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Singing the War: Reconfiguring White Upper Class Identity through Fusion Music in Post-war Lima.

Fiorella Montero-Diaz

Keele University

Between 1980-2000, Peru was engulfed in an internal war confronting the state and two armed groups Shining Path and MRTA. In the aftermath, violence was replaced by silence along with distrust, disunity and distance between the Andes and Lima, which reinforced social segregation by class, race and ethnicity. This article is informed by interviews conducted during fieldwork in Lima during 2010-11. It explores the ravages of war as one of the main factors fuelling an apparent Limeño white upper class desire to integrate with the broader Peruvian population through popular intercultural fusion music. It argues that a sector of white upper class fusion musicians and audiences link their wishes and dreams to their music ordinary life, enabling themselves to change the normalised hierarchical worldview and act accordingly, to move beyond apathy, privilege and delusion. They do so by turning exclusive upper class concert spaces into political spaces of attempted social reconciliation, liminal spaces to renegotiate identities and political attitudes by musicking and empathetically acknowledging and listening to those historically silenced by hegemony and racism. They make music a technology of self-transformation, a means for the white upper classes to counteract the underlying causes of the violence, which persist.

Keywords: Music hybridity; Peru; Peruvian internal war; upper classes; whiteness; social reconciliation; youth identity

Introduction

In Peru the asymmetry of access and opportunity afforded by race, class and blatant social inequality are major underlying factors in a complex protracted conflict between the white upper classes, the mestizos and the Andean/Amazonian indigenous and native populations. This conflict flared up in a twenty-year internal war (1980-2000) between the State and two armed groups: MRTA¹ and the Shining Path.² The most violent group, the Shining Path, was a Maoist terrorist organisation based in the Southern Peruvian Andes, its stated aim was to

¹ *Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru* ('Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement').

² *Sendero Luminoso*

replace bourgeois democracy with a new democracy, claiming to fight against elitist rule in order to empower the *campesinos* ('indigenous peasants'). However, the group lost track of its initial aims and committed atrocities against those very *campesinos*, along with soldiers, trade unionists and other civilians. The state's answer to this aggression was more indiscriminate violence. Peru's armed forces repeatedly violated the human rights of members of the Shining Path, MRTA, trade unionists and *campesinos*. The violence lasted almost twenty years claiming over 70,000 lives and traumatising the entire country. The war paralysed the economy and cultural circuits; it restricted individual freedom of movement and further divided an already conflict-riddled Peru. The bloodshed began in the Andes and for the inhabitants of Lima, this conflict at first seemed distant. However, it gradually reached their city bringing home to them that it also concerned *Limeños* ('Lima dwellers'), that it was indeed a national problem.

Internal and external migration flows were a major consequence of the war. The mass displacement of Andeans to Lima during the 1980s and 1990s revived century-old patterns of discrimination, exclusion and marginalisation of Andeans by the privileged (Dalum Berg 2007: 90). Moreover, many in the white upper classes began to associate Andeans with terrorism, meaning that anyone who looked Andean was no longer perceived as merely different, but also dangerous.³ Fifteen years after the war, Peru is still attempting to remember and reconcile through official (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) and unofficial channels such as the arts and music, in particular fusion music.

Música fusion Peruana ('Peruvian fusion music') or *música fusión* (fusion music) are the terms used by young middle and upper class *Limeños* (18 to 35 years old) when describing blends of any music considered traditional Peruvian with foreign genres.⁴ It is a discursive umbrella term encompassing different styles of musical dialogue: Afro-jazz, Andean-jazz, cumbia-ska, cumbia-rock, Andean-rock, Andean easy listening, electronic-Andean, electro-chicha, among others. These dialogues quite often take place through intercultural collaboration, as 'fusionists' come from diverse social, racial and ethnic

³ The term 'Andean' herein refers to urban Andean mestizos living in Lima who have Andean ethnic background, phenotype and cultural traits (pejoratively referred to as *cholos*). However, the upper classes also use the term 'Andean' to reference their imagined idea of indigenous Andeans or rural indians. In Lima people do not only rely on socio-economic categories to classify someone they interact with; they also proceed to racially scan the person, and this becomes part of their imaginary hierarchy, where whites rank above mestizos, and mestizos above indigenous Andeans. For more on racial categories see (Turino 1993, Wade 1998, Mendoza 2000, de la Cadena and Starn 2007, de la Cadena 2005, Portocarrero 1993, Tucker 2013a).

⁴ 'Foreign genres' are any musical genre perceived by *Limeños* as originating outside Peru including rock, pop, jazz, electronic music. However, some upper class collaborators equate 'national music' (*lo nacional*) with any locally produced music, including, for example, Peruvian rock and hip hop, regardless of the initial origin of the genre. The upper classes often locate themselves in opposition to the working classes, who are thought to consume more locally produced music such as chicha or cumbia, instead of rock, jazz, electronic or classical music produced abroad termed 'foreign' or 'international music' (*lo internacional*), which is preferred by many in the white upper classes.

background, however, the fusion scene is mainly a middle and upper class phenomenon. Although many popular Peruvian genres, such as chicha, cumbia, huayno con arpa, música criolla and Afro-Peruvian music, could easily be categorised as fusions they are not branded as such by audiences, performers and promoters, but rather recognised as distinctive traditional Peruvian genres. As my research is circumscribed to Lima and the young *Limeño* white upper classes, I have decided to focus on what they would refer to as fusion music. Fusion aesthetics are not new, some artists started as early as the 1960s (e.g. Yma Sumac, El Polen, Miki González). Yet, the impact of fusion on the white upper classes and its function as racial/social dialogue is a new trend and academic literature about fusion is still scarce (Olazo 2002, Rozas 2007, Dodge 2008).

