

FLORES AND 'TIJERAS': A FEMINIST REVINDICATION OF QUECHUA AND INDIGENOUS WOMEN THROUGH A FUSION OF ANDEAN-TRAP MUSIC

FLORES E 'TIJERAS': UMA REIVINDICAÇÃO FEMINISTA DO QUECHUA E DAS MULHERES INDÍGENAS ATRAVÉS DE UMA FUSÃO DE MÚSICA TRAP ANDINA

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FLORES ET 'TIJERAS': UNE RÉAFFIRMATION FÉMINISTE DES FEMMES QUECHUA ET INDIGÈNES À TRAVERS UNE FUSION DE MUSIQUE ANDINE-TRAP

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ABSTRACT: This article explores the song 'Tijeras', by Renata Flores, with the aim of identifying how the narrative of the message is constructed in the song, what elements accompany the representation and how they dialogue. To do this, the authors carry out an in-depth reading (Buonanno, 1999) where they identify five areas that allow us to understand the song as a weapon of protest and vindication, not only of indigenous women but also of the quechua language. In doing so, the article discusses the fusion Renata Flores makes between the mountains, the street, and the musical genre, while promoting a feminist message of union to face gender violence. In addition, the authors discuss the difference in cosmopolitanism that the artist projects, which in turn vindicates the representation of the indigenous Quechua-speaking woman. In general, the results suggest that the song 'Tijeras' contributes to the oral and musical transmission of Quechua, while promoting revolutionary and feminist ideals that connect with young audiences, to encourage identification processes that contribute to the elimination of violence against women, in general, and minority groups such as the indigenous, in particular.

Keywords: Quechua, vindication, feminism, music, trap, Renata Flores.

RESUMO: Este artigo explora a canção "Tijeras", de Renata Flores, com o objetivo de identificar como a narrativa da mensagem é construída na canção, que elementos acompanham a representação e como eles dialogam. Para tal, as autoras realizam uma leitura aprofundada (Buonanno, 1999) onde identificam cinco áreas que nos permitem compreender a canção como uma arma de protesto e reivindicação, não só das mulheres indígenas, mas também da língua quechua. Ao fazê-lo, o artigo discute a fusão que Renata Flores faz entre as montanhas, a rua e o gênero musical, ao mesmo tempo que promove uma mensagem feminista de união para enfrentar a violência de gênero. Além disso, as autoras discutem a diferença de cosmopolitismo que a artista projeta, o que por sua vez vinga a representação da mulher indígena. Em geral, os resultados sugerem que a canção "Tijeras" contribui para a transmissão oral e musical do Quechua, ao mesmo tempo que promove ideais revolucionárias e feministas que se ligam ao público jovem, e que encorajam processos de identificação que contribuem para a eliminação da violência contra as mulheres. em geral, e grupos minoritários como os indígenas, em particular.

Palavras-chave: Quechua, reivindicação, feminismo, música, trap, Renata Flores.

RÉSUMÉ: Cet article explore la chanson "Tijeras" de Renata Flores dans le but d'identifier comment le récit du message est construit dans la chanson, quels éléments accompagnent la représentation et comment ils dialoguent. À cette fin, les auteurs réalisent une lecture approfondie (Buonanno, 1999) où ils identifient cinq domaines qui permettent de comprendre la chanson comme une arme de protestation et de revendication, non seulement des femmes indigènes mais aussi de la langue quechua. Ce faisant, l'article traite de la fusion par Renata Flores de la montagne, de la rue et du

genre musical, tout en promouvant un message féministe d'unité pour affronter la violence de genre. En outre, les auteurs discutent de la différence de cosmopolitisme que l'artiste projette, qui justifie à son tour la représentation des femmes autochtones. Dans l'ensemble, les résultats suggèrent que la chanson "Tijeras" contribue à la transmission orale et musicale du quechua, tout en promouvant des idéaux révolutionnaires et féministes qui touchent un public jeune, et qui encouragent les processus d'identification contribuant à l'élimination de la violence à l'égard des femmes, en général, et des groupes minoritaires tels que les femmes indigènes en particulier.

Mots-clés: Quechua, revendication, féminisme, musique, trap, Renata Flores.

