

*Version post- peer-review, pre editing; do not cite without permission of author*

**Citation Information:** Montero-Diaz F. 2019. Marginal like you!: constructing citizenship through fusion music in the Peruvian traditional upper classes. In *Citizenship in the Latin American Upper and Middle Classes. Ethnographic Perspectives on Culture and Politics*, 2019, edited by Fiorella Montero-Diaz and Franka Winter. Routledge.

**The final published version is available at:**

<https://www.routledge.com/Citizenship-in-the-Latin-American-Upper-and-Middle-Classes-Ethnographic/Montero-Diaz-Winter/p/book/9780815353928>

## CHAPTER 4

# Marginal like you!

---

*Constructing citizenship through fusion music in the Peruvian traditional upper classes*

**Fiorella Montero-Diaz**

The urban white upper classes have historically topped Lima's socio-ethnic hierarchy and kept distant from those outside their hegemonic circles (Durand 2007; Kogan 2009; Bruce 2007; Ardito 2010). Contemporary studies on this stratum are scarce, but most describe them as racist, distant citizens, without a culture of their own, hostile towards marginal communities, and largely responsible for the conditions leading to Peru's internal conflict (1980–2000) – a conflict so violent and widespread that, years later, its repercussions show up everywhere, also in music. In the wake of war, a sub-culture within the upper-class youth, which I called the 'alternatives', got involved with previously marginalised genres (music perceived as of low taste or for the working classes, such as *chicha*, *cumbia*, *huayno*, etc.), a subversion of traditional markers of upper-class taste and distinction (see more in Montero-Diaz 2016). With new music interests came a newfound appreciation for fused cultural elements such as fusion music, hybrids between traditional Peruvian and foreign music (e.g. Afro-jazz, *huayno-rock*, *electro-cumbia*, etc.).

After the mid-2000s, intercultural fusion music groups proliferated, and with them the fusion audience grew in numbers, fostering a dynamic fusion scene. At first, fusion groups would perform at venues within sheltered ‘allowed spaces’<sup>1</sup>, visibilising intercultural interaction, which for many was a first step towards valuing Andean musicians’ artistry and music while sharing the same space. Later, musicians would transcend their usual performance venues to reach a wider audience, and the upper-class audience would follow the musicians, blurring previous imagined restrictions of place generated by phenotype and class. This transgression, first of racialised taste then racialised space, gave rise to hybrid self-representations as ‘white upper-class *cholos*’<sup>2</sup> and a desire to experience and embody marginality as a form of social validation.<sup>3</sup>

There is abundant literature on music genres and social activism linked to political expression and protest (Ballinger 1995; Barret 1988; Ellison 1989; Eyerman and Jamison 1995; Frith 1987; Frith and Street 1992; Garofalo 1992; Peddie 2006), which focuses on music and social protest that seek the inclusion of vulnerable and subaltern groups. However, there are almost no studies focusing on music as a tool for the social and political articulation of the wealthy, the white, the hegemonic. Furthermore, to date there are no major publications that explicitly and exclusively approach upper-class people in contemporary Latin America as activists, citizens, or agents of political and cultural change.

This chapter has at its core one of the book’s red threads; the question of whether an ‘upper-class’ identity obstructs or facilitates the expression of collective demands and the vindication of citizenship. Based on ethnography conducted in Lima-Peru in 2010 and 2011, it examines how the upper classes use music to approach previously rejected genres through fusion as an opportunity to construct a different and more active upper-class citizenship with access to cultural and political participation beyond the music context in a plural Lima. It centres on case studies of fusion musicians singing and representing political protest and change, such as La Mente, La Sarita, Bareto, and Colectivo Circo Band, and on their white upper-class audience. The first part of the chapter will discuss music consumption and music venues as alternative spaces of political participation, the second section will deconstruct, through specific case studies, the relationship between music, culture and citizenship, and the final section identifies links to other important issues discussed in this book, while also tracing how the topic connects to relevant areas in culture and policy, as they both have a strong nexus with citizenship.

In previous works I have discussed in detail how the ‘alternative’ fusion scene, as an elite subculture, brings together people who want to differentiate themselves from the historically distant mainstream elites (c.f. Montero-Diaz 2016). In these fusion music spaces, difference is not ignored or forced to merge through mestizo aesthetics, but appreciated and meant to be seen and heard (Montero-Diaz 2018a). Through their subcultural capital and fandom, ‘alternatives’ seek to escape their historical “exclusion in exclusivity”<sup>4</sup>, acquire and validate access to local popular culture and construct belonging to a micro community (‘alternative’ white upper classes) and macro community (as part of Peru) (Montero-Diaz 2018b). Searching for belonging via the fusion scene has enabled them to reflect on the self, their whiteness, their historical guilt, their role in society and their national belonging (Montero-Diaz forthcoming). Using the language of citizenship allows us to dissect how white upper-class youth use culture and the arts in order to construct alternative citizenship practices and new spaces for political participation. Especially, since most Peruvians will perceive the elites as civic, but not cultural citizens, white upper-class identity is often considered culturally impoverished. As one of my collaborators put it, “we might have the resources, but we are culturally naked” (male, 28, focus group March 2011).

