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Back to the Neighborhood: Musical Contributions to the Study
of Locality in Latin American Cities

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*Back to the Neighborhood:
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Locality in Latin American Cities*



ABSTRACT: This article is an attempt to build an initial methodological framework for the study of the relationship between space and popular or traditional music in Latin American cities. The main argument posits that locality in Latin America can be constructed by music through the development of rootedness and sense of place—via elective belonging—to create place in a given time and space (place making). The article explains the concepts of place, rootedness, and sense of place; introduces the idea of stability and instability in the appropriation of space; and proposes that festivalization and musical scene are the unifying aspects of the debate. The conclusion offers elements to build a theoretical and methodological proposal that facilitates the analysis of the relationship between music and space in this large global region.



keywords: festivalization, Latin American music, locality, music scenes, sense of place

RESUMEN: El presente texto pretende construir un primer marco metodológico para el estudio de la relación entre espacio y música en las ciudades latinoamericanas. El argumento principal sostiene que lo local (*locality*) puede construirse por medio de la música a través del desarrollo del arraigo y el sentido de lugar, pero por medio de elecciones informadas (*elective belonging*) que creen lugar en un tiempo y espacio determinados (*place making*) vinculados a la música. El texto está dividido en cuatro partes: la primera explica los conceptos de lugar, arraigo y sentido de lugar; la segunda introduce la idea de estabilidad e inestabilidad en la apropiación del espacio; la tercera propone los conceptos de festivalización y escena musical como aspectos unificadores del debate; y las conclusiones resumen el texto entregando algunos elementos para construir una propuesta teórico-metodológica que facilite el análisis de la relación entre música y espacio en esta región.



palabras clave: escena musical, festivalización, localidad, música latinoamericana, sentido de lugar



Looking for Space and Place in Latin American Research on Music

Over the past decade the focus on space, place, and locality has been gaining strength in social sciences, humanities, and popular music studies. This perspective considers the use, design, management, and meaning given to space, as well as the social and aesthetic effects that it has on all the arts, particularly music as a sound art that increasingly occupies public space. The way in which a street corner can foster live music, the size and layout of the platforms of a bar, and the architecture of local auditoriums are typical examples where the relationship between space and music can be clearly observed. But there are also less obvious examples, such as concerts in abandoned places laden with historical memory, brass bands in religious processions, circus musicians traveling from town to town, or the virtuous notables that appear in instrumental music festivals, where the audience doesn't dance or sing but only listens.

Although scarce, since the 2000s some literature indirectly addressing the issue in Latin America has made an appearance that deserves to be mentioned.¹ Savigliano's (2000) ethnographic study on the milonga incorporated the dance area as a place for alterity possessed of democratic traits. Fontanari (2004) did something similar when studying the electronic music of Porto Alegre; however, his study put more emphasis on the process of agency and identity in contemporary Brazilian society. Likewise, Waxer (2001) considers the stage in an urban landscape a space capable of redefining an entire music genre (salsa) by resignifying ancient cultural practices in Cali, Colombia. Rodrigo Torres (2001) describes the emergence of a popular singing culture in Chile through old markets and urban commercial spaces, explaining in what way orality configures the imaginary of popular genres. In a similar study oriented on memory, Luci Simone Pereira (2004, 213) reconstructs the history of the city of Rio de Janeiro via urban songs, viewing the city as a marked representation that creates imaginaries containing diverse identities within a "topographical space." Domínguez (2006) uses an anthropological approach to study the aesthetic and social construction of the musical landscape of the city of Cholula, Puebla (Mexico). The study uses the senses to delve into the manner in which the nightlife in public spaces is dominated by, indeed overflowing with, dancers. In *Cidade da música* (2007) Herschmann, with a similar focus on the concept of "barrio," tackles his subject from a communicational perspective to analyze a flourishing bohemian neighborhood, traditionally home to samba and *chorinho*. In my own work I have analyzed the social production of space through urban *cueca* (a folkloric Chilean dance) in Santiago, Chile, between 1990 and 2010, indicating the importance of places in creating social interaction (Spencer 2017b). In the same vein I have also criticized the canonization of certain spaces designated for

popular entertainment and how it throws up obstacles in the generating of a broader vision covering the entire geo-cultural spectrum in Latin America (Spencer 2020b).

A recent topic in Latin American research in which space has risen to prominence is the acquired importance of festivals. Considered an aesthetic event that produces or represents textual and/or sonorous meaning, the festival is home to celebratory and situational events that occur regularly and are often participatory. They require collective organization and are in the public arena, where space is important. In the space used for a festival there is usually a concentrated offering of cultural assets and mechanisms for social interaction that in themselves generate spaces for commitment, participation, and exchange. These spaces are then distributed through socialization and cultural capital. The space in this sense operates as a medium through which to catalyze integrative, informal, and educational sociocultural mechanisms, and it serves to promote the agenda of a community, region, or nation. In this context a few Latin American authors have referred to the role of space as acting as a “quotidian reality” where festivities take place and popular sociability is produced (e.g., Salinas 2006, 86). Alternatively, they may act as a facilitator for a moment of socialization in which those attending coincidentally participate, perform, consume, receive, create, and manage cultural assets (Spencer 2020a). As Pinochet (2016, 2017) has pointed out, festivals contribute to developing a relationship between culture and city; they broaden the democratic imaginary and many times manage to symbolically rebuild the social fabric or cultural weave, favoring the cultural use of city streets without repression from the authorities or penalization/criminalization.²