Since 2005 fusion music has crystallised into a distinct urban scene popular among white upper class youths. This popularity dates back to Miki González' first fusions between electronic dance music and Andean traditional music (*Café Inkaterra* CD released in 2004 by Hotel Inkaterra in Cuzco).⁵ For two years (2004 and 2005), *Café Inkaterra* was the best-selling album in Lima, slowly drawing the white upper classes to locally produced music and Andean music, triggering a boom of fused music products and onstage intercultural collaborations.⁶

In the aftermath of the Peruvian internal war a desire to connect emerged, making space for different kinds of fusion music dialogues. Such interactions allow people to relate to others' experiences and realities empathetically while acknowledging their own identities and experiences, finding communalities and differences (c.f. Laurence 2008: 24). While O'Connell and Castelo-Branco (2010) critique the use of an Enlightenment conception such as empathy in non-Western contexts, the lifestyle, education and worldview of the white upper classes in Lima are predominantly Western. In this setting empathy is a useful concept in analysing the music process in which fusion serves as a channel for expressing the yearning for reconciliation felt by many in the white upper classes. I will focus on a particular group of white upper class youths, who I term 'the alternatives'. What sets them apart is that they distance themselves from other upper class groups, reject exclusivity and many are politically active as a result of their reflections on their social role.

Through first-hand testimonies from two contrasting fusion artists of different socio-economic and racial backgrounds, but who share an upper class audience (Magaly Solier and Bareto), I will illustrate how fusion music in Lima opened spaces for white upper class youth

⁵ In 2006 the CD was renamed Inka Beats to avoid using the name of the hotel (Inkaterra).

⁶ For some in the fusion scene, the first fusion boom took place during the internal conflict in the late 1990s with bands considered 'underground' at the time such as La Sarita, Los Mojarras and Uchpa. However, I consider this boom an underground Andean rock peak in following and creativity. It was not a mainstream phenomenon, nor popular with the white upper classes or as diverse musically as in 2005.

to reimagine their own identities and negotiate their collective sense of culpability in the wake of the war. These two artists fuse different genres and have different styles, yet they both address the white upper classes with music previously rejected by that audience (cumbia and *música ayacuchana*) contributing to changing music paradigms. I will also explore the influence of the internal war on their motivations and strategies to turn exclusive upper class concert spaces into spaces of attempted social reconciliation. In parallel, I analyse how this political message is negotiated by the white upper class audience, who largely distanced itself from the plight of the Andes throughout the conflict.

The value of musicking (Small 1998) is, of course, not one-dimensional and should not be idealised; music can be used to exacerbate violence, create division and manipulate (c.f. Johnson and Cloonan 2009). However, this article attempts to build on scholarly contributions to the study of music in social instability and post conflict contexts (Urbain 2008, O'Connell and Castelo-Branco 2010, Ritter and Daughtry 2007, Weisbard 2012, Fast and Pegley 2012), with an ethnographic ethnomusicological exploration of the negotiation of class and whiteness in social conflict. My discussion of whiteness is influenced by Charles Hale's (2006) work on racial ambivalence among *ladinos solidarios* in Guatemala and their attempts to fight for racial equality while maintaining their privilege. Hale highlights the importance of individual *ladinos*' sensibilities and their attempts to build bridges between them and Mayas, however, he also underlines the lack of transformative power achieved by *ladinos* through collective political action (2006: 170). This article examines how fusion music in Lima articulates white upper class alternative ideals and sensibilities into collective transformative power and how this translates into political action. The Lima upper classes are not necessarily willing to give up privilege, but they acknowledge it and want to use their social power to address racism and inequality.

Fusionists constitute an interclass and interethnic musical force that creates entertainment spaces of intercultural visibility (c.f. Slobin 1993: 19-21), social discussion (c.f. Lipsitz 1997) identity negotiation and coexistence (c.f. Brinner 2009). In this context, I theorise on listening habits and ordinary music participation and its role in conflict recovery and transformation (Longhurst 2007, Turino 2008).

Lima White Upper Classes. Methodological Considerations⁷

⁷ The article is based on ethnographic research in Lima between March 2010 and May 2011. It included: participant observation at music festivals and concerts at upper class venues in Lima, and private upper class parties with fusion music; discussions and interviews with fusion stakeholders - musicians (composers, freelance musicians, arrangers), technicians, DJs, concert organizers, venue owners, record label CEOs, marketing researchers, television presenters, newspaper journalists and members of the fusion music audience (informal and formal interviews, focus groups). I also used

I grew up in a mestizo home in Lima. My mixed background, with an Andean father and a white middle class mother, facilitated encounters with people of different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds. Yet these encounters were biased by my family's idea of 'the other'. Whiteness was praised and Indianness hidden. After a couple of years abroad, I found myself at a wealthy school in Lima, teaching music to the daughters of the white Lima upper class. My students 'saw' many Andeans, but never interacted with them as equals, perceiving them as inferior. I witnessed what I perceived as white upper class 'self-exclusion in exclusivity'. I also encountered a very heterogeneous upper class with different lifestyles, attitudes and tastes.

Coincidentally, 2005, the year I began to teach, also saw the growing popularity of white upper class fusion musicians among upper class youths. Over the following years, my students were also drawn to previously marginal genres. I observed the emergence of an upper class shift in social imaginaries and self-identification. Suddenly, for some students being 'exclusive' was no longer a quality, but a limitation that they had to overcome through popular culture. This experience motivated me to go beyond the music classroom and study the white upper classes and their relation with Andean music in Lima.

It is difficult to separate class from ethnic background in Peru. During fieldwork, I often faced complex situations when musicians and people in the audiences, who I assumed to be white and upper class, would tell me that they thought of themselves as *mestizo*, middle class *Limeños*. Especially the 'alternatives', who would try to distance themselves from the discriminatory 'white snobs'. Moreover, whiteness is relative. Many of the people perceived as white in Lima are descendants of Italian, Spanish, French and Arab immigrants and have olive skin, sometimes darker than Andean mestizos, but, because of their more European features, body shape and phenotype, are considered white.

In order to limit my scope to the white upper classes, I used variables common to what *Limeños* described (or imagined) as the 'white upper classes': people with a light skin tone or European phenotype with last names historically associated with the intellectual, economic or political elites; expensive private education, residence in wealthy districts and frequentation of exclusive venues for leisure (clubs, parties, cultural venues and beach houses). I did not consider self-identification, as this proved problematic for the 'alternatives'. Nor did I use household income classifications, as it would have been impossible to obtain income figures from interviewees and survey respondents. Moreover, few musicians earn enough to be considered part of the higher *Limeño* strata based on income alone, but their education, network and family history do match the profile.