RESUMEN: Este artículo explora la canción Tijeras, de Renata Flores, con el objetivo de identificar cómo se construye la narrativa del mensaje en la canción, qué elementos acompañan la representación y cómo dialogan. Para ello, las autoras realizan una lectura en profundidad (Buonanno, 1999) en la que identifican cinco áreas que permiten entender la canción como un arma de protesta y reivindicación, no sólo de las mujeres indígenas, sino también de la lengua quechua. Con ello, el artículo discute la fusión que Renata Flores hace entre la montaña, la calle y el género musical, mientras promueve un mensaje feminista de unión para enfrentar la violencia de género. Además, las autoras discuten la diferencia de cosmopolitismo que proyecta la artista, que a su vez reivindica la representación de la mujer indígena. En general, los resultados sugieren que la canción Tijeras contribuye a la transmisión oral y musical del quechua, a la vez que promueve ideales revolucionarios y feministas que conectan con el público joven, para fomentar procesos de identificación que contribuyan a la eliminación de la violencia contra las mujeres, en general, y de grupos minoritarios como los indígenas, en particular.

Palabras-clave: Quechua, reivindicación, feminismo, música, trap, Renata Flores.

1. Introduction

Renata Flores is a Peruvian, twenty-years old woman, composer, and singer, who participated in the tv show 'La Voz Kids' in 2014, in Peru (Saavedra, 2018) and became more popular in 2016 thanks to her interpretation of 'The Way You Make Me Feel' by Michael Jackson, one of the biggest hits in the history of pop music, sung in Quechua³⁰ (LifeStyle, 2016)³¹. By making covers of mainstream songs - such as 'The house of the rising sun'³², by Animals - which is considered her first cover in Quechua (Guerrero Negreiros, 2018), she established a particular music style and conquered popularity, especially within digital platforms such as YouTube. Nowadays, Renata Flores has more than 46.1K followers in Instagram and 1.050 subscribers in YouTube, an audience that is increasing while she is actively participating in 'Mujeres que transforman #MQT', a Peruvian platform that congregates women's stories regarding social change to promote empowerment among them (Stakeholders, 2018), as well as in other campaigns such as 'Vogue Hope: 'Cartas de Esperanza desde México y Latinoamérica' (Urquieta, 2020), or by the song 'Yo Mujer' as part of the efforts against human trafficking (Andina, 2020). Renata Flores' recognition mainly stands in her musical interpretation in Quechua language, as an intention to reconnect with her heritage and past (Parkas, 2018). At the same time, Flores brings to the present the language and the elements of indigenous culture that are inserted in a contemporary setting of cultural creation, thus achieving a double causal relationship that transcends borders.

In 2018, Flores launched the single 'Tijeras', an electronic-trap song that encourages women to raise their voices against gender violence and to take care of each other (Antoñanzas, 2019). This song was one more step in the commitment that Flores expresses in each artistic appearance or creation, and it also meant a turning point since it not only incorporates a sound that is far removed from Andean artistic productions, even from other musical groups that also perform in Quechua, but also appropriated a musical genre that has traditionally been associated with masculinity: trap music (Reitsamer, 2011). In Flores' presentation of the song 'Tijeras', on her YouTube channel, the artist points out the following:

Los feminicidios hieren, aún más cuando quedan impunes. En mi tema quiero plasmar lo que sentimos al ver tanto sufrimiento de muchas mujeres (madres, esposas, hijas, hermanas y amigas) y mientras eso sucede los padres de la patria se dan el lujo de comprar flores caras, perfumando su entorno podrido. ¡Eso no nos debe desanimar, tenemos que seguir unidas cuidándonos las unas a las otras! Con este video quiero animar a las mujeres que NO CALLEN ante tanta injusticia y corrupción. [Femicides hurt, even more so when they go unpunished. In my song I want to capture

³⁰ Pre-Columbian language that was spoken by the primitive Quechua people and is currently spoken mainly in Peru and parts of Bolivia and Ecuador.

³¹ Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BvT9yOHqItE&ab_channel=RenataFlores

³² Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eX-9Pb-QIZs&ab_channel=RenataFloresRivera

what we feel when we see so much suffering of many women (mothers, wives, daughters, sisters, and friends) and while that happens the fathers of the country have the luxury of buying expensive flowers, perfuming their rotten environment. That should not discourage us, we must continue together taking care of each other! With this video I want to encourage women NOT to SHUT UP in the face of so much injustice and corruption.] (Renata Flores, Tijeras, 2018).