Both ethnographies and festival studies have contributed to a better understanding of the music-space relationship in Latin America.³ This growing body of literature about music, space, and place deserves greater recognition and attention. Further investigation, however, should consider that in almost all those studies, the main focus is on cultural policies regarding urban centers, the development of certain musical genres (and their respective audiences), the impact on the music industry or the consumption thereof, or even the musical act itself, not the relation between space and music itself. Fundamental research in the field of music studies (musicology, ethnomusicology, popular music studies) often mentions concepts such as “territory,” “place,” “geography,” “urban pathways,” “city,” “habiting,” even volatile terms such as “wandering,” “everyday life” or “folklore,” all linked directly or indirectly to space and artistic practices, and yet they fail to delve into the relationship between music and space, overshadowed by debates on identity, globalization and lately, gender and postcoloniality. Aren’t festivals, with their celebratory style of consumption, one of the axes of current musical culture? What do cultural

statistics say about the increasing spatial mobility of artistic practices such as theater or circus? How much does music contribute to Latin American tourism, and what is its impact on the economy? What transformations does music continue to drive in spaces whose identity was already intrinsically linked with sound: places such as the Quinta Vergara (Viña del Mar, Chile); Malecón (La Habana, Cuba); the Zócalo and the Museum of Anthropology (Mexico City); the Punilla of Cosquín Valley (Córdoba, Argentina); and the “Al Parque” (at park) activities in Bogotá (Colombia)? How can spatial analysis of these places help us rethink Latin American music in a more comprehensive way?

Scope, Materials, and Method

The purpose of this article is to offer a theoretical-methodological framework for the spatialized study of music in Latin American cities. Locality in Latin America can be engendered by means of music, not just through the development of rootedness and sense of place, but also through actively choosing to belong, a choice that ultimately creates place in a given time and space (place making). It is my argument that theories around social space must be incorporated into the debate on music in Latin America, not just because the larger part of the music in the global region is street music, but because proxemics also play a significant role in the production, development, and execution of musical performance. Proxemics in this case refers to how people relate to physical time and space, and especially how space is used to create and perform music through human interaction. If human perception of space is molded and patterned by culture (Harvey 2010), it necessarily creates a proxemic related to musical performance in public spaces. In Latin American culture this physical proximity exists, largely due to urban geography and planning, the dimensions of urban construction, and the conditions of public transport. But I also believe that there is a type of socialization in play, one in which the ritual of social interaction takes place in an environment of familiarity and close personal and physical proximity. According to Jerry D. Moore (1996), this would be nonverbal communication through conduct displayed in a socially constructed space, a social manner of producing space where music plays a central role. From my point of view, space built through music is facilitated when there is already a sense of place rooted in a given time or space, a regular occurrence in Latin America. This article attempts to illustrate the importance of music in creating a bond with space and to offer a theoretical-methodological framework through which to study and better understand the phenomena.

My starting point is autobiographical, particularly the experiences of space and place that I have personally witnessed and accumulated over

the past ten years, having moved to and lived in at least eight different cities around the world (Madrid, Lisbon, Liverpool, Los Angeles, Mexico City, Guanajuato, Caracas, Santiago de Chile). Observation of the environment and experience as a wandering musician and ethnomusicologist have resulted in my converting of personal experience into a source of ideas for the analysis of urban space—a self-reflective, not an autoethnographic, exercise. In this sense, my idea of locality is the result of a web of concepts taken from cultural geography, urban sociology, anthropology, and ethnomusicology. I have articulated this network by drawing on reflections about how sound intervenes in place or space and turns music (and musicians) into actors with agency in urban policies and cultural consumption.

For this study I have chosen a methodological approach different from what I have used in previous studies. There is no single in-depth case study; instead, I offer brief examples that illustrate the projection of the concepts I use. Neither do I refer to one urban center; rather, I cite multiple cities, places, scenes, and festivals that demonstrate the theoretical and practical utility of the concepts I am proposing. I use this method to project my theoretical framework, but above all, to show the enormous amount of little-known “sound spaces” or “musical spaces” to those outside Latin America. Herein is a combination of autobiographical elements, concepts, and short examples that I hope will provide sufficient basis to create an analytical model for music in cities or urban centers.

The article is divided into four sections; the first is an explanation of what I consider the locale through the concepts of place, roots, and sense of place. In the second, I develop the idea of stability and instability in the appropriation of space, using the case of Chin Chin Tirapié (Chile) as an example of an unstable iterative appropriation in which the concepts of space and culture are united. In the third section, I introduce the concepts of festivalization and musical scene, a trend and scenario through which the previous concepts are analyzed. Examples for this section are taken from my own fieldwork with urban *cueca* and the Chilean version of the Lollapalooza festival. In the fourth and final section, I offer some ideas for building a theoretical-methodological approach that contributes to the analysis of the relationship between music and space in Latin American cities.

Locality, Rootedness, and Sense of Place

The locale can be defined as a qualitative and phenomenological complex constituted by social relationships and human networks occurring in an originally abstract space with no prior associated values (Aguilar Díaz 2012, 121). This empty or uninhabited space, wasteland, or wilderness is humanized through significant experiences that visitors either have or observe and, over time, gain relevance (Appadurai 1996, 178–180; Aguilar

Díaz 2012, 122). The humanization of space consists of attributing value to these sites, a value that contributes to the order, cognitive, and sensory performance of human beings.

The process of habiting a place implies that a locale is under constant construction, movement, or tension. That is why the locale is always relational in the understanding of being mediated by social interaction and the way sensory stimuli—such as music—can articulate it, make it visible, determine it, and even close it down. Paraphrasing Appadurai (1996), the relational aspect of the habitation/habiting is influenced by interactive technology, the relativity of context and age, gender, ethnicity, and class. Therefore, to study habitation one must go beyond urban geography and resort to an inter- or transdisciplinary approach. To this complexity I add a fundamental element: the imagined character of certain places that, despite having no material existence, may be configured into an idea of sound or culture; examples of this are Atlantis, the Bermuda Triangle, and Macondo, not to mention much of Mesoamerican mythology, rich in sound content.