Stevenson (2003, 346) reminds us that deep interrogations and evaluations of the self through cultural praxes are essential for building cultural citizenship, as new narratives of the self enable individuals to imagine, create and choose different ways of practicing connections, dialogues and interactions between ‘self’ and ‘other’. Furthermore, music can act as a mediator of social class and race, offering utopian spaces where different identities, ethnicities, and geographies kept distant by post-colonial legacies are allowed and encouraged to interact (c.f Moehn 2007, 183). For most of my upper-class collaborators, fusion fandom and consumption is a space to re-create themselves as emotional and political beings. It provides opportunities for self-reflection and transformation when feelings of guilt about their historical social role make them reflect on their responsibility towards their country and their fellow countrymen and -women; borrowing Moehn’s words, it offers “a refuge following reflection” (2007, 185) and an invitation to mobilise. It is where they can re-imagine the citizen.

## **The role of music consumption in the transformation of music venues into alternative spaces of political participation**

Political scientist Alberto Vergara (2013) argues that as a consequence of Peru's economic growth, citizenship has come to be viewed as a commodity acquired and consolidated through consumption; therefore, more consumption equates to more citizenship. This argument goes hand in hand with other existing theorisations of the 'whitening' effect of money (Bruce 2007, 101; Garner 2007, 91–92). These theoretical tropes argue that phenotype is secondary to wealth in the construction of whiteness, and that wealthy individuals are more likely to be perceived and accepted as "white". According to Vergara, money not only 'whitens' an individual but also validates citizenship. I would argue that cultural consumption contributes to activating citizenship, protest and activism among white upper-class youth. Their citizenship is not validated by money, but by integration in a cultural sphere and by active political participation through culture. Some of the main reasons for this political reactivation is their frustration and disappointment with the political class, particularly following the internal war (Montero-Diaz 2016, 205); regret and guilt stemming from belonging to a social group that has distanced itself from the reality and struggle of others (Montero-Diaz 2016, 199); and frustration that their opinions are invisibilised because of their age, socio-economic background and phenotype. This last reason will be examined in depth in this chapter.

One of the consequences of 'exclusion in exclusivity' is the disempowerment of the young white upper classes in their pursuit of cultural citizenship.<sup>5</sup> The literature on cultural citizenship mainly theorises on issues of inclusion and exclusion from the perspective of the excluded. The young white upper classes have not been deprived of their rights, voice or social representation. However, in Lima, this sector of society has remained on the margins of political action and real involvement in their own society's improvement, an attitude encouraged by family, school and society at large. After a long period of political apathy and disempowerment, there is now an awakening to their political voice in the midst of generalised mistrust of the motivations behind white upper-class enactment of citizenship.

The young white upper-class 'alternatives' in Lima who participated in my study do not feel recognised as equal members of the community. They are routinely dismissed as not

belonging to Peruvian culture. In a discourse that conflates ‘the authentic’ with marginality, their experiences of the country are often devalued. Therefore, a broader Lima outside privileged circles recognises that they have ‘power’ but does not validate their experiences as part of the Peruvian reality, claiming that they do not have ‘real knowledge or culture’. ‘Alternatives’ feel excluded from the broader Lima experience, which they seek out through music. As citizenship is achieved through intersubjective participation (Crossley 2001), empathy in our everyday life enables us to understand the attitude of ‘the other’ and to attempt to construct collective understanding. Music generates an opportunity to listen and perform with the once perceived ‘other’, normalising new social behaviours and social relations, challenging the status quo and enacting subversion from within. Culture seems to be an ideal vehicle for self-transformation, which resonates with other scholars’ examination of the role of music as a technology of conflict transformation and change, and as a vehicle for a political voice (Turino 2008; Longhurst 2007; Montero-Diaz 2016 among others).

The fusion scene is what scholars such as Mark Chou, Jean-Paul Gagnon and Lesley Pruitt (2015) would call a “mini-public scene”, where music is performed for small numbers at intimate venues. Though it may be small in terms of numbers, it has the power to rally youth and exercise political pressure. “Mini-public scenes” constitute contact zones for interaction where disparate identities, cultures and geographies kept and mapped separately are allowed to interact (Moehn 2007, 183), and where music spaces are politically occupied, conquering the ears and then the minds of a class that could be more engaged with their fellow Peruvians; first through empathetic interactions, and then through active participation as allies in civil causes.

### **Music, culture and citizenship**

Some of Lima’s fusion groups, such as La Mente<sup>6</sup> and La Sarita<sup>7</sup>, were from the outset conscious of their political message, while others, such as Bareto<sup>8</sup>, became aware of their political role after the audiences reacted to what they perceived as a political message and demanded even more explicit political music material from them. These groups all constructed a ‘street’ performance style (e.g. La Mente performing bare-chested with t-shirts wrapped around their heads evoking the style of construction workers in Lima; Bareto in

colourful cumbia shirts and later in t-shirts with political messages)<sup>9</sup> and once their message reached the audience, it was the audience who disseminated the political message and who gave feedback to the musicians strengthening the social impact. This, for Nicolás Duarte of La Mente, is “cultural violence”:

This country, after what happened in the conquest and the two wars we have had and the internal war we experienced, has not undergone violent change. We are a society which has rather shunned those violent changes, shunned that occasional need for violence in order to generate changes, and what has not happened in the streets, what has not happened in politics, is happening in culture... What I do think, I think that whatever might happen, it will be violent, because technology allows it. And with violent I am not referring to there being blood but that there be changes... (Nicolás Duarte, interview, November 2010).