According to APEIM, Peruvian Association of Marketing Investigation Companies (2013), in Lima 4.8% of the population belongs to the upper classes, 59.1% to the middle classes and 36.1% to the working classes. However, this is socioeconomic categorisation based solely on income, property and housing variables; race and ethnicity are not taken into consideration. It is impossible to know exactly how many of these 4.8% belong to the white upper classes as opposed to the emerging Andean and mestizo upper classes. Moreover, one in three of my interviewees from the white upper classes would self-describe as ‘alternative’ or as not identifying with the upper class lifestyle. This indicates that the ‘alternatives’ likely constitute less than 1% of Lima’s population. Why study just 1% of the population? Because many in the white upper classes through ownership or management shape Peru’s extractive industries, private sector, media and government. These decision makers can either contribute to a transformation towards more equality or defend the status quo. Shedding light on new upper class cultural and political trends, and social reflections may provide some clues to upper class engagement with or disengagement from combating inequality.

‘Alternative’ White Upper Class Negotiations of Guilt

While many Andeans were displaced to Lima by the internal war, others from the middle and upper classes migrated abroad.⁸ A number of the white upper class musicians and members of the audience I talked to had spent time abroad between 1995 and 2001. This experience drastically changed their vision of their country and themselves.

When you go abroad when everybody associates your country with blood, poverty, war, you don’t have self-esteem, you don’t understand. You learn you are not better than others, that you are not as white as your family made you believe, that you are not even part of Peru. I was not Peruvian, I didn’t understand what was happening. Why were other Peruvians fighting? When I came back, I just wanted to ‘make peace’ with others, with me, feel Peruvian for once, right? (male aged 32, interview, Miraflores-Lima, 5 December 2010).⁹

White upper class musicians and members of the audience between 28 and 35 years old, who grew up in the decades of violence, stated that by the time terrorism was defeated, they were tired of hating each other and of the claustrophobia of fear. As of 2005 an optimistic feeling of ‘togetherness’ started to grow among sectors of the young upper classes in Lima and permeated the ‘fusion boom’. Joaquín Mariátegui, Bareto’s lead guitarist said:

... I’m telling you this with a hand on my heart, because it’s fucking hard to talk about this [prolonged pause] (...), I grew up in the period of terrorism, in the 1980s and I do

⁸ It is estimated that between 1985 and 1988, 151,639 Peruvians emigrated, most of them students (Gonzales de Olarte 1991:20). Furthermore, between 1989 and 1994 an additional 380,000 Peruvians left Peru (de los Ríos and Rueda 2005: 9).

⁹ Opinions are anonymised on request. Only gender and age are indicated.

think that there is a generation who is aware of how far removed they have been, or how far removed we have been from the rest of Peru, right? and therefore now the need for us to connect (...) I think people are now starting to look inwards, starting to feel Peruvian, but with a bit of *conchudez* ('swagger'). Which I think is brilliant (Joaquín Mariátegui, interview, Miraflores-Lima, 11 September 2010).

For some, the violence led to intense personal soul-searching, as well as engagement with a collective pursuit of a more 'cohesive' identity. This is reflected in the increase in interethnic and cross-class collaborations from 2005 onwards. Fusion musicking creates 'liminal spaces' (Turner 1967: 93-111, Bergh 2010: 207) where 'ideal relationships are imagined' (Small 1998: 13), and even enacted while the music lasts. Fusion facilitates intercultural contact and interactions e.g. cross-cultural collaborations, the white upper classes listening to Andean performers, conversations between performers and audiences and within the audience about the war and people's role in it and Lima's future. This creative contact is transformed into social energy, contributing to conflict transformation. I use the term 'conflict transformation', rather than 'conflict resolution', as the first not only connotes an attempt to address and resolve the conflict in question, but also to deal with the issues giving rise to the conflict (c.f. Dunn 2008: 9). This transformation entails peacefully ending something negative to build something desired (Lederach 2003: 33).¹⁰ It is through musicking that empathetic interactions open up new social spaces for the negotiation of guilt and for new ways of imagining a different social present and future through new relationships between persons. This may not resolve the conflict, but does facilitate non-violent dialogue.

Music Empathetic Interactions: Magaly Solier

Magaly Solier (Figure 1) introduces herself as a *campesina* ('indigenous peasant') from Huanta, Ayacucho, one of the towns most affected by the war. She became popular after starring in two Peruvian films directed by Claudia Llosa: *Madeirusa* (2006) and the Oscar nominated *Milk of Sorrow* (2009). Her local and international fame facilitated her incursion in the upper class fusion music scene with her album *Warmi* (2009), an album deeply influenced by the sound and aesthetics of the *música ayacuchana* boom of the 1990s fused with jazz, trova and pop. In 2010-11 she regularly performed at upper class venues, singing in Quechua about violence against women and the consequences of the internal war. She sang about the conflict and promoted reflection and discussion through interviews, her website and contributions to social networks. On *Warmi*, almost all of Magaly's songs are in Quechua, yet one of her most popular songs, *Guitarra Yuyariptiy*, is in Spanish. Magaly

¹⁰ I say peacefully based on Johan Galtung's definition of peace as: "the capacity to transform conflicts with empathy, creativity and non-violence" (Galtung as quoted by Olivier Urbain 2008: 4).

usually sang it while projecting pictures from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) permanent photography exhibition ‘Yuyanapaq. Para recordar’ (‘To remember’).¹¹ In her own words:

‘A nation that forgets its past is doomed to repeat it’. So, in order not to forget it, and, above all, not to repeat it, I project this video at all my concerts when I sing my song ‘Guitarra Yuyariptiy’. Peruvians died, they were all Peruvians. This song is my place of remembrance (Solier’s YouTube Channel).



Figure 1. Magaly Solier.