A concept little assessed in the disciplines that work with space and music is that of the place. Place is a physical environment in which cognitive-sensory-affective human action intervenes in a way that produces subjective attachment and provides “symbolic resources” that imbricate life with the territory (Aguilar Díaz 2012, 120–124). If we consider that sound is a physical, biological, social, and spatialized phenomenon that is embodied in something physical (Rose, in Wissmann 2014, 17–18), it is logical to think that the music-space relationship has sensory—and in many cases, material—consequences. The enjoyment of walking through spaces with sounds that we like or identify with, the need to avoid “noisy” places, or the search for concrete sounds are examples of such a relationship (e.g., music to put a baby to sleep, rock music when going to a bar, music for physical or spiritual exercise). Other spaces that can be similarly defined are the corners of one’s home, the place where a baby is born, or the home recording studio, all of which have impact on sensory life and demonstrate that music and space are not two separable elements, even when there is an associated consumption (as paying to go to a silent place that was previously free).

The city is the context for music locality, the space where the nexus between sound and place occurs (Spencer 2017a, 294–295). For the purpose of this study the city is understood as an urban environment or community that harbors specific forms of human association (Wirth 2001, 110) in which the memory of space is saved (Giddens 1990). The place is subsequently appropriated through events (Savage and Warde 1993) and agency is acquired. Therefore, the city is not only an audiovisual concept but an embodiment of “social geography” (Smith 1994, 232) in the sense

of being a space of habitation where the material and immaterial merge. Evidence of this is that some musical events are associated with specific places. Social meaning or forms of interpretation of culture are produced through them (or within them) to the extent that, if removed from that space, they lose strength or diminish in hermeneutical impact. Examples of the previous are festivals that have traditionally taken place in the same place or area over a long period of time, such as the Mono Núñez Festival (Colombia), the Viña del Mar Festival (Chile), the Sambadrome of Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), the International Cervantino Festival of Guanajuato (Mexico), and the *bullerengue* festivals in Necoclí (Antioquia), Puerto Escondido (Córdoba), and María la Baja (Bolívar), all in Colombia. Removing these events from those spaces would reduce their symbolic power and would entail the loss—or significantly transform—their identity, and thus their commercial and musical value. In those places tradition is spatialized; in other words, the territory is a mark of their identity. There are musical landscapes that used to be—and still are—anchored in specific places, such as the rock-pop scene in Liverpool, the Movida Madrileña in Spain (1980s), the Movida Acústica Urbana (Urban Acoustic Movement) in Caracas (2000s), and the *jarocho chicano* in Los Angeles, still alive and ongoing in California. In both—events or landscapes—place provides the catalyst for developing a sense of belonging that contains two fundamental elements for the social analysis of music: rootedness and sense of place.

Entrenchment or rootedness can be defined as a way of adding ontological security, derived from the link with the space and delimited by “marks” that individuals leave in a physical place based on their experiences in it (Basso, in Aguilar Díaz 2012, 126–127).⁴ As Giddens (1985) explains, ontological security is a form of routinization of life that implies an autonomy of corporal governance within predictable activities, that is, the generation of a psychological feeling of confidence that the world “is as it appears to be, including the basic existential parameters of self and social identity” (Giddens, in Vigliani 2011, 46).⁵ Festivals or musical activities that are totally or moderately routine, in this sense, can deliver pleasure and relief from the ordinary tension of life’s unpredictability. Examples of spaces that generate rooting are graffitied rock music venues, the repetitive sets of “Rock in Rio” festivals throughout the world, or the “predictable” architectural structure of national auditoriums, such as the Colón theater of Buenos Aires, the National Auditorium of Madrid, the main room of the Teresa Carreño theater in Caracas, and the Nezahualcóyotl in Mexico City. The marks inherent to these places facilitate the knowledge of the space itself, as they “take root” in geographies that repeat themselves almost identically and contribute toward continuity in cultural routines.

Song lyrics also contribute to visualizing cities from a sound perspective, albeit with a greater degree of subjectivity. As Sara Cohen (2007)

suggests of rock in Liverpool, Richard Elliot (2017) through fado in Lisbon, and Simone Luci Pereira (2004) in singer-songwriter composition in Rio de Janeiro, lyrics contribute not only to the description of places but also to creating an urban identity (*cityness*) and descriptions of its street corners. Part of that identity is shaped by the way in which the songs establish space-time paths and recall a type of predictable social interaction (Giddens 1985) or loss, memory, and nostalgia within its song texts (Elliot 2017). Lyrics typify a lifestyle with historicized urban references (Pereira 2004), imagine geographies (Spencer 2016a), and in their reiteration replicate spaces that are then internalized in everyday experience.

The sense of place is the “accumulation of signifiers” that the physical memory of a space generates, which is then remembered for the creation or interpretation of the music. As the Mexican anthropologist Ángela Giglia (2012, 156) explains, the sense of place implies an individual or group capacity to link space with their lives, that is, to internalize musical culture at a microsocial level, whether in the neighborhood, the vicinity, the community, or the street, to obtain interpretations of the world that are sacralized as icons of authenticity. In contrast to the feeling of rootedness, which is defined by physical marks, a sense of place is linked to personal or human experiences. As a result the latter can be caused by an event or point in time, making it subjective, emotional, and affective.⁶ Entrenchment, however, is more objective, based on geographical or physical traits and usually clearly marked, making it easier for the researcher to identify.