As part of this “cultural violence” expressed in imaginary reconfigurations, La Mente invited Laurita Pacheco, an Andean harpist, to play with them in concert, creating a fusion between dub, ska and *huayno*. Bareto invited Wilindoro Cacique, lead singer of Amazonian psychedelic *cumbia* band Juaneco y Su Combo. La Sarita went from six core group members to eleven members from different socio-economic and racial backgrounds. This in itself was a way to visibilise a particular citizenship practice and encourage, through music, turning these practices into action.<sup>10</sup>

Many of La Mente’s young upper-class followers perceive their songs as allegories for changing political attitudes and defending one’s personal ideologies. For example:

<p><i>Somos la Mente... Básicamente... De tus ideas los remitentes Y de repente Ya no es urgente Ser tan decente ni tan valiente</i></p> <p><i>Tus brazos no te oyen Tus pies no quieren avanzar Nada en tu sistema te va ayudar a regresar</i></p>	<p><i>We’re la Mente... basically We send your ideas quite simply And suddenly No urgent necessity For great decency or bravery</i></p> <p><i>Your arms won’t obey Your feet aren’t making way Nothing in your system will help you return</i></p>
---	--

<p><i>Ya eres parte de la Mente Y aunque mucho te lamentos Aquí te vas a quedar</i></p> <p>Excerpt of 'La Mente' – La Mente (<i>Electropical</i> 2007). Composers: Ricardo Wiese Hamann and Nicolás Lucar Soldevilla.<sup>11</sup></p>	<p><i>You're part of La Mente from today And no matter what you say You're here to stay</i></p>
--	---

In this song, Nicolás and Ricardo seem to be inviting their upper-class listeners to join them as “part of La Mente”. After this, they assure their audience that “nothing in [their] system will help [them] to return”. They will stay and defend their *mentes* (‘minds’), where “nobody can enter”. Audience members often quoted excerpts from La Mente’s lyrics when I spoke to them, highlighting a ‘music revolution’. There are references to change in other examples of La Mente’s lyrics, from different albums and years, reproduced below. The first example refers to the upper class embracing previously rejected music as part of their ideological change, the second invites the audiences to join their protest against the government as a diverse, but united Peru, and the final example lambasts Peru’s media and those who just accumulate expensive formal education but know nothing about Peruvian reality and so do not act to change it. They also stress the need to learn from the ‘street’, from everyday life experiences.

<p><i>Música que no sonaba, música que no radiaba, Música que se prendía justo cuando tú te apagabas. Suena una radio en el techo y mancha el pecho de tu ploma ciudad. Tus hijos se enajenan y los hijos de tus hijos nacen presos de esta vieja nueva novedad. Los años regresan calcinados pero ahora son nuestros aliados, tu tiempo se va acabando y afuera se está escuchando música degenerada, música desempleada, música que se maquillaba...</i></p> <p>Excerpt 'Radio Funeral' – La Mente (<i>Electropical</i> 2007). Composers: Ricardo Wiese Hamann and Nicolás Lucar Soldevilla.</p>	<p><i>Music that wasn't playing, music that wasn't radiating. Music that switched on just as you were switching off. A radio playing on the roof staining the chest of your grey city. Your children grow apart and your children's children are born trapped by the same new story. The years return burnt to the bone but now they are our allies, your time is running out and outside it's playing degenerate music, unemployed music, music that was putting on makeup...</i></p>
--	--

<p><i>Digo basta ya, aquí ya llegó. Ahora se le salió el indio a la Mente, si eres de los nuestros alza la bandera, en tiempo de paz, en tiempo de guerra. Escucha la sangre que te está llamando, laten con la bulla que ahora mismo estás bailando: Ritmos africanos, cuerdas del oriente, vientos de los andes, bombos de la mente, cortos son los pasos y muy larga la distancia pero cada paso dado tiene mucha relevancia...</i></p> <p>Excerpt ‘<i>El indio de la Mente</i>’ – La Mente (<i>Para los Muertos y los Vivientes</i> 2009). Composers: Ricardo Wiese Hamann and Nicolás Lucar Soldevilla.</p>	<p><i>I say enough, it stops here. We’re done playing nice, if you’re one of ours raise the flag, in times of peace, in times of war. Listen to the blood calling you, throbbing with the racket you are dancing to: African rhythms, oriental strings, Andean winds, bombos of the mind, the steps are short and the distance very long, but every move matters...</i></p>
<p><i>El mundo es mucho más grande de lo que piensas tú. ¡Cuánta gente educada que no sabe nada! ¡Cómo abunda en el mundo la ignorancia ilustrada! No funciona el cerebro sin el corazón, así tenga título a nombre de la nación. ¡Cuánto tarado educado con maestría y postgrado! Hay que graduarse en la vida, aprender de la calle la vieja saliva. A mí no me convence la prensa porque dice muchas cosas pero nunca lo que piensa, a mí no me entretiene el entretenimiento que se hace millonario con el sufrimiento. A mí no me convence la crítica de corazón seco y alma raquítica, a mí no me convencen los medios porque son la enfermedad y se creen el remedio...</i></p> <p>Excerpt ‘<i>Sabiduría Popular</i>’ – La Mente (<i>Música</i> 2012). Composers: Ricardo Wiese Hamann and Nicolás Lucar Soldevilla.</p>	<p><i>The world is so much bigger than you think. How many educated people who don’t know a thing! The world has an abundance of enlightened ignorance. Without a heart the brain doesn’t function, no matter your diploma from a fancy institution! How many educated idiots with a masters and postgrad! You have to graduate in life, learn from the street the old saliva. I’m not convinced by the press, because it says many things, but never what it thinks, I’m not entertained by entertainment making multi-million gains on others’ pain. I’m not taken in by dry-hearted soul-stunted criticism, I’m not convinced by the press, because it’s an illness that thinks it’s medicine...</i></p>