Source: Cali Flores, used with permission of Magaly Solier and Cali Flores

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| <p><i>Cuando llora la guitarra llora y llora mi corazón llora sin ningún consuelo recordando lo que pasó. Cuando llora la guitarra oigo su voz, siento su dolor, sus gritos desgarradores.</i></p> | <p><i>When the guitar cries, cries and cries my heart cries without consolation remembering what happened. When the guitar cries, I hear her voice, I feel her pain, her heart-breaking cries.</i></p> |
| <p><i>Cuando llora la guitarra el recuerdo de esa noche poco a poco viene a mí y mi pobre corazón no soporta no, no, no el recuerdo de esa noche es tan dura y tan cruel y mi pobre corazón no soporta no, no, no</i></p> | <p><i>When the guitar cries, the memory of that night little by little comes to me and my poor heart can't bear it no, no, no the memory of that night is so hard and so cruel and my heart can't stand it no, no, no.</i></p> |
| <p><i>Cuando calla la guitarra solo queda queda , el silencio queda</i></p> | <p><i>When the guitar falls silent All that remains, remains, the silence remains</i></p> |

¹¹ Magaly’s projection: Magaly Solier, Guitarra Yuyariptiy (Video version demo) Uploaded by Magaly Solier (15/09/11) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dyyRxVhw49E> (Last accessed 11/08/14). Yuyanapaq. Para recordar <http://www.pnud.org.pe/yuyanapaq/yuyanapaq.html> (Last accessed 11/08/14). This photographic exhibition was inaugurated on 20/07/2006 at the National Museum of Peru in Lima and it will remain open until 2026 at the Peruvian Ministry of Culture.

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| <p><i>solo queda queda el recuerdo queda llantos llagas quedan, solo queda queda</i></p> <p><i>En medio de aquel silencio el gatillo sonó y sonó en medio de aquel silencio el casquillo rodó y rodó y la pólvora se esfumó y la guitarra nunca más sonó¹²</i></p> <p><i>Guitarra Yuyariptiy –. Magaly Solier (Warmi 2009)¹³</i></p> | <p><i>All that remains, remains, the memory remains Tears and wounds remain, only remains, remains</i></p> <p><i>In the middle of that silence, the trigger sounded and sounded in the middle of that silence, the case rolled and rolled, and the gunpowder evaporated, and the guitar sounded no more.</i></p> |
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Magaly mainly ‘sang the war’ to Lima’s upper classes. This is particularly important, as memory projects have not been equally disseminated; they have tended to focus mostly on the Andean populations directly affected by the internal war. However, if terrorist groups were allegedly formed to fight social inequality and poverty, it would seem of fundamental importance that ways are found to discuss the war among the Peruvian upper classes, in order for them to reflect on their role in society, particularly as many private schools are reluctant to do so, as I observed while teaching in Lima.¹⁴

At Magaly’s concerts in 2010-11 it was striking to observe her end nearly every performance by singing *Flor de Retama* (‘Broom flower’) with her white upper class audience, not in its fused form, but in *música ayacuchana* style. This well-known *huayno testimonial*¹⁵ was composed by Ricardo Dolorier in 1970 to document a student protest in Huanta during Velasco’s Presidency in 1969, which led to the death of several students at the hands of the army. This huayno has been repeatedly re-signified during and after the internal conflict (Ritter 2012: 211-212). The Shining Path appropriated the song as an anthem of their battle against bourgeois power and oppression. But towards the end of the war others used it to acknowledge the suffering and death of peasants at the hands of the army during the conflict. If Magaly left this song out of a performance, the audience would often request it or simply start singing, forcing Magaly and her musicians to join in.¹⁶

¹² Translation based on translation featured in Warmi album liner notes (2009).

¹³ Lyrics used with the permission of Cali Flores (Music producer) and Magaly Solier (Composer and singer). Warmi - Phantom Records, 2009.

¹⁴ The school administration notified me that topics such as the conquest of Peru, evolution and the internal conflict were not to be discussed in class in order to avoid religious controversy and upper class alienation and stigma. Nonetheless, I brought up the internal war and could confirm that the students knew little about its origins, scope and consequences. When I shared my experiences with other teachers at private schools, I discovered how widespread this approach was.

¹⁵ Politically engaged songs written explicitly to denounce, protest and narrate experiences of abuse, repression and injustice (see also Ritter 2003, 2012, 2014). These huaynos composed and performed by Ayacuchano artists also described the internal conflict in their lyrics.

¹⁶ Magaly Solier – Flor de Retama (C.C. La Noche 2011) (12/08/11).

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ar4y7QLaBhg&feature=related> (Last accessed 11/08/14).

| | |
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| <p><i>Vengan todos a ver, ay, vamos a ver, vengan, hermanos, a ver, ay, vamos a ver. En la plazuela de Huanta, amarillito, flor de retama, amarillito, amarillando, flor de retama.</i></p> <p><i>Por Cinco Esquinas están, los sinchis entrando están en la plazuela de Huanta, los sinchis rodeando están Van a matar estudiantes, huantinos de corazón amarillito, amarillando, flor de retama. Van a matar campesinos, huantinos de corazón amarillito, amarillando, flor de retama.</i></p> <p><i>Donde la sangre del pueblo ahí se derrama Allí mismito florece amarillito flor de retama amarillito, amarillando, flor de retama.</i></p> <p><i>La sangre del pueblo tiene rico perfume Huele a jazmines, violetas, geranios y margaritas, a pólvora y dinamita ¡Carajo!! A pólvora y dinamita</i></p> | <p><i>Come everyone to see, yes, let's see, come brothers to see, yes, let's see. In the plaza of Huanta, the little yellow retama flower, bright little yellow retama flower.</i></p> <p><i>They are at Five Corners,¹⁷ the National Guard soldiers are entering. In the plaza of Huanta, the National Guard soldiers are gathering. They are going to kill students, huantinos at heart. bright little yellow retama flower. They are going to kill peasants, huantinos at heart, bright little yellow retama flower.</i></p> <p><i>Where the blood of the people spilled over, right there blooms the little yellow retama flower, bright little yellow retama flower.</i></p> <p><i>The blood of the people has a sweet perfume, It smells of jasmine, of violets, geraniums and daisies, of gunpowder and dynamite, Damn it! Of gunpowder and dynamite.¹⁸</i></p> |
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The Hermanos Gaitán Castro were the first Andean performers to bring this song to the traditional white upper classes around 2001. Since then, sections of the upper classes (mainly the ‘alternatives’) have been singing it at small trova¹⁹ concerts or requesting it at fusion concerts, turning this song into a participatory performance. After one of Magaly Solier’s concerts in Miraflores, a white upper class ‘alternative’ said,

I love it when Sara Van or Magaly Solier sing Flor de Retama. I can’t avoid crying each time I sing with them. I lost my grandmother in Tarata,²⁰ people think that we don’t suffer. We are humans, we also suffered the war! With each *carajo* [damn it] my tears disappear and my desire grows for us all to unite now so that this doesn’t happen again (Female aged 35, interview, Cocodrilo Verde upper class music venue, Miraflores-Lima, 25 November 2010).