A list of Latin American sites capable of developing a sense of place would be whimsical and subjective. However, in Latin America there are places that play active live music at various times of the year and are more likely to accumulate these markers, to the extent of running the risk of becoming more commercial than social owing to the increasing attraction of tourism. This is the case for the neighborhood of Tepito (a hub for popular culture in Mexico City); the traditional clubs (*peñas*) of Breña in Callao, Peru (one of the centers of Peruvian Creole music); Santiago del Estero in Argentina, main cultural center of the *chacarera*; Pirque in Cajón del Maipo, Chile (cradle of *canto a la poeta*); and other places that I know less well, such as Valledupar in Colombia and the island of Janitzio in Pátzcuaro, Mexico.

Sense of place can be generated synchronously or diachronically. It is diachronic in the sense that the subject is able to identify with a place because of multiple visits over a period of time, or even on a regular basis, such as music or dance classes, group music rehearsals, and recording studios. How regularly patrons visit those places is not exact, but it is constant. But a sense of place can also be generated from unique experiences with a high cognitive-sensory impact, such as attending “one-off” concerts that create an almost immediate memory in the subject. Examples of this

are Michael Jackson's concert at the Estadio Azteca of Mexico (1993); Illapu playing at Parque La Bandera in Chile (1988) after returning from long exile imposed by the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973–1990); Rod Stewart's incredible show in Rio de Janeiro (1994); the sequel to the first American Woodstock successor concerts in the region (Ancón in Colombia, Cosquín Rock in Argentina, and Piedra Roja in Chile); and more recently, the Rolling Stones concert at Ciudad Deportiva in Havana (2016), among others. It is also the case of repeated performances in the same places, such as neighborhood parties (typical of popular religiosity) and the extensive range of festivals on the American Pacific coast or in the Andean interior, many of them having existed for decades, such as the Pacific Music Petronio Álvarez Festival in Cali (Colombia) and the Mexican singing festival Guadalupe del Carmen (Chile), to name a few from an extensive list. The long life of these festivals and one-off events suggests that the development of a sense of place can occur in spaces with strong ties to the past, including musical activities that seek to recover spaces broken or violated by the Latin American dictatorships of the twentieth century.

Stability and Instability in the Appropriation of Space

The appropriation of space is the allocation or reallocation of value to already known places. It is a gradual, nonuniform, and unstable process marked by the reflective or creative desire for occupation, habitation, preservation, or construction of space (Boscailon 2014). Neighborhood or community power relations that resist or transform the order in which residents live are also influential in regard to the appropriation of space (De Haan 2005). While some places are created, founded, or born, others are re-created, used, re-used, or revisited, according to the relationship that the subjects or groups establish with the space, rootedness, and sense of place discussed earlier.

Musical landscapes or scenes are composed of communities (audiences, receivers), musicians, producers, administrators, and concert spaces. When musicians appropriate a given location, they generate either a temporary or a stable identity that can be decisive in the very development of the space itself. Baker (2006, 221) refers to the appropriation of urban spaces as a way of contesting other areas in the city “to create alternative social spaces”; thus musicians “adapt these performance spaces through their music and associated social practices.” But what is the temporality of this process, its endurance over time? Temporary appropriation is observed in processions or party bands (religious or secular) and also in the sets of music groups with reiterative itineraries, such as *mojigangas*, circus acts, and urban carnivals that take to the streets with their performances. Uruguayan *candombe* is one example (performed in the Barrio Sur of Montevideo); the *diabladas*, *morenadas*, and *caporales* of the Oruro

Carnival (Bolivia) and the festivities of the Fiesta de la Virgen de la Tirana in the Tarapacá region (Chile) are two more, among many others. Stable appropriation of space means the regular or methodical occupation of a location for individual or collective purposes; the Plaza Garibaldi of Mexico City, with more than half a century of activity; and Plaza Yungay in the Día del Roto Chileno in Santiago de Chile are two concrete examples of spaces now associated with music performance. The list continues to grow with the addition of other squares or urban parks that are acquiring an identity associated with specific cultural use of the space. Urban refurbishment carried out in recent years in Latin America has, surprisingly, increased these activities, contributing to the expansion of musical landscapes and temporary appropriations throughout the region.

According to Giglia (2012, 155), there is also an elective belonging to space, that is, the habitual use of a given location or place that produces a voluntary desire to pass or walk through or in that place because we identify with it in some way. In choosing a location to habitually occupy we deposit a sense of security in that place, sufficient to safely justify forming personal ties to our space of choice (Allen et al. 2010). The expression “place making” (*crear o hacer lugar*), used by authors such as Gieryn (2000), Solomon (2000), Escobar (2001), and Connell and Gibson (2003), refers to the moment in which the physical nature and psychosocial character of a space acquire a stable added value owing to the decisions patrons make about how they participate in that space. This act can “convert non-places into places” (*lugarizar un lugar*), assigning a position (a coordinate, spot, or site) to what is not visible, or even better, providing elements for a symbolic construction where the place can be established (Augé 2008, 42).

In the case of music, this phenomenon can be clearly seen in recording studios and street performances. Recording studios are privileged places in which to create a temporary sense of place owing to the sheer amount of time spent in them and the physical memory (sound) registered in the recording. The object in which that memory is deposited, the disc, is the product of a ritual where the experience of sound is recorded within the space, as if it were a *totem* by means of which the obtained experience is sacralized. In an article published in 2012, the Chilean musicologist Mauricio Valdebenito pointed out that many of the musicians of the 1960s, a golden decade for music in Chile, spent “all day” in the studios, just like the Beatles did when recording *The White Album* (1968), developing a family connection with the space that ended when the recording sessions did (Valdebenito 2012). A second example is the street music or performances in urban spaces generally assigned to public use, such as walkways, galleries, subways, or buses (*micro, guagua, bus, pecera*). In this case the creation of a place depends on urban regulation, the acceptance or rejection of

audiences, the technical conditions of interpretation, and how a particular society values noise and sound. In both cases, either in the studio or on the street, there is no dichotomy but a continuum in which unstable appropriation can become stable in relation to time invested in the space.