The venues where this music happens are small alternative spaces where people from different backgrounds come into contact. In this setting, the songs’ messages acquire another level of undertones and urgency. According to my field observations and interviews with audience members, it seems that a section of the young white upper class becomes aware of

their self, their role and their responsibilities through contact with the other in shared music practice. This ‘experiencing’ the other becomes an attempt to blur the boundaries of identity/difference in order to find themselves as the ‘common citizen’ and to build a commonality, initially of temporal experience, subsequently through the reproduction of behaviour and normalisations (“sub-politics” for Anthony Elliot 2001, 54), and finally through social movements created and generated through cultural points. In these music spaces, people interact, challenge the limits of social imagination and build a new citizenship that contests the traditional upper-class idea of ‘decent citizenship’.

Bareto’s music in *Cumbia* was perceived by some as a utopian creation for comfortable and fashionable celebration of diversity. It was in 2012, with *Ves Lo Que Quieres Ver*, that Bareto acquired a clearer political message beyond the music symbolism of playing the music of the rejected ‘other’ and enacted a sonic protest in a new album. With their own compositions and lyrics they undoubtedly transformed their music into a class critique from the inside. For example, the following song critiques the ruling class’s ambitions of money, real estate and mining:

<p><i>Y hablas y háblame de la tierra, como si fuera de tu propiedad. Y cuentas y cuentas en tu billetera como si nunca fuera a cerrar.</i></p> <p><i>Pobre la gente que no lo vio, pobre la gente que le creyó. Ahí donde había mucho más brillo, tanto brillo los deslumbró. Ahí donde sonaba tantísimo ruido, tanto ruido los confundió.</i></p> <p><i>¿Y en dónde te aplicamos la anestesia? Porque ya es hora de extirpar esa idea en tu cabeza que no te deja ya ni enfocar.</i></p> <p>Excerpt ‘<i>La Anestesia</i>’ – Bareto (<i>Ves lo que Quieres Ver</i> 2012). Composer: Rolo Gallardo.<sup>12</sup></p>	<p><i>And you talk and talk to me about the land, like you own the lot. And you recount and count [the money] in your wallet, like it’ll never close up.</i></p> <p><i>Poor people who didn’t see it, poor people who believed them. It was all so shiny there, all that shine dazzled them. It was all so noisy there, all that noise confused them.</i></p> <p><i>So where do you want the anaesthesia? Because it’s time for the excision of that idea in your head, that blurs even your vision.</i></p>
--	--

Since 2007, new fusion bands have appeared on the scene, which mix *chicha*, *cumbia* and *huaynos* in order to make the audience dance but not necessarily to convey any explicit political message. This is the case of Colectivo Circo Band (CCB), created by a group of upper-class friends who met each other doing theatre and released their first album in 2010 (*Pawaun!*). They consciously linked their music to the circus concept: it is eclectic and their costumes theatrical. They describe it as “Global Party World Music, Rock N Roll Tropical Collage” (Band’s Facebook profile) and frequently include *huayno* and *cumbia* in their fusions. With a tuba player in their band, who is also a member of a *banda patronal*<sup>13</sup>, their emblematic song is *Entrando a La Noche* (‘Entering *La Noche*’), a *huayno* that indexes an *orquesta típica*.<sup>14</sup>

In 2010, the group was made up of eight members. Most of them came from the same socioeconomic background, but were very diverse in age and gender.<sup>15</sup>

...We have gender diversity, which is extremely important. We have very different *cosmovisiones* (‘worldviews’), because the worldview a man like Pancho can have, a man who is an agricultural engineer, Dutch, who lives in Peru married to a woman from Carhuaz [Andes], who plays in *bandas patronales*, compared with the worldview Alejandra Pizarro [trumpet player] can have, who is from the *Opus Dei* and very boldly confronts a band full of strange men and plays the trumpet, which very few women do [...], I think there is diversity, perhaps not in socioeconomic strata, but in how the world is perceived (Luigi Casinelli – CCB, interview, October 2010).

<FIG. 1 HERE>

CCB does not have any stated political position comparable to those of groups such as Bareto, La Sarita or la Mente. Nonetheless, CCB’s members are keenly aware of Peru’s social problems and that their choice of genres might be interpreted as a political stance. As upper-class musicians performing for upper-class audiences, the band explains its adoption of genres associated with indigeneity and *choledad* (choloness)<sup>16</sup> in terms of encouraging their audiences to look beyond their ‘allowed spaces’. This is perceived and embraced by their white upper-class audience:

*Colectivo* doesn't seem very political, but I see it as highly political. They celebrate unity, happiness, love... remind us that, well, now we can celebrate. In the 1980s and 1990s we were fucked, but now we're not experiencing the same things. And singing those lyrics to the rhythm of a *buen huayno* ('groovy huayno') reminds us that now we can believe in an inclusive social project, which unites Andeans and people from the Coast (Mauricio 32, focus group, March 2011).

In a post-war country, the concept of celebration is perceived as a peace metaphor:

If this mentality of freedom from prejudice, of carnival with the masks, of not seeing the other person, if you translate that into a *sentir de vida* ('perception of life'), which is what we try to express, and more people do that, things will improve (Alfonso Silva Santiesteban – CCB, interview, October 2010).