This member of the audience reaffirms and validates her pain through her involvement in participatory song. She challenges the generalised idea that the upper classes do not suffer, ‘People think that we don’t suffer, we are humans, we also suffered the war!’ In

¹⁷ Five-corner intersection in Huanta.

¹⁸ Translation based on translation by Jonathan Ritter (2012 : 212)

¹⁹ Peruvian trova has its origins in Cuban trova. It was popular among the left-leaning intellectual upper middle classes in Lima (1970s). This music is highly political and the lyrics are referred to as ‘poems with music’.

²⁰ In July 1992 one of the most lethal car bomb attacks occurred in the upper class district of Miraflores, it is known as the Tarata attack. According to the Shining Path, it was a mistake: it was aimed at the banks near a residential building, rather than the building itself (CVR 2003: 662). The Tarata attack brought home to upper class *Limeños* that terrorist violence did not distinguish class, status, social or ethnic background.

this way, she empathises with Andeans' suffering, while processing her own suffering. This enables her to connect in song with an Andean *campesina* like Magaly, instead of resenting Magaly's background or including her in the imaginary of 'Andean terrorist'. One can say that the upper classes in Lima were not affected by systematic terror the way people in the Andes were, yet, I argue that in order to achieve reconciliation in a divided society there is a need for a collective social space where all trauma can be acknowledged, without ignoring the class and ethnic realities that underpinned the conflict. One upper class member of the fusion audience, reflecting on the role of music performance and participation after one of Magaly's concerts said,

I know that my suffering doesn't compare to that of Andean peasants who were tortured and raped, nobody in my family died directly because of terrorism. But what keeps me awake at night is that this happened, full stop. Why were such extremes reached? Why are there people like me, who have a lot, and others who have nothing? Do you think it's nice to live with that on your conscience? To live with the fact that in your family history there are people who fought to preserve this? I would be a hypocrite, if I were to tell you that I don't like living comfortably. But what I don't like is living with the blood of people, who we ignored for years and continue ignoring, on my conscience. I sing at the top of my lungs, because music gives me a space to cry for my ghosts, my own traumas, my selfishness, my burdens and deep down do something, build something new, make friends who I wouldn't have outside the space of music... I can't reconstruct Peru, but I can reconstruct myself (Male aged 28, interview, Miraflores, 27 January 2011).

This interviewee negotiates his guilt through musicking, acknowledging his family history, privilege, and personal role. He attempts to rebuild himself not only through imagining ideal relationships, but using the music space to *make* new relationships. There is a glimpse of the tensions surrounding acknowledging privilege and feeling guilt for having it while accepting its benefits. Confronting the conflict and history of the internal war through song in concert contributes to jogging *Limeño* memory and is a step in the country's reconciliation process. The relevance of this process is acute, given that the submission of the TRC's conclusions (2003) was mired in political controversy when it was met with rejection and systematic sabotage from Alberto Fujimori's followers. One important TRC conclusion was that during the war *campesinos* were abused and killed by the Shining Path as the main perpetrator; but also by the armed forces. Abimael Guzmán, leader of the Shining Path, was captured and imprisoned while Fujimori was president of Peru (12/08/92). Fujimori and the armed forces were hailed as heroes by Fujimori's followers, who subsequently rejected the notion that the government and the armed forces should be criticised for any excesses committed during the war. This has meant that celebratory sculptures, anniversaries and conferences organised by the TRC or in support of it, have been boycotted and vandalised by *Fujimoristas* in protest at what they believe is the victimisation of terrorists and demonisation of the Peruvian armed forces. Rather than serving to unify, the final TRC report was used to divide Peruvians once again (c.f. Milton 2014, 2009; Taylor 2002; Drinot 2009).

Challenging Privilege, Social Position and Political Apathy: Bareto

In 2010-11, most white upper class fusion musicians did not address the internal war directly, but still acknowledged that the conflict fed into their music making. Music did not necessarily constitute a space for discussing the conflict explicitly, but served as ‘an arena for counter discourses, a locus for resistance where asymmetrical power relations are defied, political hegemony is critiqued and can be subverted, and conflict and violence can be combated’ (O’Connell and Castelo-Branco 2010: 245).

Through music, the ‘alternatives’ challenged the status quo inventing something new, a ‘third way, a musical demonstration of that which is possible’ (Abi-Ezzi 2008: 99). Abi Ezzi studies Gilad Atzmon, a musician ‘who challenge[s] Israel’s continued occupation of the Palestinian territories’ (2008: 101) through music fusion, and asks herself: ‘Is Atzmon jolting people out of their stupor, resensitising them by presenting them with the *unfamiliar*, the function or at least one function of a music of resistance?’ (2008: 100). She could have asked the same about white upper class fusion musicians, who discuss politics in their lyrics or portray political symbolism onstage

Bareto was formed in 2003 as a reggae, ska and rock cover band (see Figure 2); mainly performing in wealthy bohemian Barranco. In September 2008 Bareto released their CD entitled *Cumbia*, a tribute album mainly covering songs by Juaneco y su combo, an Amazonian cumbia band from the late 1960s, and chicha songs from the 1980s. Chicha music is the product of migration. Andeans in Lima mixed huaynos with tropical rhythms from Colombia and a new genre of popular music emerged (Romero 1985, Turino 1988, Hurtado 1995, Quispe 1993). A signature of chicha and Amazonian cumbia is that the lead electric guitar always plays the lead melody (Turino 1988). Chicha was rejected by traditional *Limeños* who associated it with marginality and bad taste (Romero 2007: 31, Bailón 2004: 58-59, Ramos-García 2003: 201, Tucker 2013b: 141). However, Joaquín Mariátegui, Bareto’s music director and lead guitar, always wanted to engage with the music of his favorite guitarists and on the tribute album found a way to play a genre that fascinated both him and the rest of the band. In the process, Bareto came to symbolise interclass and interethnic integration and collaboration. They brought Amazonian cumbia to the attention of the upper classes and chicha music to white upper class venues. And not only did they make the upper classes listen to these genres, they made them dance. They also invited Wilindoro Cacique, the original Juaneco y su Combo front man to sing with them on *Cumbia* and in a series of concerts at several upper class venues. This engagement launched a broad shift in attitudes towards cumbia and chicha.