Media outlets acclaimed the representation portrayed by the lyrics and images of the Tijeras' official video uploaded on Flores' YouTube channel, considering it as a vindication of culture, language and heritage (Página Siete, 2019; Oyola, 2019) with a powerful feminist narrative. Although Flores has argued that she does not represent the woman's stereotype accepted by the society, particularly in the cultural field, she also has declared that self-worth validation and identity have been key elements to face criticisms (Canalipe, 2019), and in that sense the usage of the Quechua language has been a key-factor to resist and re-invent the Peruvian musical industry.

These nuances allow us to consider Renata Flores as an important young woman representative of a marginalized community who are revindicating Quechua's language through a fusion of Andean sonority with pop music genres while, at the same time, reinforcing feminist messages among lyrics and portrayals. Therefore, we aim to highlight the construction of the symbolic elements and messages present in Tijeras by following a deep reading (Buonanno, 1999) and a sociological analysis (Guerra, 2021a) of the song to identify where and how a hybridization (Regev, 2013) takes place while connecting elements such as ethnicity and culture within late modern aesthetics, visuals, and sonority (Morris, 2020).

The article is organized as follows: i) the theoretical framework will contextualize both Quechua's language, connections with indigenous people and the discrimination they have suffered historically, and ii) the Tijeras' dance as a cultural practice and the role it has on indigenous identity; iii) we will present our methodology axes and afterwards, we will discuss, critically analyse and comprehend the work of Renata (iv), and finally, we will refer about future researches, given that the cultural and artistic expressions of the Global South are still lacking a deep and profound scientific and academic approach.

2. Theoretical considerations

According to Saroli (2005), Andean music has two basic characteristics. Firstly, there is the importance of music in a culture without a written language, such as Quechua. Due to the lack of a tradition or formal institutions that enable the teaching and transmission of Quechua language learning, the use of Quechua is minoritarian in Andean towns and cities along Latin American countries such as Bolivia, Ecuador, or Peru. In fact, "in the 20th century Quechua has begun to decline with the compulsory education in Spanish (in Peru)" (Górska, 2014), which dialogues with other studies

that have argued that Quechua is indeed an endangered language (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004; Howard-Malverde, 1998). In the second place, there are essential characteristics of the Andean musical forms, such as the yaravi³³ and/or the huayno³⁴, considered as Andean sonorities and traditions typical from the region. Following Saroli (2005: 48): 'Andean music and poetry are often interconnected to the point that the Quechua words for "song" and "poem" can be used interchangeably'. Since Quechua has been restricted to the oral tradition (Górska, 2014), music seems to be even more appropriated to be used as a communication tool of the history, patrimony and identity of Andean indigenous people.

Some studies have analysed the relationship between different groups of people and Quechua's culture and language, raising awareness regarding the discrimination that indigenous people suffered for being considered less valuable, especially in a geographical context -urban vs rural areas- (Delforge, 2012; Hill, 2008; Lovón-Cueva & Quispe-Lacma, 2020; Rivera, 2017). On the other hand, some studies also argued that a vindication is taking place especially within youth generations of indigenous people -in general-, and within musicians -in particular-, which has been a remarkable shift in their depiction and social acceptance (Kidman et. al, 2021; Potskin, 2020). In this sense, Warren and Evitt (2010:141) have argued how indigenous hip-hop responds to racist discourses by demonstrating musical aspiration and love to the nation, culture, and values. In their words, 'indigenous hip-hop links up-and-coming with more experienced performers in what amounts to a semi-formal, political, transnational and anti-colonial creative industry'. The decolonial perspective (Mendoza Zapata et al., 2020; Quijano, 2011) is particularly interesting in this matter since Quechua has suffered different types of impositions because of the conquer of Spaniards, these changes reflected themselves in subjects like religion, culture and of course, language itself, to mention a few. In this sense, young people that have identified themselves as Quechuas, seem to have updated their values and characteristics without placing themselves out of the capitalist and neoliberal scenario (Guerra & Val Ripollés, 2021). This is, they are capable of transforming their own experiences and practices by combining both the traditional view and values of their heritage and ancestors, with a modern vision of the world (Mendoza Zapata et al., 2020). Within these practices, indigenous artists have the potential to reimagine and revindicate their space, social imaginary and challenge historical stigmas (Mays, 2019; Vik, 2018).

In his approaches, Lovesey (2011) tells us that the relationship between popular music and the postcolonial context is dismissed, and this is also a basic motivation for this article. The explosion of popular music happened between the 1950s and

³³ A soft, sweet, and melancholic song that originates from some South American countries.

³⁴ A dance group in which the participants form a round and perform figures of great elegance. It is particularly well known in the Andean countries.