At the same time, the members of CCB state that they are making this kind of music and celebration because they like the aesthetics but that they are not interested in vindicating Andeanness or Peru's mystical past or even feeding the nation's optimistic frenzy surrounding the gastronomic boom.<sup>17</sup> They play *huaynos* because they like them, and some of them feel they do not need to take a political stand in order to disseminate a message of unity and celebration:

I'm against the image of 'I am Peruvian because I eat *papa a la huancaína* [traditional Peruvian dish], but I treat the waiter who brings it to me like a nobody'. So, that is the [corporate] social responsibility discourse in which we are all good, where the mining company is good because it built a canteen for the children and threw them a *chocolatada* ['Christmas hot chocolate party']. There comes a point when you have to take a stance. We have not taken one yet, or it's still inclusion, but I do have a very clear position in this aspect. I do not want to be that willing stooge, part of 'we are all good' and 'oh how nice' (Alfonso Silva Santiesteban, CCB – interview, October 2010)

For several scholars, participation is an essential component of citizenship and democracy (Dalton 2008; McCaffrie and Akram 2014; Chou, Gagnon and Pruitt 2015). Through fandom

participation, publics are invited to re-imagine the self (politically, empathetically and spiritually), their geographical spaces and their individual/communal place (c.f. Fredericks 2014). For example, La Sarita's concerts are often referred to by upper-class youths as a religious ceremony, a place where they congregate, sing together, connect, learn from others and are motivated to act politically and socially.<sup>18</sup> Can music participation trigger social conversion? Many white upper-class youths say they feel directionless and have no local and national identity. Could fusion music provide an answer to what it is to be a Peruvian citizen? These are the words Julio Pérez, lead singer of La Sarita, used to address the audience during a concert in 2012:

Thank you music for guiding us, being with us, for giving us the possibility to share and celebrate our diversity [...] We thank you all for being here today and it is our hope that we have made you feel a little of what a real homeland is. Beyond marketing campaigns, which are only that, a homeland is built with bonds of affection, bonds of respect, of equality. The day someone wants to take advantage of your countryman from the Amazon, your countryman from the Andes, your countryman far, far from where you are and you become indignant and make demands of the authorities and call for justice, that day you will be Peruvian, that day you will be a patriot, that day you will be a Peruvian citizen (Julio, lead singer, La Sarita – 2012).<sup>19</sup>

Music offers room for more than entertainment, it is also a place of reflection and action (spaces where people turn into "spect-actors" (Chou, Gagnon and Pruitt 2015, 609)). In the case of La Sarita, this band takes the spiritual dimension beyond concert venues to audience minds with a call to reflection, soul-searching and the internalization of new beliefs and attitudes.

My religion is in me, my conversion is the new Peruvianess, a more individual one, more real, with more solidarity, more transformative. I am a new person, my mind is Peruvian, it becomes indignant and dances (Xaviera 26, personal communication, March 2011).

Members of several fusion bands (Bareto, La Mente, CCB, La Sarita, among others) highlight the importance of having a political presence through their music, of going beyond

performance. They are particularly aware that their style of fusion makes the audiences “look outside their own box” (CCB, October 2010), in a way “resensitizing while presenting the *unfamiliar*” (Abi-Ezzi 2008, 100). Music fandom is crucial in this process, as research has shown that “highly identified people internalise the values of the groups to which they belong” (Chou, Gagnon and Pruitt 2015, 61), and here we find the link between fan-group participation and potential activism. Music fandom can have a significant impact on our future values, identity, and actions.

We can't be apathetic anymore, we can't only join other people's protest. We are conscious citizens, we can start our own rebellion, our own protest... an elite protest! One beyond the music scene and dialogues. We are now in the streets, some people don't believe in us, but we are expressing a political posture, we are demanding justice, and what is better, we are changing the elites, at least part of them. If more people with economic power joined us, the future would be different (Alberto 25, Skype communication, January 2013).

Given its trans-global nature, fandom has been associated with cosmopolitan and global citizenship (e.g. Plante et al. 2014). Global citizenship is an identity based on values and behaviours that aim to better the world as a whole rather than focusing on the self and specific communities (Reysen et al. 2012). The betterment of the world should not be interpreted only as the territory outside Peru but also the spaces outside the subject's own community and direct benefit. For example, most white upper-class youths live on the coast, in Lima, but they ally with Andean inhabitants of towns threatened by big mining corporations; they might also denounce State violence against protesters in the Amazon.<sup>20</sup> However, such political upper-class voices have also been discussed in the context of post-citizenship (Jasper 1997) or a type of middle-class radicalism (Parkin 1968). They are depicted in public discourse as engaging *only* for ‘the pleasure of protest’, as post-citizenship movements composed of people who possess the benefits of standard citizenship and benefit from a good education and socio-economic background. They are viewed with disbelief as their protest or activism does not arise from marginal experience (see also Peirano, this volume), and they are *only* joining as allies to achieve benefits for others. These views, of course, undermine upper-class motivations and actions regarding political activism while at the same time invalidating their willingness to join forces in protest, reducing this act to a sort of charity work, a privileged leisure activity, not a fight for survival.

What is noteworthy is the link between the actors behind the activation of the upper class fusion music scene, the proliferation of inter-class and inter-ethnic empathetic collaborations from 2006 onwards, the transformation of music venues into spaces of dialogue and discussion for musicians and audiences, and the promotion of social action, fan involvement and leadership in diverse collectives, such as *Ni Una Menos* (Not one [woman] less)<sup>21</sup>, *Yo Apoyo al Matrimonio Igualitario* (I support equal marriage), *Alerta Contral el Racismo en Perú* (Alert against racism in Peru), *Los Nuevos Peruanos* (New Peruvians)<sup>22</sup>, *Contra las esterilizaciones forzadas* (Against forced sterilizations), *No a Keiko* (No to Keiko [Fujimori])<sup>23</sup>, and *Parió Paula* (Music Activism Percussion Group), among others. Several of the collaborators I interviewed highlighted that in a country like Peru, where politics are so corrupted and lack credibility, it is culture that is driving social change, particularly music as audiences can engage with political messages and stances.