This last point differs from the idea of nonplace held by Marc Augé in his book *Non-places* (2008). From my perspective, every space has a latent sense of stability, especially in Latin America, where the territory is less associated with private property and is subject to other types of occupation, either illegal or transformative. Augé's vision of space in this sense adheres to an enlightened and respectful perspective of the ground that in other parts of the world does not always exist. Using the language of Augé himself, all nonplaces are potentially places, so for me nonplaces are actually potential places that haven't yet been filled with experience or "humanized" by processes that create a sense of place, generate rootedness, or appropriate a space. Humanization takes time, and that is why the idea of nonplace should not be read literally: "[T]here are no 'non-places' in the absolute sense of the term" (Augé 2008, viii).

An interesting example of the unstable or mobile appropriation of space is that of the Chilean group Chin Chin Tirapié. Chin Chin was founded in 2006 and defines itself as a carnival school, "open to those in our city's community interested and willing to create and learn from the culture of the mythical *chinchinero* as well as dancers, figurines and musicians."⁷ The group's artistic presentations—processions, marches, and roaming street dances at strategic locations throughout the city—consist of repeated choreographies, costumes, adaptations, and schedules. Theirs is a recurrent form of appropriation, meaning that should the carnival visit the same area again, stability may be achieved. The group is rooted in the authenticity of the Chin Chin, a popular instrument created a little less than a century ago by a bass drum (*bombo*), cymbals, and drumsticks, all carried on the back of the player as if it were a "carnival backpack," a traditional Chilean version of the one-man band. Chin Chin takes the carnival to the streets, fosters celebrations and festivities, and in the process recovers public spaces taken from the populace during Pinochet's military regime. They also promise a continuation of traditional Chilean carnival repertoires and help write arrangements for wind orchestras and brass bands, creating a repetitive yet interrupted sense of place where space and culture will eventually unite in the long run.⁸

Music Scenes or Landscapes and Festivalization

Musical scenes and festivals are privileged instances of the creation of roots, sense of place, elective belonging, and place making. As events that unite theory and praxis, I would like to highlight their usefulness as a

resource for analyzing the relationship between music and space in Latin America. In other publications, I have referred in detail to spaces and music scenes (Spencer 2016a, 2016b, 2017b), so I will now only refer to its way of humanizing places and elaborate on the ideas mentioned so far.

The concept of festivalization refers to the process of standardizing consumerism linked to music in public spaces and/or private venues. Festivals are localized urban or rural events that allow an audience to personally experience the phenomenon of live music, enhancing commerce, tourism, and “planned” performance (Bennett, Taylor, and Woodward 2014). Through them we recognize the communicative potential of cultural events and their economic benefits, turning the city into a stage for the show.

Festivalization involves cultural and spatial transformations in at least five areas (Holt and Wergin 2013, 7):

1. Incremental use of urban public spaces for cultural events.
2. Use of cultural events—especially popular culture—to promote social or economic agendas.
3. Massification of artistic culture to reach non-specialized audiences and media.
4. Increasing the presence of culture in public arenas at the expense of a loss of substance and values in the long term.
5. Carnivalization or “popularization” of cultural performances in the form of choreography, installations, or special effects.

There are dozens of cases of festivalization in popular music and Latin American oral tradition. I highlight the Cervantino Festival in Guanajuato (Mexico) because it is “many festivals” in one and constitutes not only an identifying mark for the city and the country but also an economic and cultural engine around which the entire city revolves during a certain time of year. The same phenomenon occurs with other known festivals on the continent, such as the Guelaguetza in Oaxaca (Mexico), the Cosquín Festival in Córdoba (Argentina), and the Lollapalooza Festival in Santiago (Chile). All of them exhibit the aforementioned characteristics. In addition, owing to a rise in the economic value of tradition and authenticity (Bendix 1997), they have become more relevant to regional growth, tourism, local identity, and the generation of consumption styles typical of the new Latin American middle classes.

The scene is the physical space where musicians, audiences, cultural managers, producers, and managers come together for the “production, performance and reception of musical practices” (Straw 1991, 373; Bennett and Peterson 2004, 3). Scenes create, enable, renovate, and close places

because they unfold in a humanized space where social relations take shape (de Certeau 1984, 96). In a way, they silently structure the determining conditions of social life through the distribution and compartmentalization of culture, the latter with specific functions, among which space is also determining factor. The scenes, in this sense, are a direct—almost preconfigured—route to entrenchment, to the generation of a sense of place and the creation of places. However, in Latin America these scenes are influenced by other variables that are less frequent in the North of the world, such as their rural character (where genres are born and are later transferred to large cities with intraregional migration); subsistence economies (where musicians consider music as part of their survival and not just a hobby); the acquisition of differentiating cultural capital (obtained from the scene); and the use of Indigenous languages as an aspect of cultural differentiation (Mendivil and Spencer 2016, 160–164). These four aspects directly affect the aforementioned notions of root, sense of place, elective belonging, and place making because they stabilize the existence of culture in space, making it regular or continuous over time. The interconnecting scene-festival-space, in this sense, acquires its own characteristics in Latin America and deserves a separate study addressing the relationship in depth.