1960s, periods that were marked by numerous processes of decolonisation and, in this sense, there are few authors who reflect on the role that popular music had - directly and indirectly, but also in the short, medium, and long term - in the scope of anti-colonial cultural resistance. Music, in its most varied expressions, was also a central element for the definition of post-colonial parameters and for protesting against neo-colonial mimicry (Sánchez-García & Touhtou, 2021; Lovesey, 2011).

Thus, what we intend to denote is that Renata's music challenges the spatial-temporal boundaries of post-colonialism, with an inevitable expansion making it multifaceted, global, and plural, in a form that makes it possible to combine traditional and contemporary logics, such as aesthetics, instruments, languages, and forms of production and dissemination. We are thus before different modes of resistance of popular music (Scott, 1990), which are marked by the existence of distinct forms of production and circulation, from recordings, radio, festivals, and pubs. However, we go further and affirm that besides there being few studies that combine music and the processes of decolonisation, even fewer are the studies that add digital platforms to these two elements (Sánchez-García et. al, 2020; Feixa, 2014).

Thinking about what was said at the beginning of this article, social networks and other digital platforms that Renata uses to disseminate her music can be seen as a re-appropriation or reinterpretation of the logic of oral transmission of the Quechua language, while allowing it to be disseminated on a large scale. Therefore, musicians have played a key role to maintain Quechua language and to preserve the tradition of orality, but also giving it a new guise, making it change in time and space. Based on this assumption, there is a latent process of hybridization (Regev, [1997] 2013) which is also permeated by the importance of digital. It is not exclusive to indigenous artistic creations (Alvarez-Cueva & Guerra, 2021b) but, when considered the historical segregation and continuum discrimination of minoritarian social groups -such as indigenous Quechua people-, the spectrum of possibilities that might be opened and from which new generations may link and feel identified, does help to subvert the stigma and also serves as a way to reappropriate symbolisms and language to place them in a globally context. In this sense, '[indigenous] artists challenge dominant racial logics of their society' (Swinehart, 2019: 461) and, therefore, is what transforms the cultural capitals of what is considered as valuable in it (Bourdieu, 1988). Inherent in such conceptions of artistic resistance are logics of power, in the sense that there is a struggle to know which voices matter, which issues are to be highlighted and which sounds are to be affirmed in contemporary societies. In Renata's case, as an artist who moves in the field of electronic trap, the influence of the market and of Anglo-American productions are profound (Bruner & Liechti, 2021). From rock -with bands such as UCHPA-, going through poetic historical adaptations -with examples

such as *Crónica de Mendigos* [Beggars' Chronicle]³⁵ and *Tayta Bird*³⁶ (Vik, 2018), to arrive at a contemporary sounds' fusion of electronic, urban and trap music genres - where we highlight Renata Flores.

The Tijeras' (scissors) dance -also known as *Danzaq*- is a Peruvian tradition catalogued as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, that 'takes its name from the pair of polished iron rods, resembling scissors blades, wielded by each dancer in his right hand.' (UNESCO, 2010). Traditionally executed by rural communities, the Tijeras' dance gained terrain among urban spaces by implementing competitions associated with religious rituals, although its original link was with agriculture. According to Van Buren (2015: 3), the dance 'has survived colonialism, religious persecution, Peruvian nationhood, and migration', and allowed the evoke of patrimonial memories and heritage that are important for the communities and to consolidate identity, particularly within the connection with ancestors.

Across Peru, dance affirms community through participatory practice of a complex language not only of local cultural symbolism, but also of the dramatic interplay of actors representing or commenting upon the social order. (It became a) transnational symbol of Peruvian indigenous identity.' (Van Buren, 2015:3-4).

Nowadays, Tijeras' dance has been appropriated by Peruvian women, particularly youths, and interpreted as a new artistic expression of themselves, that help to connect among each other and subvert the traditional portrayal of men's exclusivity (Oyola, 2019a; Purizaca, 2021). This shift coincides with the growing narrative and media communication regarding feminist ideals, where women may feel more confident to assume a revolutionary role in the society, particularly in historical and traditional practices. In this regard, a relevant example of how young women are revindicating the Tijeras' dance is *Warmi*³⁷ *Danzaq* (Hidrogo & Morey, 2019).