I liked La Sarita for its staging, the political aspect was not very important to me, the band in itself entertained me. But as I started liking the music more and more, the message got into my head, it made me think. My friends who were fans of La Sarita discussed other things, not just the staging, and that's when it clicked; there was something deeper, which my superficial side refused to acknowledge. I feel that the music entered first and the message afterwards... (male, 26, no more information provided by request of the collaborator).

Allowing for a different reading, could these upper-class manifestations of citizenship and protest perhaps be a way to unite people from different class perspectives through everyday resistance to achieve a shared objective (c.f. Moehn 2007, Ni Mhurchu 2016)? Perhaps they do not only benefit the marginal, but also young upper-class youths as they finally find a way to belong to a polity? Can they provide a way to forge a relationship with the state and build a relationship with others within the same state and in the same geographical space (c.f. Tubino 2008)? If so, it would indicate a consolidation of the much desired unity and an expression of a confidence to demand changes from outside and within the elites by bringing political pressure to bear from different sides.

## Final thoughts

Culture, everyday life and, by extension, music are intrinsically related to emotions and belonging, the imagination of one-self and the other, and the negotiation of a social role. Music is constitutive of agency and a medium for shaping the self. “It is not about life but is rather implicated in the formulation of life; it is something that gets into action, something that is a formative, albeit often unrecognised, resource of social agency” (De Nora 2000, 152–53). I have argued in previous articles that music links people’s dreams and desires to their ordinary lives, and as dreams of a different life translate into a real change in habits, a normalisation of different lifestyles and relationships occurs (c.f. Montero-Diaz 2016, 207).

While it is true that the likes of Aristotle, Locke, Hobbes and Marshall did not consider culture a valuable or active element of citizenship, in Latin America, it is culture that is contributing to generating and shaping notions of identity, citizenship, representation and resistance. Music practices illustrate how culture is lived and how culture may be reshaped over time. The change in ordinary life imaginaries and attitudes can contribute to challenging systemic prejudices and stigmas and, subsequently, can normalise different values and ways of perceiving others. Hall (1990, 225) argues for the fluidity and dynamism of cultural identity: it is a matter of ‘becoming’ as well as ‘being’, cultural identity is in constant flux. The white upper classes in the Peruvian capital are an example of this: the interplay between their class, their cohorts and a broader Lima gives rise to different ways of performing citizenship.

Through the consumption of fusion music, the upper classes reflect, confront, dream, and activate their citizenship while finding ways to ‘do’ by making a difference in their own lives, families and communities. Peruvian scholars Vich and Lescano (2016, 220) have argued that cultural policies articulate ‘doing’ and ‘dreaming’, connecting public administration with political imagination. Examining fusion consumption can enhance our understanding of the attempts of the young white upper classes to activate their cultural citizenship; first in cultural circuits and then in public spheres. Applying this understanding to the design and implementation of cultural policies might enable the government to harness the transformative potential of truly inclusive policies by framing culture as an active agent against discrimination, exclusion and racism and a powerful vehicle to discuss, perform and thereby activate citizenship.

## Discography

- Bareto. 2008. *Cumbia*. CD – Label: PlayMusic&Video.
- . 2012. *Ves Lo Que Quieres Ver*. CD – Label: PlayMusic&Video.
- Colectivo Circo Band. 2010. *Pawaun!* CD – Label: Phantom Records.
- La Mente Sonidos del Sistema. 2007. *Electropical* CD – Label: Descabellado Discos del Perú.
- . 2009. *Para los Muertos y los Vivientes*. CD – Label: Descabellado Discos del Perú.
- . 2012. *Música*. CD – Label: Descabellado Discos del Perú.

## Bibliography

- Abi-Ezzi, Karen. 2008. “Music as a Discourse of Resistance: The Case of Gilad Atzmon.” In *Music and Conflict Transformation. Harmonies and Dissonances in Geopolitics*, edited by Olivier Urbain, 93–103. London and New York: I.B. Tauris.
- Ardito Vega, Wilfredo. 2010. “La experiencia de la mesa contra el racismo” (Draft) [http://www.up.edu.pe/ciup/siteassets/lists/jer\\_jerarquia/editform/ardito.pdf](http://www.up.edu.pe/ciup/siteassets/lists/jer_jerarquia/editform/ardito.pdf) Accessed 28/08/15
- Ballinger, Robin. 1995. “Sounds of Resistance.” In *Sounding Off! Musicas Subversion/Resistance/Revolution*, edited by Ron Sakolsky and Fred Ho, 13–28. New York: Autonomedia.
- Barret, Leonard E. 1988. *The Rastafarians: Sounds of Cultural Dissonance*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press Books.
- Bruce, Jorge. 2007. *Nos habiamos choleado tanto. Psicoanálisis y Racismo*. Lima: Universidad de San Martín de Porres.
- Chou, Mark, Jean-Paul Gagnon and Lesley Pruitt. 2015. “Putting participation on stage: examining participatory theatre as an alternative site for political participation.” *Policy Studies* 36 (6): 607–22.
- Crossley, Nick. 2001. “Citizenship, Intersubjectivity and the Lifeworld”. In *Culture & Citizenship*, edited by Nick Stevenson, 33–46. London: Sage Publications.
- Dalton, Russell. 2008. “Citizenship Norms and the Expansion of Political Participation.” *Political Studies* 61 (1): 76–98.
- De Nora, Tia. 2000. *Music in Everyday Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Durand, Francisco. 2007. “La cultura criolla ha muerto.” *La Primera*, January 29. <http://www.laprimera.com.pe/noticia.php?IDnoticia=37958>.
- Ellison, Mary. 1989. *Lyrical Protest: Black Music's Struggle Against Discrimination*. New York: Praeger.
- Eyerman, Ron and Andrew Jamison. 1995. “Social Movements and Cultural Transformation: Popular Music in the 1960's'.” *Media Culture & Society* 17 (3): 449–68.
- Fredericks, Rosalind. 2014. “‘The Old Man is Dead’: Hip Hop and the Arts of Citizenship of Senegalese Youth.” *Antipode* 46 (1): 140–48.

