roberts, "'World Music' and the Global Culture Economy"; Taylor, *Global Pop*; and Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism*.

14 Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth*.

15 In their book, *AfroPop!*, Sean Barlow, Banning Eyre, and Jack Vartoogian characterize such interactions as an "endlessly creative conversation" between "local roots and international pop culture." Barlow, Eyre, and Vartoogian, *AfroPop!*, vii.

16 Mitchell, "Transnational Discourse."

17 Essays and monographs by scholars of popular music studies that have influenced my own thinking on the relationship between globalization, cultural production, and mass mediation include Chambers, *Urban Rhythms*; Chanan, "Global Corporations and 'World Music'"; Connell and Gibson, "World Music"; Frith, *World Music, Politics, and Social Change*; Feld, "Notes on World Beat"; Garofalo, "Whose World, What Beat"; Guilbault, "On Redefining the 'Local' through World Music"; Guilbault, "Interpreting World Music"; Lipsitz,

*Dangerous Crossroads*; Middleton, *Studying Popular Music*; Mitchell, *Popular Music and Local Identity*; and Taylor, *Global Pop*. Within the fields of cultural and media studies more generally, my thinking on the relationship between cultural production and mass mediation has been influenced by the following: Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*; Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy"; Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures*; Clifford, *Routes*; and Jenkins, *Convergence Culture*.

18 Here I take issue not with the terms themselves, but their popular usage as "spatial metaphors" within music studies scholarship. In fact, Schaffer's conceptualization of "soundscape" and Mary Louise Pratt's theorization of "contact zones" are both examples of spatialized cultural theorization. See Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone"; Schafer, *The Soundscape*.

19 Geographers Neil Smith and Cindy Katz describe spatial metaphors as geographic terms that, through reliance on conceptions of absolute space, abstract rather than materialize connections between social and spatial formation. See Smith and Katz, "Grounding Metaphor."

20 Connell and Gibson, *Sound Tracks*, 1.

21 Notable exceptions to this trend include Connell and Gibson, *Sound Tracks*; Guilbault, "On Redefining the 'Local' through World Music"; Johnson, *Spaces of Conflict, Sounds of Solidarity*; Kelley, *Thelonious Monk*; Lipsitz, *Dangerous Crossroads*; Vargas, *Dissonant Divas in Chicana Music*; Woods, *Development Arrested*. My thinking on the relationship between cultural production and spatial formation more generally is deeply indebted to the work of Mary Pat Brady, Doreen Massey, Katherine McKittrick, and Ruth Wilson Gilmore. See Brady, *Extinct Lands, Temporal Geographies*; Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* and *For Space*; McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds*; Gilmore, *Golden Gulag*.

22 Small, *Musicking*.

23 Here I take seriously Feld's claim that genealogies of academic musical typologies and approaches to the study of sound are deeply embedded in the global circulation of sound—that is, the relations and structures that contribute to its various mediations. See Feld, "A Sweet Lullaby for World Music."

24 Here I draw on Shana Redmond's concept of a sound "franchise," which she defines as "an organized melodic challenge utilized by the African descended to announce their collectivity and to what political ends they would be mobilized." Redmond uses the term to connote the overdetermined relations of coalitional performance, state power, capital, mass media." Redmond, *Anthem*, 4–5.

25 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*; Brady, *Extinct Lands, Temporal Geographies*.