Music, particularly underground, has been associated with processes of revolutionary ideals that are incorporated in daily lives as a sort of 'anthems' that, in turn, generate unity among people and help to build community and to reinforce identity (Silva et. al, 2018). Beyond this, different music genres have been associated to different social groups and generations along the history (Bennett, 2001), transforming the depictions and associations of their practices, behaviours, and ideals in different periods of time. Nowadays, into the neoliberal context of music production, these practices have also changed and adapt to the consumerism of a late modern subjectivity (Giddens, 1997) and, somehow, in the process, mixing also

³⁵ Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/c/CronicaMendigoss/featured>

³⁶ Available at: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC0eXZq-dkeKvcg_l78_2d8w

³⁷ Warmi means 'women' in quechua.

different elements of feminist and post-feminists (McRobbie, 2009) depictions and narratives (Gill, 2017), especially among young women musicians (Araña *et al.*, 2019).

Into this context of revolution, vindication, youthfulness and feminism, Renata Flores irrupts the scenario of contemporary music with a fusion of music genres and a hybridization (Regev, 2013) of Quechua, not only the language but also the sonority of the Andean flute, violins, and scenarios of Andean nature. Renata Flores combines different cosmopolitan patterns of current fashion trends with the traditional Andean jewels and dresses that help to demarcate a terrain where she can create her own music and style without losing her heritage and roots while promoting both tangible and intangible values of the Peruvian indigenous people to a more global spectrum.

Other examples include the emergence of bands such as Los Chikitukus³⁸, a group of indigenous musicians from the Andes in Peru who combine traditional music *chimaycha*³⁹ with discourses of revolt and criticism of the processes of colonial domination, daily life, and experiences (Tucker, 2019). Although they are artistic productions referring to specific groups or communities, artists such as Renata or the Chikitukus, through their artistic practices and music-making processes, encourage the coming together of two worlds, the urban and the rural, but also the traditional and the contemporary. Thus, these contents assume themselves as a way of talking about and portraying social problems (Berger, 1995), while also criticising contemporary societies. In the case of Chikitukus, themes such as social anomie, alcohol consumption or poverty are recurrent themes, while in the case of Renata we encounter feminist and feminine empowerment discourses. If gender inequalities are already a constant in the music industry, and here we are talking about cis-gender women, for LGBTQI+ groups, non-binary gender individuals and young indigenous women like Renata, such inequalities become even more evident, because she is an artist from the Global South (Ballico & Watson, 2020), whose experience is marked by a patriarchal and oppressive society. Thus, the relation between artistic and cultural elements and the political dimension has always permeated cultural studies and the sociology of popular cultures. The result of this relation has been affirmed in the growing processes of resistance (Guerra, 2021b, 2020a), but also in the contemporary dynamics of activism (Guerra *et al.*, 2020) that guide today's youth cultures all over the world. Identities are assumed as being increasingly fluid, and the practices carried out by young people like Renata interconnect with multiple subcultural fields (Feixa, 1998), referring to various spaces of social micro-existence (Ferreira, 2016). Then, Renata's performances, style, aesthetics, and other resources are used as a means to 'keep herself in the scene', mainly regarding the fact that, being of indigenous origin,

³⁸ A folkloric group, established in 1987 in the district of Chushi, that performs the indigenous and Andean music of *Chimaycha*.

³⁹ Musical genre and cultural expression with messages and content about the Andean cosmivision, love, heartbreak and suffering in socio-political and cultural contexts.

she finds herself behind the scenes of a macrosocial location, i.e., of exclusion, stigma and marginalization. In parallel, more than struggles for equality, Renata's path has been guided by a struggle for the subjectivity of the indigenous population, more concretely, of the feminine population (McDonald, 1999). In other words, music emerges as the vehicle for the struggles for self-realization and for identity definitions of individual character.

3. Methodology

Based on Guerra's (2020a) consideration of music as a weapon, we bring the case of 'Tijeras' into an analysis where the elements presented in the previous sections can be highlighted to understand Renata Flores' work. The study aims to analyse the song 'Tijeras', its elements through both lyrics and portrayals, and to establishing parallelisms within other studies that have analysed women music artists from a feminist perspective (Araüna et al., 2019; Guerra & Alvarez-Cueva, 2021; Guerra, 2020b). In doing so, the study anticipates identifying processes of hybridization (Regev, 1997), elements of cultural heritage (Heinich, 2011), and the construction of social class and gender (Skeggs, 2005, 2008). In concordance, the study follows a deep reading analysis (Buonanno, 1999) through five areas: 1. Context, 2. Construction, 3. Narrative, 4. Content and 5. Signifiers, which -in our opinion- are key points to comprehend the structures of an artistic music, especially one like the case we are presenting here, where there is a profound relationship with everyday life. This methodology, supported by a critical qualitative approach, is relevant for the purpose of the study as it allows to transit the text and elements that constitute the message of the song and link them within the contemporary cultural production to problematize different representations. In this sense, we agree with Buonanno (1999) when he argues that this method is 'inescapable' when making sense of a particular context with explicit premises, justifications, implications, and a particular approach. Furthermore, decolonial and postfeminist perspectives will be included transversally to dialogue with the many elements and constructions that take place in this artistic production. Finally, it is relevant to mention that both, lyrics, and video, were captured from Renata Flores' YouTube channel that, now of this research, already had 1.043.948 visualizations and more than 3.800 commentaries.