- Frith, Simon. 1987. "Towards an Aesthetic of Popular Music". In *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance, and Reception*, edited by Richard Leppert and Susan McClary, 133–50. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Elliot, Anthony. 2001. "The Reinvention of Citizenship". In *Culture & Citizenship*, edited by Nick Stevenson, 47–51. London: Sage Publications.
- Frith, Simon and John Street. 1992. "Rock Against Racism and Red Wedge: From music to politics, from politics to music." In *Rockin' the boat: Mass music and mass movements*, edited by Reebee Garofalo, 67–80. Boston: South End Press.
- Garner, Steve. 2007. *Whiteness: an Introduction*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Garofalo, Reebee. 1992. *Rockin' the Boat: Mass Music and Mass Movements*. Boston: South End Press.
- Hall, Stuart. 1990. "Cultural identity and diaspora". In *Identity: Community, culture, difference*, edited by Jonathan Rutherford, 222–37. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Jasper, James M. 1997. *The Art of Moral Protest: Culture, Biography, and Creativity in Social Movements*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kogan, Liuba. 2009. *Regias y conservadores: Mujeres y hombres de clase alta en la Lima de los noventa*. Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Peru.
- Longhurst, Brian. 2007. *Cultural change and Ordinary Life*. Maidenhead, UK: McGraw-Hill / Open University Press.
- Marshall, Thomas. H. 1992. *Citizenship and Social Class*. London: Pluto.
- McCaffrie, Brendan and Sadiya Akram. 2014. "Crisis of Democracy? Recognizing the Democratic Potential of Alternative Forms of Political Participation." *Democratic Theory* 1 (2): 47–55.
- Moehn, Frederick. 2007. "Music, Citizenship, and Violence in Postdictatorship Brazil." *Latin American Music Review* 28 (2): 181–219.
- Montero-Diaz, Fiorella. 2016. "Singing the war: reconfiguring white upper-class identity through fusion music in post-war Lima." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 25 (2): 191–209.
- . 2018a. "Turning things around? From white fusion stars with Andean flavour to Andean fusion stars with white appeal." *Popular Music*. 37 (3): 424–443.
- . 2018b. "La música fusión, ¿verdadera inclusión? Una exploración de la escena fusión en Lima." *Anthropologica*. 36 (40), 97–119.
- . Forthcoming. "White Cholos? Discourses around race, whiteness and Lima's fusion music." In *Cultures of Anti-racism*, edited by Peter Wade and Ignacio Aguiló. London: ILAS.
- Ní Mhurchú, Aoileann. 2016. "Unfamiliar acts of citizenship: enacting citizenship in vernacular music and language from the space of marginalized intergenerational migration." *Citizenship Studies* 20 (2): 156–72.
- Pakulski, Jan. 1997. "Cultural Citizenship." *Citizenship Studies* 1 (1): 73–86.
- Parkin, Frank. 1968. *Middle Class Radicalism: The Social Bases of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers.
- Peddie, Ian, ed. 2006. *The Resisting Muse: Popular Music and Social Protest*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Plante, Courtney N, Sharon E. Roberts, Stephen Reysen and Kathleen C. Gerbasi. 2014. "'One of Us': Engagement with Fandoms and Global Citizenship Identification." *Psychology of Popular Media Culture* 3 (1): 49–64.
- Reysen, Stephen, Loretta W. Larey and Iva Katzarska-Miller. 2012. "College course curriculum and global citizenship." *International Journal for Development Education and Global Learning* 4 (3): 27–39.
- Rosaldo, Renato. 1994. "Cultural Citizenship and Educational Democracy." *Cultural Anthropology* 9 (3): 402–11.

- Stevenson, Nick, ed. 2001. *Culture & Citizenship*. London: Sage Publications.
- . 2003. “Cultural Citizenship in the ‘Cultural’ Society: A Cosmopolitan Approach.” *Citizenship Studies* 7 (3): 331–48.
- Tubino, Fidel. 2008. “No una sino muchas ciudadanías: una reflexión desde el Perú y América Latina.” *Cuadernos Interculturales* 6 (10): 170–80.
- Turino, Thomas. 2008. *Music as Social Life. The Politics of Participation*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Vergara, Alberto. 2013. *República Sin Ciudadanos*. Lima: Planeta.
- Vich, Victor and Gloria Lescano. 2016. “Políticas culturales en el Perú del nuevo milenio: avances, retrocesos y compromisos pendientes”. In *Panorama da gestão cultural na Ibero-América*, edited by Antonio Albino Canelas Rubim, Carlos Yañez Canal and Rubens Bayardo, 219–47. Salvador de Bahia: Edufba.