In my three years of fieldwork with Chilean urban *cueca*, I observed that the choice of spaces in musical practice determined the manner in which the genre was performed, influencing rhythm, tempo, staging, and even formal musical structure. For example, the inclusion or exclusion of new instruments (that change the texture of sound), the type of repertoire, and the duration of events were, to a large extent (although not entirely), determined by the places where the musicians played. Smaller spaces allowed for more intimate repertoires in both their tonality and textual content (lyrics). They also made way for the appearance of instruments of thinner tone (violin, oboe), and concerts were shorter owing to their greater emotional content. Likewise, the choice of venue where to play or dance urban *cueca* was made on the basis of authenticity or the lack thereof (e.g., the presence or not of a vertical piano), as well as its ability to generate a sense of place and rootedness in line with the traditional ideology of the genre. After noticing the spatialized characteristics in urban *cueca* (Spencer 2017a, 437–440), I realized that there were other types of music that operated the same way, like the drum carnival of the Uruguayan *candombe* (of broad encompassing and deep history), *capoeira* in the big cities of Brazil, the *sonidera* music from the neighborhoods of Mexico City, and the Cuban *son* or *son jarocho* (outside of Veracruz, Mexico). Music and genre, therefore, can determine space in the same way that space can determine music and genre.

Another example of the relationship between festivalization, scene, and space is the Lollapalooza festival. This event was first held in the United States in 1991 and was intended to draw the best exponents of alternative rock, *indie* music, rap, and punk rock, among other genres, into a single event. Since 1997 it has been an annual show in the United States, but it wasn't until 2003 that it was resurrected as a massive event in Chicago. This paved the way to opening new venues in Chile (2011), Brazil (2012), Argentina (2014), Berlin (2015), Paris (2017), and Stockholm (2019). Currently, this event takes place on three continents and in six different countries, and is likely to continue expanding to rock and pop audiences around the world.⁹

For several years Lollapalooza has been the largest musical event in Chile, with an average of more than 150,000 people per edition, far exceeding audience numbers at international artists' concerts in the country before then, such as Silvio Rodríguez (1991) and U2 in the National Stadium (2011), with about 80,000 people; or festivals like Maquinaria, with 60,000 people attending at the Club Hípico (Equestrian Club) (2011), and the Viña del Mar festival, with a little less than 15,000 people per year, among many others.¹⁰ It is also historically the most expensive, with an investment of more than US\$8 million,¹¹ and the only one in its eight years of history that has managed to gather more than 1.25 million people in a capital of just over 6 million. In this context, the attendance figures for Lollapalooza are surprising: 100,000 people in 2011,¹² 140,000 in 2012, 140,000 in 2013, 160,000 in 2014, 140,000 in 2015, 160,000 in 2016, 160,000 in 2017, and 250,000 in 2018.

In Chile this event has been defined as “a family festival of music and culture, whose goal is to present a mix of rock, pop, and other related musical styles, national and international, established and emerging in a sustainable way. Lollapalooza is a musical and cultural experience.”¹³ The publicity campaign is conducted through audiovisual platforms on social networks and television; images, concert videos, fragments of interviews, and other material emphasize different groups and their respective audiences. The mission is to sell the playful and youthful identity of Lollapalooza Chile, combining marketing, ecological culture, family, and globalization (through language and invited music groups) in a single mass event. The festival is also intended to be a gateway event introducing several musical styles to audiences, although sometimes there is a preference for rock (alternative, indie, punk rock), electropop, rap, and metal. In addition, there's a local component incorporated into the festival, in the space (Parque O'Higgins and Club Hípico de Santiago) and in the roster of musical talent invited to participate, with local artists putting on live shows, a logic that has been consistently repeated in Chile from its beginning to the present.

So far the literature on Latin American versions of Lollapalooza stems from communication and marketing studies, in Spanish and Portuguese. In general, the texts have focused on revealing its messages, marketing style, advertising, business model, and the dynamics of consumption (in a broad sense), where what matters most is the experience of buying culture (Soares and Souto 2015, 2).¹⁴ Focusing on the subject that interests us, Lollapalooza actually seeks to holistically unite urban experiences in a single activity where space and culture reach a maximum degree of integration. Universal accessibility, the use of sign language, the use of service animals, the implementation of a mini-festival for children (Kidzapalooza), the sale of makeup, the presence of temporary art exhibitions, and “green campaigns” such as opportunities to purchase carbon credits for renewable energy, charity donations, and tree planting or recycling, among many other activities, are integrated using pathways and organized into separate stands where the sensation of spectacle increases as it progresses. Lollapalooza is actually a spatial experience of consumption, not only a music festival with music, which is how the owners market it. In creating this unified concept, the festival is a trove of lessons on the concept of place as it transforms the individual and collective experience into a single activity articulating many different elements from the idea of space in terms of consumption but always against a musical backdrop. It’s about an “education in space” or a call to create roots, a sense of place in a preexisting, delimited, or defined environment. Although this implies a smaller range of choice and converting people into consumers, it also involves the grouping of diverse musical scenes in a singular and repetitive space that connects the local with the global: that is, the *ethnification* of dominant forms through the universalization and particularization of space. In the words of Haenfler, it is a true “cultural hybridization in which global influences are combined with local ones” promoting “local diversification and offering greater possibilities for locals” (quoted in López-Negrete 2018, 42–43).¹⁵

Toward a Theory of Locality and Space for the Study of Music in Latin America

Can music contribute to sensory knowledge and understanding from the places we either partially or entirely inhabit? This article has tried to answer this question in an affirmative manner, pointing out that the construction of locality through music is possible through the development of roots and a sense of place. Both are cognitive, sensory, and affective processes that produce individual or collective forms of subjective attachment to space through informed choices (elective belonging) that create place in a given time, and space (place making). Therefore, music creates,

re-creates, denies, displaces, or simply celebrates these processes on a daily basis or in more formal events, improvised or planned, individually or collectively, under its own proxemic standards, and in so doing contributes to an urban ethos, the city's representation, and the "local structure of feeling" displayed in it (Bennett 2004, 3, Krims 2007). This process is particularly visible in the musical scenes and festivals that I have discussed throughout the text. Considering these ideas, I provide three conclusions that lead to further questions on the subject and that may be of use in any future research on music and space in the Latin American context.