4. Analysis

The analysis of the study relates to the five areas proposed by Buonanno (1999) to generate a complete image of how to understand the artistic creation of Renata Flores and the song 'Tijeras'. The analysis understands context not only as the place or scenario where artists and other people portray themselves, rather also incorporates messages and ideas that construct a whole from where Renata Flores and other people raise their voices, such as political movements or social claims. Therefore, construction will follow the elements and the combination of them present especially

in the video clip. Narrative would be addressed mainly through the lyrics of the song, although also representations might be included since political context, for instance, will be read in banners or walls behind the artist and other people in the video clip. Finally, both content and signifiers will be addressed in combination of the previous areas and problematised in the discussion.

4.1. The fusion: Between Andean Mountains, the street and trap

From the first second, the fusion of Andean sounds and the musical genre of trap and electronics are present, accompanied by a staging characteristic of contemporary artistic production: the figure of the artist emerging from the smoked stage, while her name in large letters covers half of the screen. She is dressed in a coat, her hair is tied back, and she holds a challenging gaze directly into the camera. After five seconds, however, a traditional Renata Flores can be seen, behind a large harp full of colour and flowers, on the mountain. When the lyrics begin, four more female figures are distinguished, they are Renata's companions. At this time, the first parallelism of Tijeras' artistic creation is identified: Renata Flores, dressed in a traditional way, surrounded by four women dressed in black. Youth and femininity are evident (Skeggs, 2008), as well as the hybridization (Regev, 1997) that this composition suggests, mixing the feminine tradition of the clothing worn by Renata with the comfort and youth of the modern pants worn by her companions. This image and choreography are exchanged during the video with two more women who accompany Renata's traditional look, dressed in a poncho and traditional hat, while they play the violins, a characteristic instrument of Andean music and, above all, of the scissors' dance (Saroli, 2005; Scott, 1990).

Upon returning to the urban scene, the lyrics of the song begin with a powerful message of social denunciation:

Nadie mira nada / No puedo hacer nada, quiero hablar. / Con mucha bulla, nadie escucha lo que digo / Entonces digo, ¡gritaré! / Escucha y te diré / Escucha y te diré [Nobody sees at anything / I can't do anything, I want to talk. / With a lot of noise, nobody listens to what I say / Then I say, I will scream! / Listen and I will tell you / Listen and I will tell you] (Renata Flores, Tijeras, 2018).

This narrative links both scenarios in her video. On the one hand, the Andean mountain, with traditional clothing and the characteristic instruments of Andean music. On the other hand, the street scene, darkness, and modernity of the musical genre of trap and electronics. While the video places Renata Flores and other women in the mountain and urban street settings, the image of a women's march also stands out, with posters and legends associated to feminism movements, something that we explore in detail in the following sections. At this point, however, it is where we coincide with Guerra (2020a) in understanding music as a weapon that allows us to

raise our voices and unite society around the same cause, as happens, for example, with the following verse:

Tal vez mi grito lo cante lindo / Y así la gente escuche / Miro con tristeza tanto dolor / Gente corrupta, no hacen nada bien / Nosotros les dimos el poder ¿comprando flores? [Maybe my scream sings beautifully / And so the people listen / I look at so much pain with sadness / Corrupt people, they don't do anything right / We gave them power, buying flowers?] (Renata Flores, Tijeras, 2018).

After the last stanzas of empowerment and the invitation to women to stay together, the video closes with a powerful shot of Renata Flores, again dressed in a traditional and cosmopolitan way, a hybridization (Regev, 1997) that accompanied her the entire video, with the other four women dressed in black, standing on the mountain, looking together towards the horizon, facing the sun, as if they were about to start a fight, upright and ready for action.