Members of Bareto told me that in 2008 the group had not consciously sought to influence the upper classes politically or to promote a change in mentality by bringing cumbia to wider attention. Nonetheless, after witnessing the power of their music and collaborations, Bareto evidently decided to accept the role thrust upon them by the media and their audience. This is reflected in their 2012 album *Ves lo que quieres ver* ('You see what you want to see'), which branches out stylistically into cumbia, salsa, rock and ska. This album transmits a political vision and the band expresses a desire to affect their audience politically through lyrics, dance and celebration:

This album is totally about Peru, about stuff that happens to all of us, it's about corruption in politics, about the trendy [Peruvian] cuisine [...] I think Peru is perceived as a successful country, which has grown a lot, but there are many parts of the country which we are neglecting in this very optimistic view, which sometimes even spills over into chauvinism. That is why it is *Ves lo que quieres ver* ('You see what you want to see'), the senses are selective and you see what suits you, but Peru is a multicultural country, it is a territory where there are many peoples and we are all Peru, not just that little piece, so if we really love Peru, we have to take a look at all of it and we have to know how to look (Mariátegui 2012).²¹



Figure 2. Bareto - From left to right: Sergio Sarria, Jorge Giraldo, Rolando Gallardo, Mauricio Mesones, Jorge Olazo and Joaquín Mariátegui.

Source: Photograph by Alonso Molina, used with the permission of Jorge Olazo

When we spoke in 2010 Joaquín felt that Peruvians were 'finding themselves, building a more solid identity' (ibid. September 2010). Nevertheless, in 2012, after two years

²¹ Interview with Bareto by Sientemag. Uploaded 26/02/12.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HaMo3cUFNtA> (Last visited 10/03/14).

of travelling Peru and discovering realities different from those of the capital, Joaquín had lost some of the optimism, pride and self-esteem Bareto itself contributed to instilling in *Limeños*. Joaquín's gradual change in perception illustrates a transformation of the broader fusion community's view of Lima and Peru: from a poor, sad, and pessimistic country - ravaged by a twenty-year war, to a country thirsty for trust, peace, identity and slowly gaining self-esteem through gastronomy, music, fashion and sports. But the optimism was followed by a suspicion among fusionists that Lima was bordering on nationalistic chauvinism with people buying into the illusion (or delusion?) that everyone was content, better off financially, and socially integrated. Bareto, having reflected on this as a group, was now 'singing a change' and nudging Peruvians to think beyond the positive illusion and remain critical, even though it felt as though much had been achieved.

Music has motivated shifts in attitudes and politics among Bareto's musicians and their audience, who have become more politically aware and involved. This is, in part, evidenced in their critique of their own class and its naïve optimism about Peruvian social integration in forum, blogs, Facebook and YouTube discussions.

I danced the cumbias by Juaneco y su Combo and Chacalón with Bareto and I discovered a world I didn't know. I can't deny that it was comfortable to listen to it and dance it in Barranco or Miraflores... but little by little their performances, and those of other bands, such as La Mente and La Sarita, shook me up, they went to my heart and, well, it's true 'In synchronicity we share the same space, prejudice hurt us if we're always looking askance' [lyrics from *Ves lo que quieres ver* – Bareto]... I don't think I think the same way anymore [...] I feel much more identified with other Peruvians, with reality, music made me step out of my bubble. The guys in Bareto are white and posh, but when they stepped out of their bubble people liked them..., *facil que si yo trato tambien me pueden querer no?* ('so, if I also try they might like me too, right?') (Ximena 22, Skype interview, 10 December 2012).

Ximena quotes a song from Bareto's 2012 album. She says that her way of thinking has changed, she feels more identified with other Peruvians. In the revealing phrase 'so, if I also try they might like me too, right?' Ximena expresses fear of breaking out of her bubble, but she does not fear contact with other Peruvians, she fears their rejection. Bareto's lyrics affect the white upper classes, and below is an example directly aimed at this group.

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| <i>Este mundo es de apariencias, no te dejes engañar, tu puedes ser lo que quieras si es que aprendes a mirar. Ha llegado el momento que entendamos la humildad a veces lo que criticas es lo que quieres alcanzar.</i> | <i>This is a world of appearances, don't be fooled, you can be what you want, if you learn to see. The time has come to understand humility Sometimes what you criticize is what you yearn for.</i> |
| <i>Juntos sincronizados compartimos el mismo espacio. Los juicios nos hacen daño si miramos siempre de costado.</i> | <i>In synchronicity we share the same space. Prejudice hurt us, if we're always looking askance.</i> |

| | |
|---|---|
| <p><i>El tiempo nunca ha curado y vivimos aún separados. No somos tan diferentes respondamos a este llamado.</i></p> <p>Excerpt of <i>Ves lo que quieres ver</i> – Bareto (<i>Ves lo que quieres ver</i> 2012)²²</p> | <p><i>Time never healed and still we live separated. We're not that different let's heed this call.</i></p> |
|---|---|

Joaquín Mariátegui wrote and composed this danceable fusion between salsa and rock, which is an invitation to look beyond the country's advances to find room for further improvement. It is an invitation to the upper classes to stop criticising the rest as *a veces lo que criticas es lo que quieres alcanzar* ('sometimes what you criticise is what you yearn for'). Bareto seems to be singing out a bittersweet 'intimate distance' (Bigenho 2012). Even though Bigenho's intimate distance concept is used when discussing the intercultural nexus of Japanese nationals and Bolivian music, it helps me here to shed light on white upper class negotiations of intimacy, friendship, love and admiration towards the 'feared and distant other'. How do white upper class fusionists negotiate the attraction towards difference and marginality, and their embodiment of the 'other' while still belonging to the upper classes? This song highlights the contradictions between what the upper classes perceive as their historical identity, reinforced by generational repetition of discriminative social patterns, and what they now want to embrace as a new social identity through the adoption of genres, interactions and ordinary life habits that were, and in some cases still are, source of shame for their class context; a cultural intimate sense of self (c.f. Herzfeld 2005). Joaquín is not only evoking an attraction to difference here, but also the desire to embody this difference to the point of becoming the difference, in an attempt to be 'one more', 'just like everybody else'.