First, the study of locality has a theoretical-conceptual and methodological value in the field of musical studies (musicology, ethnomusicology, popular music studies). Its interdisciplinary value, inclusive nature, and ethnographic method contribute to understanding human life from a spatial-sound dimension in current or past societies. Operating under ideologies that consider music an object permanently associated with certain places, this is particularly true of music belonging to oral tradition, whether commercial or not. These places acquire legitimacy over time and become distribution centers of authenticity. And it is also relevant to the study of popular music, since it offers up new niche areas for analysis, such as recording studios, concert halls, record iconography, and the aforementioned festivals, with studies possibly crossing over into architecture, cultural geography, and demography.

The study of locality is especially useful in analyzing cities marked by urban events, which includes all of the more than twenty capitals in Latin America. The musical scenes in this region have been fundamentally relevant in the development of local music, fed by regional and national festivals that give them continuity and financial support. Focusing on the local allows us to analyze both music and city considering variables such as how tourism relates to urban planning, the "scale" of music making, the lifestyles and types of consumption, and the pathways followed to get (in real time) from one scene to another in the same city (Finnegan 1998, 2007). Paraphrasing the English anthropologist Sara Cohen (1995), music is not only produced by the place but in turn helps create place through recurring musical practices. Therefore, the role of music in the city is not only to be receptive but also to produce space through sound. This is especially important in a region where proxemics have a significant role in the production and execution of musical performance.

Second, the idea that music can socially produce space is referred to indirectly in part of recent literature written in the Latin American region; however, it's a growing trend. Most recent work refers directly or indirectly to the creation of space based on specific musical genres (Gómez and

Jaramillo 2013; Padilla 2014; León 2018); as the result of binational scenarios (Domínguez 2015; Hutchinson 2016; Wibbelsman 2016); as the result of gentrification processes derived from the revitalization of urban spaces (Argüello 2018); as the product of musical neighborhoods (Herschmann 2007); as the result of consumption or cultural economics (Tironi 2012; Soares and Souto 2015); as the result of the geographical distribution of musical repertoires (Thomas 2010; Gómez and Jaramillo 2013; Mendivil 2016; Spencer 2016b); as the result of intense festivalization processes (Florine 2016); thanks to song lyrics (Donas and Milstein 2003; Pereira 2004); or as the result of sound policies (Cardoso 2012; Bieletto 2018), among a diverse range of texts in which space is a central variable in the relationship between music and society.

Articles that anticipate the arrival of new perspectives on music on the continent have begun emerging thanks in large part to the literature mentioned above. Among them we find the acoustic, spatial and musical study of the soundscape; places where entire musical genres are born and developed (*salsotecas*, *tanguerías*, *cuecazos*); the role of urban imaginaries in the construction of music (Indigenous and Andean music in cities); hybrid forms of performance in border areas (the Colombian-Venezuelan plains; the boundaries between Andean countries; the Paraguay, Brazil, and Argentina border; or *son jarocho* of San Diego–Tijuana); the corporal discipline derived from the architectural configuration of conservatories; nostalgia and postrevivalism as the articulating feeling in new places and audiences (like the bolero and the ballad); the transformation of instrumental groups according to the place where the genre was created (*chôro* or colonial guitar); or the forms of social classification based on spatialized sound, to name a few. These themes relate local cultures to music in specific spatial contexts in which sound emerges “pregnant” from the space it comes out of while simultaneously influencing it.¹⁶ As Cohen notes, “music reflects social, economic, political and material aspects of the particular place in which it is created. Changes in place thus influence changes in musical sounds and styles. . . . [M]usic not just reflects but also produces places” (Cohen 1995, 444). Music can socially produce place when acting “as a focus or frame for social gatherings, special occasions and celebrations,” when it “provokes physical movement or dance,” and also when it “involves everyday social interactions such as the exchange of records and other musical artefacts, as well business and industrial activity. Such musical practices have been shown to establish, maintain, transform social relations and to define and shape material and geographical settings for social action” (Cohen 1995, 444–445).

From these words arise two interesting questions. First, if places fail to develop or are not owned by the subjects, how does it happen? Or, what

opposes local entities, or what do people living in a space fight against to display cognitive processes? Are place and territory one and the same?

Appadurai (1996, 178) provides an answer to the first question, where what is local is not opposed to configuration but rather is systematically “reproduced.” This is another argument supporting the hypothesis that there are no nonplaces for music but that what actually exist are either continuous or latent states of spatialized sound. As a phenomenological fact, the local contains or expresses forms of agency and socialization that allow the reproduction of space, resolving the internal and external tensions that configure it and allowing the creation of new experiences. Musical scenes and festivals are a way to create heterogeneous forms of locality and appropriation. In the words of Massey (1993), belonging to the local generates “power quotas” that derive from responsibilities related to neighborhood life, such as throwing out the garbage, regulating “noise disturbance,” organizing or regulating events such as parties, markets (*fairs*, *tianguis*), and projects with the municipality. In all of these cases, the positive action around place generates agency or empowerment because it stabilizes or regularizes the link with it; although depending on the context, these practices may be a form of resistance, or anti-hegemonic in the sense of offering an alternative insight to what circulates through music as a way to avoid control or social domination (Scott 2003).