4.2. A construction in feminine: age, ethnicity, tradition, and protest

The video entirely denotes femininity (Skeggs, 2005), a construction and representation that emphasizes its inclusiveness by linking elements such as age, ethnicity -not only indigenous but Afro-descendant- woman, the tradition of the practice of scissors and, of course, a vindictive message of protest and struggle.

The representation of women is a key point to highlight in the video. While the lyrics narrate powerful feminist slogans, especially against sexist violence, girls, young people, and old women echo the narrative from what can be read as their own personal spaces, whether in the mountains, while they perform a dance, next to nature or from the same street. This construction is mainly vindictive for the song not only because it reinforces the message of unity among women, but because in doing so it generates a sense of equality that challenges the constant discrimination that many of these women have been subjected to in society. Here, for example, it is interesting to highlight the participation of an Afro-Peruvian woman (Soto Florián, 2001) as she belongs, precisely, to one of the least represented segments of the Peruvian population and whose marginality could correspond to the case of the indigenous woman.

Regarding the lyrics, the song maintains a tone of union and struggle, linking the two most important languages of Peru, Castilian, and Quechua:

No tengas miedo de hablar / Mírame, ahora soy más fuerte / Mírame, ya no tengo miedo / Ahora sí, tengo esperanza / ¡Mujeres, estemos unidas! [Don't be afraid to speak / Look at me, now I'm stronger / Look at me, I'm no longer afraid / Now I have hope / Women, let's be united!] (Renata Flores, Tijeras, 2018).

In this sense, we find that the music of Renata Flores in general, and the song 'Tijeras' in particular, challenges the traditional racist and discriminatory discourse of society (Warren & Evitt, 2010), giving way to the unification of Quechua and Spanish in what can also be understood as a claiming poetry (Saroli, 2005), a hybridization that builds and allows to qualify the differences with positive and renovating overtones. In this construction, a decolonial perspective is also highlighted (Zapata, 2020) that is evident from, as we mentioned, the inclusion of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989). Age and ethnicity, the latter that often goes hand in hand with socioeconomic strata and cultural capitals (Bourdieu, 1988), in certain contexts, refer to a diverse society, which values its differences and stands tall fighting for justice and equity.

Finally, at the moment of the scissors' dance, women appropriate the tradition and their cultural heritage (Heinich, 2011), not only in their movements but also in their clothing, giving way to the message of the song that reads: 'Don't be afraid to speak up' (Flores, 'Tijeras', 2018). This composition can be understood as part of a strategy of resistance (Scott, 1990) of contemporary music in Quechua and of the scissors dance performed by women. This demand determines a new, youthful, and feminine form of empowerment that is translated into joyful and vibrant sounds, that is, in a hybridization (Regev, 2013) that will allow other women, of diverse ages and ethnicities, to identify and thus revalue their own inheritance and heritage (Heinich, 2011).

4.3. Narrating feminism: 'Women, let's be united!' (Warmikuna quñusqa kasun)

As commented in the previous paragraphs, the song 'Tijeras' is a feminine narrative of empowerment and identity. In this sense, for example, at the second 00:00:23, the concert of images of women, of different ages, and with different clothes, takes place, in what we understand as a sum of voices that echo the song, that is, they also protest and want to 'shout'. The narrowed narration of feminism can be seen during this sequence of images that are accompanied by feminist legends such as: 'We want each other alive', 'united by justice', 'free and without fear', 'gender violence', which coincide with the Quechua lyrics that translates to listen and I'll tell you' (Renata Flores, 'Tijeras', 2018).

In this sense, Renata Flores goes one step further within contemporary artistic production, not only does it include representations that are read as feminist, but it also accompanies them with slogans typical of the revolutionary process proposed by the movement. That is, it is not enough just to appear, but consistency is necessary when emphasizing the demands that are claimed. In this sense, the study highlights a construction of femininity that is largely different from the commercial proposal of the dominant music industry (Illescas, 2015) since the representation that Renata Flores and the women in her video construct moves away from the youthful and late modern proposal of other female artists. In this sense, aspects such as sexualization

(Attwood, 2006) or the cult of hedonism (Gill, 2017), in addition to explicit erotic provocation or consumerism are not present in the general representation of the song 'Tijeras'. Rather, what Renata Flores does is elevate elements associated with indigenous women to aspirational, aesthetic and youth levels (Giddens, 1997), such as jewellery or some elements of their clothing, makeup, and decoration, such as nails. These patterns are present in other musical icons of the moment (Alvarez-Cueva y Guerra, 2021) but, in Renata Flores, these elements are much more attached to the local context, that is, they link identity values of Peruvian indigenous women with feminism and, therefore, with the historical moment that the country is experiencing regarding the struggle of women.