| | |
|--|---|
| <p><i>Muchos se llenan la boca con el negocio de la cocina y en las ollas de la gente hay mucha sazón, pero no hay comida Tanto aji en la mesa. Y nada pa comer. Sobran las recetas. Y nada pa comer. Hay tierra y riqueza. Y nada para comer. ¿Cuándo habrá pa' todos algo pa comer?</i></p> <p>Excerpt of <i>Tanto aji</i> – Bareto (<i>Ves lo que quieres ver</i> 2012)</p> | <p><i>Many fill their gob with words about the culinary business and the people's casseroles are well-seasoned, but there's no food So much chilli sauce on the table. And no food. A glut of recipes. And no food. There's land and riches. And no food. When will there be food for everyone?</i></p> |
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This song, written by Jorge Olazo and composed by Joaquín Mariátegui and Rolo Gallardo, is a fusion of cumbia norteña, dub and Afro-Peruvian rhythms, with the characteristic lead electric guitar of Amazonian cumbia, batá drums, and a call and response

²² All Bareto's lyrics are used with the permission of Jorge Olazo on behalf of Bareto. *Ves lo que quieres ver*- Play Music & Video Peru, 2012.

chorus. It is an invitation to see beyond marketing successes and manipulations with – and of – cultural goods, where upper class idealisms are commodified to distract from real contemporary social problems. Bareto confronts its white upper class public with the uncomfortable truth that while privilege allows them to enter the popular realm; people in this broader Lima they want to access do *not* have access to the essentials, let alone the luxuries of the privileged realm.

| | |
|---|---|
| <p><i>Nunca estas contento solo pensando en ti. Te haces el correcto pero no eres de aqui. Para ti solo importa el color, y como te llamas y cuanto tu ganas, ya estamos cansados de esto. La casa de playa, la baby alpaca a ti no te han hecho bien.</i></p> <p><i>Nunca nada es bueno, al menos para ti. Siempre mirando feo, que bueno va a venir. Para ti solo importa el color, y como te llamas, por donde tu paras, a ti quien te ha dicho eso. Todas las mucamas de blanco en la playa a ti no te han hecho bien.</i></p> <p>Excerpt of <i>Baby Alpaca</i> – Bareto (Ves lo que quieres ver 2012).</p> | <p><i>You're never happy just thinking of yourself. You pretend to be so oh correct but you're not from here. All that matters to you is colour, and your name and how much you earn, we're tired of it already. The beach house, the baby alpaca didn't do you any good.</i></p> <p><i>Nothing's ever good, at least not for you. What good will come, always looking with disdain. All that matters to you is colour, and your name, where you hang out, who told you that. All the maids in white on the beach didn't do you any good.</i></p> |
|---|---|

With this song Joaquín Mariátegui (lyrics) and Jorge Giraldo (music) take aim at the very core of white upper class exclusivity and racism, and coming from upper class musicians the message acquires even more undertones. Baby Alpaca is a fusion between reggae and cumbia, with the obvious sonic presence of an Andean charango, which symbolically highlights the tensions between the white upper classes and Andeans in Lima. The band here makes unmasked references to Lima's inequality of wealth and blatant white upper class racism by alluding to exclusive beach house areas, which are a clear indicator of white wealth. Asia beaches, *Balenario de Asia*, consist of some thirty beaches from 60 to 130 kms. south of Lima. Most of these are de facto exclusive private beaches with limited access for the general public.²³

When renting or buying a place in Asia the first filter, apart from what you can afford, is that you have to apply to the *junta de propietarios* ('neighbourhood homeowners association') controlling the beach in which you are interested. The requirements are sometimes as ambiguous as belonging to a *familia constituida* [established family, in

²³ Due to the popularity of *Balenario de Asia* among the upper classes in Lima, in 2003 Asia Boulevard (km 97.5) was built. The Boulevard is an exclusive open air shopping strip with luxury boutiques, a multicinema, night clubs, a golf course, a five star hotel, exclusive restaurants and other amenities.

other words, that you are married, have never divorced and are not homosexual], having *apellidos extranjeros o Peruanos conocidos* ['foreign family names or well-known Peruvian family names']. Pictures are sometimes required to buy a house, as well as the family history in writing; these documents are submitted to a neighbourhood homeowners' association and the applications and photos are made available to other owners for perusal and acceptance or rejection (Luciana aged 22, interview, Asia, 2 January 2009).

As the Lima white upper classes own beach houses there, their music also migrates to Asia in summer, so in March 2011, as part of my ethnography I lived there for a month. It was difficult not to see the fixed divides between the people living in Asia and the people serving them: gardeners, maids, nannies, cleaners, security guards, waitresses, many of whom live in the Asia district themselves, but in the shanty town across the highway. The glaring divide of the *Panamericana* highway is maintained inside the *balneario*. Maids and nannies are not allowed to use the same bathrooms as the people who hire them; they have to wear uniforms and are not allowed to swim with the children they care for.

Asia is one of Peru's biggest manifestations of normalised class and race divisions, segregation and racism; a reminder of the white upper class' place in Lima's social hierarchy. Many of the 'alternatives' who criticise Asia also spend summer there. They might not own or want a house there, but they rent or stay with a friend. Bareto highlights the identity tensions between the alternative ideals and their privileged realities. Through this song, they confront these tensions reflecting on and criticising their own realities as musicians and audiences.

Fusion music facilitates the critique of inequality through reflection on the privileged self and more openness to diversity (musically and socially). Through music, a section of the white upper classes manifests an apparent willingness to approach the rejected other, first in order to make and listen to music together, but then to enact a political change of building common ground not only to include the marginal, but to include themselves in a broader society they felt distant from. This could be a first step in recognising difference, empathising with a broader Lima, acknowledging their role and responsibility in Peru and reconfiguring themselves through ordinary life. Many 'alternatives' see a connection between this new conscience and the change in political landscape in Lima. Several of the 'alternative' white upper classes, whom I was in contact with said that they had changed their expression of citizenship from apathetic and distant to active and political.

Politics often doesn't promote any social change. Culture is what's driving these changes. Terrorism submerged us in total apathy; culture is bringing us back to life. Gastronomy raised our self-esteem, music makes us reflect, see our faults, the shortcomings we need to overcome to be better. It sounds horribly like a cliché, but, well, it's the truth. Just look at how active the scene has been over the last six years... and also look at how active young people from the upper classes are in politics, and the social discussion in these same years. A coincidence? (Female aged 33, interview, La Molina-Lima, 10 March 2011).