Regarding the relationship between place and territory, the same question should be rephrased as another: In terms of music, what is the difference between them? From my point of view, territory is not a synonym for place, space, or geography. In architecture, territoriality is the physical and delimited expression of the identity of a space (Lange 2004, 16) in which there is individual and collective property, what allows for the defense of the same “from intrusions, violations or contaminations” (Norcliffe, qtd. in Lange 2004, 16), particularly urban zoning plans, which always delimit spaces. Here, the concept of sense of place is more specific and relational than territoriality.

Third, the study of the local has at least two methodological aspects that must be addressed. One is the combined use of documentary methods of historiography (with respect to urban regulation and the legal history of neighborhoods), ethnography (for the collection of information on life stories and relevant testimonies), cartography (for the study of the displacement of music in the city), and economic anthropology (for the study of spatialized consumption and tourism). The second is the relevance of micro- and macroanalysis in the long term and at all levels of urban administrative organization—neighborhood, commune, delegation, district; regional and/or national—examining which activities are present in all of them and ultimately managing to create place. This view not only would

break the so-called visual ideology (Smith 1994) but also would integrate fundamental variables of Latin American cultural scenes, such as rurality, the search for cultural capital, the inclusion of Indigenous languages and terminologies to understand space, and the virtuality of binational music (Cuba and United States, Mexico and United States, Argentina and Spain, Japan and Ecuador, Chile and Sweden).

Notes

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1. Parts of the following paragraph were taken from my forthcoming article “Music and Urbanism in the Americas: An Intellectual Journey.”

2. Further information about the relationship of music, space, and festivals in Latin America in Spencer (2020a).

3. I must mention a series of conference papers produced at the 2014 symposium “Music, Locality and Social Production of Space in Latin America” for the 11th IASPM-AL Conference, and at the 2016 symposium “Música e identidades regionais: Transformações, contraposições e desafios às identidades nacionais latino-americanas” for the 13th IASPM-AL Conference. In both of them we can highlight work from Brazil and Argentina (see <http://www.iaspmal.com>). There are also papers written in English by Latin American scholars or researchers in Latin American studies, such as Neate and Platt (2006) and Perna and Carrillo (2013), as well as electronic articles such as Mark Katz’s “Reggae in Brazil: A Pilgrimage to São Luís Do Maranhão” (2012), with ethnographic video footage (<http://www.redbullmusicacademy.com/magazine/sao-luis-reggae>), and Leonardo Cardoso’s “Sound-Politics in São Paulo, Brazil” (<https://soundstudiesblog.com/2012/10/15/sound-politics-in-sao-paulo-brazil/>). There is also literature published by European scholars about Latin American urban music or musical genres, such as the important article written by Geoffrey Baker (2006) about the spatial practices and narratives of Cuban rap; Vincenzo Perna’s book on timba music and the urban crisis, also in Cuba (2005); and Peter Wade’s key contribution about music and race in tropical music in Colombia (2000).

4. Vigliani (2011, 44) complements this idea by pointing out that ontological security is a phenomenological position where smell and sound shape and foster certainty in everyday experience.

5. The original says “la certeza o confianza en que el mundo es tal como parece ser, incluidos los parámetros existenciales básicos del propio-ser y de la identidad social.”

6. The German geographer Torsten Wissmann (2014, 21–22) points out that place and sense of place are the same. Since there is always some kind of link with space, one always goes through a multi-sensory experience in order to generate emotions or feelings.

7. “Abierta a la comunidad de nuestra ciudad, interesada y dispuesta a crear y aprender desde la cultura del mítico Chinchinero y los oficios que se conjugan en el carnaval, como los Bailarines, Figurines y Músicos.” See https://www.facebook.com/pg/chinchintirapie/about/?ref=page_internal.

8. For more information on some of the *chin chin* families and instruments, see the Chinchineros Lizana website at <http://www.chinchineroslizana.cl/index.php>.

9. Information about Lollapalooza in Chile at <https://www.lollapaloozacl.com/terminos-y-condiciones/>.

10. Cristián Jara, “Lollapalooza is the most massive musical event in Chile,” *24 Horas*, April 7, 2013, <http://www.24horas.cl/tendencias/loollapalooza/loollapalooza-es-el-evento-musical-mas-masivo-de-chile-591835>.

11. Claudia Vergara, “Lollapalooza Stands as the Most Expensive Event in Local History,” *La Tercera*, April 1, 2011, <https://www.latercera.com/noticia/lolla-palooza-se-alza-como-el-evento-more-expensive-of-the-local-history/>; and Carla Alonso, “Lollapalooza: The Figures behind the Largest Festival in the Country,” *La Tercera*, December 8, 2013, <http://www2.latercera.com/noticia/loollapalooza-las-cifras-detras-del-festival-mas-grande-del-pais>.

12. This information is widespread throughout the web. All data collected here can be found in the following newspapers and websites using the keyword “Lollapalooza”: super45.cl, lasegunda.com, cooperativa.cl, emol.com, latercera.cl, and 24horas.cl.

13. “Lollapalooza Chile es un festival familiar de música y cultura, cuyo objetivo es presentar un mix de bandas de rock, pop, y otros estilos musicales afines, nacionales e internacionales, consagradas y emergentes de una manera sustentable. Lollapalooza es una experiencia musical y cultural.” See website of Lollapalooza Chile, “Terms and Conditions,” <https://www.lollapaloozacl.com/terminos-y-condiciones/>.

14. The original says: “as dinâmicas dessas relações que são percebidas como consumo em uma esfera ampla de significação.”

15. The original says: “La glocalización implica una especie de hibridación cultural en la que las influencias globales se combinan con las locales, lo que en realidad promueve la diversificación local y ofrece mayores posibilidades a los locales.”

16. The idea of spaces or genres living inside other spaces and genres was first mentioned by Danilo Orozco. See Ruiz Zamora (1997, 2013).

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