4.4. Hybrid Youth Content: Indigenous Cosmopolitanism?

Following on from what is mentioned above, Renata Flores takes several of the traditional elements of indigenous women to take them to a more sophisticated level, of glamor and trend, which would suggest an indigenous cosmopolitanism. In line with this proposal, in another study, Alvarez-Cueva and Guerra (2021a) argue that the class condition also fulfils vindictive effects for working women. However, although Renata Flores would seem to do the same from her context as an indigenous woman, the clothes and accessories that add to her chic representation and that subvert the connotation that these elements have had in the social sphere, making them aspirational and cosmopolitan, construction made by Renata Flores does not directly highlight the consumption of these elements, but rather presents them as an extension of herself, of her own identity and heritage.

The strategy of cosmopolitanism (Giddens, 1997) corresponds to the late modern production scenario where the consumption factor is key to the construction of identity (Skeggs, 2005). However, in Renata Flores there is a difference because, contrary to what other artists in the music industry do, Flores uses these elements for herself. The women who accompany the choreography do not wear the same clothes or the same accessories, and the other women who accompany the video clip, dancing or looking at the camera, wear their own elements, some that may coincide with the jewellery or styles of Flores, others do not, but always from an individual space, that is, they do not seem being appropriating for commercial interests. In short, it is possible to understand each woman as authentic, faithful to their differences and their own tradition, while, in this exercise, they join the musical and youthful proposal of Renata Flores.

4.5. Vindication of the Quechua women

Finally, it is possible to identify that the 'Tijeras' song constitutes an artistic and cultural product that dialogues, on the one hand, with feminism and, on the other hand, with both material and intangible heritage of indigenous people. The song follows a very personal line of artistic creation, which Renata Flores has shown in

constant interviews (Antoñanzas, 2019; Parkas, 2018). Flores has recognized that Quechua knows him and learns through his grandmother and, by linking her in the representation of his song, it takes an even more vindictive form because not only does he dialogue from the most intimate of his emotions, but also becomes one of the women struggling through her song.

Likewise, the construction of the representations of the women artists who play the string instruments and dance the dance of the Tijeras transgresses the traditional male figure that dominates these traditions in Peru, offering new forms of appropriation that give an additional value to cultural practice and, therefore, to the very meaning of Quechua indigenous women in the country. Finally, the last key ingredient in this process of vindication of the Quechua-speaking and indigenous woman comes from the context in which Renata Flores inserts the theme, particularly through the modern sound of Trap and electronics (Guerra *et al.*, 2021). This strategy of appropriation of a musical genre traditionally associated with misogyny and extended male dominance has been part of other contemporary artistic creations (Araüna, *et al.*, 2019) and, however, Renata Flores incorporates the additional ingredient of indigenism to demarcate a space that is indisputably her: youth, indigenist, femininity and music.

5. Results and discussion

The present study examines the case of Renata Flores, particularly her song 'Tijeras' by following an in-depth reading (Buonanno, 1999). In this exercise, the study identifies that the five areas of analysis suggest that Renata Flores brings several of the indigenous elements to a level of aesthetic cosmopolitanism that is far from the contemporary strategy of consumerism in the music industry. Instead, Renata Flores opens the scene of the personal and intimate as a source of self-determination, identity and self-esteem that i) allows to vindicate the representation of the indigenous Quechua-speaking woman; ii) contributes to the oral, poetic and musical transmission of Quechua, based on feminist phrases and slogans that iii) promote revolutionary and equitable ideals, not only among indigenous women but also considering the feminine diversity of Peru and which, in turn, iv) connect with young audiences, not only from aesthetics but also from the vindication of all these elements and the Andean context of nature and its sounds, to achieve identification processes that contribute to the elimination of violence against women, in general, and minority groups, in particular. Renata Flores and her artistic production are framed in the scenario of late modernity (Giddens, 1997), breaking into the 'formula' of creating the music industry, although she maintains other strategies that facilitate the transmission of Quechua to different social contexts, around the world. In this sense, the present study considers Renata Flores as a creative and powerful young woman to consider within the area of cultural studies, emphasizing the way in which she stands out from other artists and/or typically post-feminist qualities (Gill, 2017), while

promoting various slogans that dialogue with the historical moment that the movement is experiencing.

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