This new political awareness, and in some cases active protest, later transcended the music context and crystalised in a young ‘alternative’ white upper class political stance. Musicians and audiences transcended the fusion venues to play a big role in political campaigns and protests. Examples of these ideological shifts after 2010 include: 1) an increasing white upper class left-leaning political preference manifested in support for Lima’s socialist mayoral candidate Susana Villarán. The fusion scene actively backed her contributing with music for the campaign (e.g. La Sarita),²⁴ 2) several mobilisations for human rights through the active participation and promotion of the TRC anniversary concert (e.g. La Mente) and several marches and concerts protesting the government eviction of Aguaruna, Huambisha and other Amazonian native groups which ended in the violent death of many natives (e.g. Bareto and La Mente). An incident known as *El Baguazo* (‘Bagua massacre’),²⁵ 3) green mobilisation against the Conga mining project, which would destroy natural lakes in order to extract gold and copper in the Cajamarca region (e.g. Bareto and La Mente), 4) mobilisation against racism at exclusive venues, by organising flash mobs, impromptu concerts and happenings in privileged spaces accused of blatant racism such as cinemas in Miraflores and Asia beaches. Fusion music has facilitated and encouraged young white upper class reflection on and action against the white upper class status quo.

Conclusion

In this article I have interrogated different ways in which the internal war has affected musicians and audiences. Magaly Solier addresses the ravages of the internal war directly with the white upper class, a class that distanced itself from the conflict and Andeans. Her white upper class audience shows a clear wish to connect with her, while recognising that Andeans, like her, were formerly, and still are, rejected by people of their class and race. In the case of white upper class musicians, like the leaders of Bareto, rather than addressing the war directly through music they confront the attitudes and exclusion underlying the social conflict and its violent escalation.

It seems that the internal war has motivated part of the young white upper classes to reflect on their own social role before and during the war and has made them yearn for inclusive togetherness, often in order to feel included themselves in a diverse, ‘more real’ Lima. Self-inclusion is sought through identity self-reconfiguration, which entails reconciling

²⁴ See: new political youth movements: <http://www.coherencia.pe/>, youth in Fuerza Social <http://www.tenemosgananas.pe/> (Last accessed 01/08/13)

²⁵ In June 2009 in Bagua-Amazonas the Government ordered the eviction of approximately five thousand people of Aguaruna, Huambisha and other Amazonian native groups, as they had refused to hand over their land in concession to multinationals and mines. In response, Amazonian native groups blocked the main highway for approximately sixty days; a protest that tragically ended in the violent death of many natives.

themselves through building new ‘ideal’ relationships, and using lyrics, symbols and performance as a technology for social conflict transformation. Political action is not only expressed within ‘liminal spaces’, but also starts to transcend the music context to direct political participation, public protest and debates. Through being aware of their own flaws, social apathy and arrogance, this part of the white upper classes attempt to ‘build something different’, to transform the causes of the conflict, to participate in the creation of new ideal relationships, to reconcile with themselves with their backgrounds and families in order to reconfigure their identities.

Sociologist Brian Longhurst suggests that the idea of ‘ordinary life is sociologically significant in illuminating how life is lived out’ (2007: 3). In this context, music routines, such as the usual ‘alternative’ white upper class fusion haunts and regular weekly concerts, illustrate how ‘culture is lived’ and how it may be reshaped over time. The slow change in ordinary life imaginaries and attitudes, or ‘habits’ (Turino 2008: 95), can contribute to challenging systemic prejudice and stigma and, subsequently, normalise different values and ways of perceiving others. This means that a change in ordinary cultural life in Lima, could challenge the way in which racism and segregation are internalised as ‘just the way it is’ and normalise other attitudes reshaping ‘how life is lived out’ (Longhurst 2007: 3).

I don’t want to be secluded in my golden cage anymore, I want to dance barefoot, smoke a joint, shout at my parents *racistas de mierda* [‘bloody racists’], while I sing in a *hueco cochino* [‘grotty dive’] ‘rebellious Indians, marginal whites, national Indian, we’re the same...’²⁶ (Female aged 24, interview, La Molina-Lima, 10 March 2011).

I observed how ordinary musical life allows the white upper classes to self-recreate their identities through rapprochement with ‘the other’ (*belonging*) and to *distinguish* themselves from the role of exclusive discriminatory upper classes. However, their ultimate goal is to feel included. The white upper classes have historically felt like distinct individuals, with fusion music they are now achieving the opposite, feeling part of the wider Lima, blurring their individuality by belonging to ‘the people’.

This is very difficult to describe. I am from the upper class, my network and family is from the upper class, but I don’t feel I belong. Maybe you don’t believe me, but when I go to La Noche or Etnias, or El Dragón...I transform myself, I am louder, happier, more free, nobody judges my friends, my buddies, my life...you know that is kind of the daily life of an upper class girl, defending each one of our *malas juntas* [‘bad company’], non-classy behaviour.... But, on the other hand, there are other things that are more difficult to transform, especially when they give you comfort and access. Do I also have to transform that to be a better human being? I know I am not a completely different girl, but at least some parts of me are different (Female aged 24, interview, La Molina-Lima, 10 March 2011).

²⁶ Vanessa is quoting a well-known song (El Indio de La Mente) by an iconic fusion group called La Mente.

Music links people's dreams and desires to their ordinary lives. As dreams of a different life are transformed into a real change in habits, a normalisation of a different lifestyle and relationships occurs. Whether this is lasting change or not is not my concern here. Instead, like Turino (2008) and others, I want to re-articulate that small changes do make a difference and that most people have the potential to make them. 'Any concerned individual has the choices of doing something or doing nothing, of doing little or doing a lot' (Turino 2008: 230). The young Peruvian 'alternatives' I have studied have chosen to act for others and for themselves. Some do little, but there are others who do a lot to effect changes in their social class and the role it plays in contemporary and future post-war Lima. The negotiations continue, the tensions remain, privilege is not given up, but perhaps the way music allows for the acknowledgement of privilege, the empathetic approach to diversity, the idea of a shared social responsibility as an actor, not a spectator is a crucial seed in a deeply polarised and traumatised city like Lima.

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