26 Brady, *Extinct Lands, Temporal Geographies*, 6.

27 Massey, *For Space*, 3.

28 McKittrick and Peake, "What Difference Does Difference Make to Geography?," 2.

29 Gilmore, "Fatal Couplings of Power and Difference," 16.
30 For rich and nuanced discussions of the relationship between globalization and spatialization, see Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*, and *For Space*; Mitchell, "Transnational Discourse"; and Gilmore, "Race and Globalization."
31 Schmidt Camacho, "Ciudadana X."
32 Gauthier and Yúdice, "The Latin American Music Industry in an Era of Crisis."
33 Cresswell, *Place*, 19.
34 My thinking on place has been mostly deeply influenced by the work of Ruth Wilson Gilmore, Neil Smith, Cindy Katz, and Doreen Massey. See Smith, "Contours of a Spatialized Politics"; Smith and Katz, "Grounding Metaphor"; Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*; Smith, *The New Urban Frontier*; Gilmore, "Globalisation and US Prison Growth"; Gilmore, "You Have Dislodged a Boulder"; Gilmore, "Fatal Couplings of Power and Difference"; Gilmore, *Golden Gulag*; and Massey, *For Space*.
35 Smith, "Contours of a Spatialized Politics," 64.
36 Examples of feminist and antiracist geographers that offer compelling examples of this argument include Brady, *Extinct Lands, Temporal Geographies*; Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*; Gilmore, "Fatal Couplings of Power and Difference"; McKittrick and Peake, "What Difference Does Difference Make to Geography?"; and McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds*.
37 Ochoa Gautier, "Sonic Transculturation, Epistemologies of Purification," 808.
38 Ochoa Gautier, "Sonic Transculturation, Epistemologies of Purification," 808.
39 Aparicio and Jáquez, *Musical Migrations*, 9.
40 I am thinking of the work of Redmond, *Anthem*; Pacini Hernandez, *Bachata*; Aparicio, *Listening to Salsa*; Habell-Pallán, *Loca Motion*; Johnson, *Spaces of Conflict, Sounds of Solidarity Music*; Vargas, *Dissonant Divas*; Kheshti, *Modernity's Ear*; and Casillas, *Sounds of Belonging*.
41 Sterne, *The Sound Studies Reader*, 2.
42 Jay, *Downcast Eyes*.
43 Sterne, *The Audible Past*.
44 Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality*.
45 Ochoa Gautier, "Sonic Transculturation, Epistemologies of Purification."
46 Rice, "Listening," 99.
47 Vasquez, *Listening in Detail*, 27.
48 Vargas, *Dissonant Divas in Chicana Music*, xii–xiv.
49 Luta, "Live Electronic Performance."
50 Small, *Musicking*, 9.
51 Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 15.
52 Clark, "Performing the Memory of Difference in Afro-Caribbean Dance"; Roach, *Cities of the Dead*; Delgado and Muñoz, "Introduction."
53 Of course, there are many exciting exceptions to this scholarly trend. Some exceptions that have influenced my own thinking include Lipsitz, *Dangerous*

*Crossroads*; Kun, *Audiotopia*; Vargas, *Dissonant Divas in Chicana Music*; and Redmond, *Anthem*.

54 Niaah, *Dancehall*.

55 In addition to Niaah's illuminating book, other works that have influenced my thinking on the relationship between performance and space include Nash, "Performativity in Practice"; Thrift, "The Still Point"; and Houston and Pulido, "The Work of Performativity."

56 Butler, *Gender Trouble*.

57 Houston and Pulido, "The Work of Performativity," 42.

58 Diamond, "Introduction," in *Performance and Cultural Politics*, 2.

59 A peña is a popular performance venue, often associated with leftist politics, where artists and audiences convene to eat and drink, dance, and engage in political discussion. For an in-depth discussion of the peña and its association with social justice struggles, see Jara, *An Unfinished Song*.

## 1. SOUNDING PLACE OVER TIME

1 Unless otherwise noted, translations of Spanish language texts are my own.

2 Raimundo López, "'El cóndor pasa' declarada Patrimonio Cultural de Perú."

3 Baudouin published under the pseudonym Julio de la Paz; De La Paz, *El cóndor pasa*.

4 The meaning of the term *criollo* varies across historical, geographic, and cultural contexts throughout the Americas. In this case, it refers to the elite mestizo class of the early twentieth-century republic that distinguished itself from its peninsular and indigenous counterparts by embracing a continental American identity.

5 My reading of De La Paz's *El cóndor pasa* is based on a reprinted edition that appears in José Varallarnos's *El Cóndor Pasa*.

6 Varallarnos, *El Cóndor Pasa*, scene 1, 132.

7 Spanish: "los amos . . . nos tratan como béstias." Cited in Varallarnos, *El Cóndor Pasa*, scene 1, 134. Spanish: "Así debe ser, Frank. Los amos han nacido para mandar, y nosotros para obedecerles." Cited in Varallarnos, *El Cóndor Pasa*, scene 1, 134.

8 Spanish: "Algo hay en mi mente que me dice que las vida no es así"; Spanish: "Parece que en sus venas ardiera la misma sangre imperiosa del amo." Varallarnos, *El Cóndor Pasa,* scene 1, 134.

9 Spanish: "El último cóndor que por acá pasaba, lo vi volar una noche sobre mi choza, perdiéndose en la altura**.** . . . Allí dentro estaba Mr. Mac King, María, tu madre, también estaba . . . pero yo no se si nuestro amor se lo llevó el cóndor en su vuelo trágico." Varallarnos, *El Cóndor Pasa*, scene 1, 134.

10 Spanish: "El pelo rojo que hay en mi cabeza, es el reflejo del incendio de odios que hay en mi sangre . . . los odio a los amos; porque desde compraron las