---

<sup>1</sup> I use the term ‘allowed spaces’ for places perceived by the upper classes as sheltered from difference and poverty, where they can allow themselves to experience the city comfortably.

<sup>2</sup> *Cholo* was originally a pejorative term in Peru used to refer to people of Andean ethnicity, background, phenotype or cultural traits. More recently, this term has been used to vindicate marginalised identities by projecting non-assimilation.

<sup>3</sup> For more on ‘white upper class *cholos*’ and discussions on whiteness and class please see Montero-Diaz forthcoming.

<sup>4</sup> “Exclusión en la exclusividad” (exclusion in exclusivity) is a phrase used by several of my young collaborators to express the contradictions of having an exclusive lifestyle, while feeling excluded and distant from the shared urban experience of the majority for the same reason.

<sup>5</sup> Cultural citizenship has been aptly theorised as the enactment of the right to be different while belonging through democratic participation (Rosaldo 1994, 402), coupled with the satisfaction of demands for full inclusion in a social community (Pakulski 1997).

<sup>6</sup> La Mente, a much favoured band among the white upper class ‘alternatives’, released its first album in 2007: *Sonidos del Sistema La Mente – Electropical*. It was founded in 2006 by Nicolás Duarte and Ricardo Wiese who sought a “liberating space for their lyrics and communication”. La Mente plays ska, rock, reggae and cumbia, and uses electronic sequences on stage.

<sup>7</sup> La Sarita, one of the most iconic fusion bands, embodied young middle- and working-class protest against President Alberto Fujimori in the 1990s. After the war it grew into a very diverse eleven-piece ensemble, which openly promoted social inclusion and political reflection, through the celebration of diversity.

<sup>8</sup> Bareto was formed in 2003 as a reggae, ska and rock cover band. In September 2008, they released their album entitled *Cumbia*, a tribute to chicha and Amazonian psychedelic cumbia. With *Cumbia*, Bareto came to symbolise interclass and inter-ethnic integration and collaboration, as they brought previously marginalised music genres to the attention of the white upper classes. In 2012, they released *Ves lo que quieres ver* [You See What You Want to See], which featured more political lyrics.

<sup>9</sup> For more on fashion and visual representations of fusion performance see Montero-Diaz 2018 b, 112-13.

<sup>10</sup> Over time this has contributed to a shift in power dynamics from white upper-class *fusionistas* to empowered indigenous music leads. For more on this see Montero-Diaz 2008a.

<sup>11</sup> All material by La Mente used herein has been included with the permission of Ricardo Wiese Hamann and Nicolás Lucar Soldevilla (Duarte) on behalf of La Mente.

---

<sup>12</sup> This material has been included with the permission of Rolo Gallardo and Jorge Olazo on behalf of Bareto.

<sup>13</sup> A musical ensemble typically comprised of brass instruments, saxophones, bass drum and snare drum. *Fiestas patronales* (Catholic patron saint festivals) across the Andes are often animated by these ensembles, which are usually smaller than *orquestas típicas*.

<sup>14</sup> An *orquesta típica* is a musical ensemble of saxophones, clarinets, a harp and a violin (see Romero 2001, 170).

<sup>15</sup> The youngest member of these bands was 21 and the oldest almost 60. It is worth noting that most Lima fusion bands are all-male, including Bareto, La Sarita, and Uchpa. Similarly, cumbia bands such as Grupo 5 and Hermanos Yaipén, and the successful upper class salsa band Sabor y Control, are made up of men. Women are present in the fusion genre, but virtually only as soloists. This makes Colectivo Circo Band an unusually diverse fusion band.

<sup>16</sup> Belonging to a *cholo* culture (See definition of *cholo* in endnote no. 2). ‘Cholones’ in contemporary Peru is seen as a form of celebratory non-assimilative *mestizaje*. Many upper-class fusion bands say that they are embracing their lost ‘cholones’.

<sup>17</sup> Since the mid-2000s fusion music and fusion gastronomy have been used to express a modern identity based on traditional elements of culture and as a means to boost national pride, especially in the aftermath of the internal war and economic crisis.

<sup>18</sup> For more on the sacralisation of music fandom see Montero-Diaz 2008b, 113-15.

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1mqmctcFoQ> (4.10). This quote first appeared in Spanish in the journal *Anthropologica* (Montero-Diaz 2018b, 114) in a discussion of discourses around fusion by fusion musicians in Lima.

<sup>20</sup> E.g. Bagua. (See more in Montero-Diaz 2016, 205). To hear the opinion of former President Alan García Pérez about the Bagua incident and his concept of modern Peruvian citizenship please see: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3ekPeb6nMnw> (Last accessed 08/05/16).

<sup>21</sup> An activist collective against femicides and violence against women in Peru.

<sup>22</sup> A collective which promotes new citizenship attitudes and habits in Peru.  
<https://www.facebook.com/LosNuevosPeruanos/> (Last accessed 01/06/18)

<sup>23</sup> According to its website, No a Keiko (NAK) is a citizen collective that has as its main objective to defeat Fujimorismo as NAK considers it an antidemocratic movement which vindicates prisoner Alberto Fujimori, condemned due to severe crimes against humanity and corruption <http://www.noakeiko.pe> (accessed 01/06/18).